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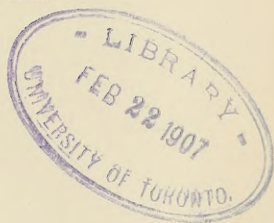
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THE
CLASSICAL
REVIEW.



EDITED BY J. P. POSTGATE

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

FOR ENGLAND—H. B. WALTERS (ARCHAEOLOGY)

FOR AMERICA—WM. GARDNER HALE, T. D. SEYMOUR, J. H. WRIGHT

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The Classical Review

FEBRUARY 1906.

THE *Classical Review* records and welcomes the issue of the prospectuses of two new periodicals devoted to the promotion of classical studies in the United States. *Classical Philology* is to be a quarterly journal devoted to research in the languages, literatures, history and life of Classical Antiquity, and to reviews of current publications in these fields. Besides formal articles stating the results of investigations it will include reviews of books and monographs, short contributions and brief discussion of matters of current interest. The names of the editors are Edward Capps (managing editor), F. F. Abbott, C. D. Buck, W. G. Hale, G. L. Hendrickson, Gordon J. Laing, P. Shorey, and F. B. Tarbell. There are also fourteen Association editors and amongst them W. M. Lindsay (St. Andrews), and W. Peterson (Montreal). The first volume will contain 384 pages and the subscription will be \$3 to American and \$3.50 to foreign subscribers. *The Classical Journal* is to be published under the auspices of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. It is to be devoted especially to the interests of teachers of Greek and Latin in school and college. The names of the managing editors are Arthur Fairbanks and Gordon J. Laing, and there are five Associate editors. The contents are to include Editorials, Original Contributions (on topics of general interest), Notes and Discussions, Reports and Summaries, and signed book reviews. The first volume will consist of six parts of thirty-two pages each, subsequent ones of eight parts with the same or a larger number of pages. The price is to be \$2 for American and Canadian and \$2.25 for foreign subscribers. The publishers of both are the University of Chicago Press for America and Mr. D. Nutt for England.

The meeting of 'The Classical Association' which we report elsewhere was important in two respects. The dropping of the local limitation from its title was a

definite recognition of the extension of its sphere of activity; and the character of the programme with which it dealt showed that it was setting itself in good earnest to the work of initiation and reconstruction. Its action in reference to the school curricula has been represented in some quarters as an abatement of the high claims of classics and even as a surrender of its ideals. Nothing could be more mistaken. For the chosen pursuit of the refinements of Greek composition and grammar have the same value as heretofore. The Association has but recognised anew the truth of the wise saying *non omnia possumus omnes*. The new President of the Association is Lord Curzon. Lord Halsbury's successor was to have been Sir Richard Jebb, but fate otherwise determined. To our sense of the greatness of this loss to the Association and to the classical world it is perhaps impossible to give an adequate expression; but all will feel the grace and pathos of Prof. Butcher's eloquent tribute to the memory of our friend.

Dr. Henry Jackson succeeds his contemporary as Greek Professor at Cambridge. There were five candidates in all for the post, and it was noticed that in the public expositions of three the subject was taken from Aeschylus.

In the first part of his *Adversaria Sinica*, published at Shanghai, but obtainable through Mr. Quaritch, of 15, Piccadilly, Prof. H. A. Giles puts out a very interesting identification. Students of Classical and of Chinese literature will find there good reasons for believing that the mysterious Si Wang Mu, who has been variously regarded as a historical personage, a place, and a tribe, is no other than the Greek Queen of Heaven. Her divinity, her beauty, her bird (the peacock), her representation on clouds in the West, her husband, a heavenly potentate with a large bird attending him—all speak for the hypothesis. Between the names however, 'Hpa and Si Wang Mu, lies a gulf which has yet to be bridged.

APOSTROPHE IN HOMER—A REJOINDER.

MR. CAMPBELL BONNER in his article (*Class. Rev.* November, 1905) on 'The Use of Apostrophe in Homer' criticizes my theory of this figure of speech and tries to show that metrical convenience was the determining factor in its use. He refers to two articles in *Philologus* of which I was, unfortunately, unaware when my article was written. I have since had an opportunity of referring to them. Liesegesang (*op. cit.* vi. pp. 563 f.) merely draws attention to the frequency of Apostrophe in Π , which he accordingly regards as late: Nitzsch (*op. cit.* xvi. 51 ff.) takes the view that in the cases of Eumaeos and Patroklos the sympathy of the poet with the character is the determining factor, while in the case of Menelaos the use is due to the metre. Mr. Campbell Bonner's article is much more careful and thorough, but it seems to me that his method is open to strong objection. Surely it is unscientific to seek in the *Odyssey* for the 'needed clue' to a usage in the *Iliad*. In a question of 'origins,' such as is this, it is imperative to proceed chronologically and it is hardly fair to enumerate the fifteen instances from the *Odyssey* and eight from the *Iliad* and then appeal to 'the already familiar figure.' Mr. Bonner is aware of the 'danger of . . . underestimating the resourcefulness of the writer and his skill in coping with the restrictions imposed by the verse.' It is a useful warning which will apply to more cases than one.

To take the instances from the *Iliad* in Mr. Bonner's order, we come first to those ending *προσέφης, Πατρόκλεις ἱππεύ*. Bergk here proposed *προσέφη Πατρόκλος ἀμύμων* as an ending open to the poet. Mr. Bonner is right in his objection that Homer does not join *ἀμύμων* to the nominative of *Πατρόκλος*, which case of the word 'is rarely associated with any descriptive or identifying word.' But he proceeds 'There being then no familiar combination of *Πατρόκλος* and an epithet, with which to close the verse, the device of the apostrophe suggested itself more readily than the making of a new formula.' But there was no need for a new formula; and why should the poet be forced to end the verse 'with a combination of *Πατρόκλος* and an epithet'? To go no farther afield than Π we find formulae of address to hand in lines 6, 619, and 626—to select three which resemble closely the lines under review. Was the poet who wrote in

626 *ὥς φάτο, τὸν δ' ἐνέειπε Μενoitίου ἄλκιμος υἱός* compelled to have recourse to apostrophe to end his verse in 744? The name *Πάρις* 'is never associated with any descriptive or identifying word,' and the way in which the poems get over the difficulty is not to use it where such a phrase will be required to complete the line. In Γ 437 (e.g.) *τὴν δὲ Πάρις μύθοισιν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπε* no great 'resourcefulness' on the poet's part was required. Will any one contend that *τὸν δὲ Μενoitιάδης ἐπικερτομέων προσέειπε* was an impossible or improbable way out of the metrical *impasse*?

Mr. Bonner passes on to Π 584 *ὥς ἰθὺς Λυκίων, Πατρόκλεις ἱπποκέλευθε, | ἔσσονο, καὶ Τρώων*, commenting on the 'absence of a familiar nominative close.' Of course if the line *must* end with the nominative, or *must* contain *Πατρόκλος* and *ἱπποκέλευθος* together there is an end of controversy. But the poet betrays no consciousness of such restrictions elsewhere, *ὥς ἰθὺς Λυκίων τε Μενoitίου ἄλκιμος υἱός | ἔσσονο καὶ Τρώων* is at least a 'passable line.' Again in Π 754, the nominative *Πατρόκλος*, the one thing needed, does not suit the verse; hence *ὥς ἐπὶ Κεβριόνη, Πατρόκλεις, ἄλσο μεμαώς*. That *Πατρόκλος* cannot be substituted offhand for *Πατρόκλεις* is evident. Is the line *ὥς ἐπὶ Κεβριόνη μεμαώς Πατρόκλος ἐπᾶλτο* un-Homeric? (The short *a* in *μεμαώς* is common.) Again: 'Especially important for the understanding of the use of the apostrophe is Π 692 *ἔνθα τίνα πρῶτον, τίνα δ' ὕστατον ἐξενάριξας | Πατρόκλεις κτλ.*', the inference being that in view of E 703, Θ 273, Λ 299 the poet would have used the nominative here had metrical reasons not been absolutely 'cogent.' But anyone who will maintain in view of lines like Z 299 *Κισσηίς, ἄλοχος Ἀντήνορος ἱπποδάμιοι* that *Πατρόκλος* could not have stood here with the arsis, the pause and the following two shorts to help it out (see La Roche's *Einleitung* p. xxxviii) is going very far indeed.

There remain two other cases, Π 787 and 812 where Mr. Bonner himself admits that the metre has not forced the apostrophe. But they are peculiar among the apostrophes of Patroklos from the use of the personal pronoun which we have not had to deal with yet. This peculiarity is shared by all the remaining instances of apostrophe in the *Iliad*, foremost among these being those of

Menelaos. Of course in most of these cases the use of the personal pronoun is a necessary sequel to the vocative; but that does not exhaust the question. The pronoun is in some cases pushed forward into a prominent place in the line (cf. Δ 127, N 603, 4, the only non-Patroklean apostrophe belonging to an indisputably early book, P 702, Ψ 600). The effect of the pronoun is to draw attention sharply to the fact that a person is actually conceived as present and spoken to; and as the use of the figure in the later books is no doubt borrowed from its use in the earlier ones, this must have been the impression left upon the minds of those who imitated it in this way. In other words the main idea in the use of apostrophe is not so much *formal* as *material*, to borrow a logical antithesis.

Mr. Bonner has some interesting statistics with regard to the place of the word *Μενέλαος* in a Homeric verse. But it is important to remember here that the poet had many ways of referring to the hero without using the word *Μενέλαος*, a fact which is at once patent if one reads a Menelaos-episode through for the purpose. It is a fact which Mr. Bonner himself makes use of when he

says lower down 'in view of the numerous expressions which might have been used in referring to Apollo and Achilles, the necessities of the metre can hardly be alleged in explanation of the apostrophe in these three cases' (i.e. O 365, Y 2, Y 152). But even if we leave these by no means unimportant considerations out of view, 'a little experimenting' (to use Mr. Bonner's words) will show that the metre is in no sense decisive for the apostrophe. Why should not N 603—the only one of this last group that can possibly be referred to an early stratum of the Homeric corpus—not run τῷ ὑπὸ δουρὶ δαμῆναι ἐν αἰνῇ δῆϊστῆτι on the analogy of E 653, Δ 444, etc.?

If the above reasoning be sound it does not of course prove that the hypothesis outlined in my paper (*Class. Rev.* February, 1905) is correct; but it does, I think, prove that the attempt to base the origin of the use of apostrophe on metrical considerations is unsound, and leaves the way open for some hypothesis which seeks an explanation in the mental attitude implied by the apostrophe.

R. M. HENRY.

BELFAST, January 1, 1906.

COLONUS HIPPIUS.

This expansion of a hint thrown out in 1879 was written several months ago, while I could hope that it might meet the eye of one whose judgment would have had most weight. That hope—with others more important—has been frustrated.

AN old grammarian, in a passage which is appended to the arguments in the Laurentian MS., says that the *Oedipus Coloneus* of Sophocles was produced in 402 B.C., four years after the poet's death, by his grandson. Cicero and others have assumed that this drama was the latest work of Sophocles, and was consequently left unfinished. This assumption is not borne out by internal evidence; nor is it necessarily involved in the tradition—possibly apocryphal, for Satyrus is not a good witness—that the poet defended himself against the charge of incapacity by reading the stasimon *εὐίππου, ξένης*, . . . A reason for the postponement may perhaps be sought in the political circumstances of the time.

The special meeting of the Ecclesia by which the Council of the 400 was instituted

was held by the arrangement of Peisander and the other oligarchs in the precinct of Poseidon at Colonus (Thuc. viii. 67 § 4). They probably sacrificed at the very altar which is consecrated by Theseus in the play. This happened in the April or May of 411 B.C. (Ar. *Ath. Pol.* c 32 § 21 with Sandys' note). Sophocles was then in his eighty-fourth year.

The importance of locality in connexion with politics appears repeatedly in Athenian history. In the time of Peisistratus, the men of the shore (*παραλοί*) and the inland men (*πεδειαίς*) represented severally the democratic and the aristocratic parties. Thucydides says of the Parali in the time of the 30 (viii. 73 § 5) that they were hotly opposed to oligarchy, even where there was no such thing.

Now the epithet *Hippius* has been variously explained. But Pierecrates the Comic poet, as quoted by the grammarian aforesaid, distinctly speaks of the deme Colonus as *ὁ τῶν ἱππέων*. And if the suburb was in some special sense the quarter of the *Knights*,

it would certainly be better suited than the Phyx for the purpose of the oligarchical conspirators. The Knights in Aristophanes are the declared enemies of Cleon, and Aristotle says that amongst them were many of those who were most opposed to the return of the exiles from Phyle (*Ath. Pol.* 38 § 2).

Poseidon giver of the steed and Athena Hippias are celebrated in *Oed. Col.* 712-5, 1070-3; and in Aristophanes (*Eq.* 551 f., 581 f.), the Knights invoke Poseidon of the chariot-race and Athena Nicephorus (Cimon's goddess). The eponymus of the deme is spoken of as a horseman and was probably represented by an equestrian statue (τόνδ' ἱππότην Κολωνόν *Oed. Col.* 59). The men of Theseus are mounted (ἄμβασις l. 1070). It is hardly a forced supposition that those who honoured Colonus by frequenting it (ll. 62, 3) were of the equestrian order, and that, as Peiræus answers to the Faubourg St. Antoine, so, in times of revolution or reaction, Colonus was a sort of Faubourg St. Germain.

A curious instance of the bearing of local on political associations occurs in [Lys.] 20 § 12, when it appears that to be of the same deme with Phrynichus the promoter of the 400 might injure a man's reputation with the democracy.

It has been observed by the Scholiast (on *Oed. Col.* 668) and others that the aged poet must have had peculiar pleasure in celebrating his birthplace. And this may well have been. But such a motive scarcely affords sufficient justification for a piece to be produced publicly at the Dionysiac festival. And it certainly invites remark that in a drama manifestly appealing to Athenian patriotism parochial sanctities have taken the place of those which were national. In the sacred place of the Eumenides beneath the Areopagus, there was a grave of Oedipus (Paus. i. 28 § 7). Sanctuaries of Athena Polias and of Poseidon were in the Erechtheum. The great goddesses were worshipped not only in Eleusis but at the Eleusinion, not only in the greater mysteries but in the Thesmophoria. These sanctities of the ancient πόλις are all ignored. Dionysus and Aphrodite haunt the grove (ll. 679, 693), but there is no thought of their holy places on the southern slope of the Acropolis. Even the olive tree watched over by Athena and Zeus, is the stock of the μοριάι whose place was near Colonus (*Ar. Nub.* 1005).

It would seem as if the poet had some deliberate purpose in thus localizing Athenian religion, and in representing the rock of Colonus rather than that of the Acropolis as

the foundation of Athenian power (ἐρείσμι' Ἀθηνῶν, l. 58).

That Sophocles sympathized with moderate oligarchy is easy to believe, without identifying him with the person of that name who was one of the probuli, or with the author of the saying quoted by Aristotle (*Rhet.* 3, 118), that the constitution of 411 B.C. was the best in a choice of evils. Euripides, in *Suppl.* 403-408, had represented Theseus as the first citizen in a democracy. In the *Oedipus Coloneus* he is described as an autocratic ruler, whose word is law (ll. 366-9).

It is conceivable, then, that Peisander, Antiphon and the rest may have taken the octogenarian poet into their confidence, as knowing that

‘His silver hairs

Would purchase them a good opinion’ :—

and that, in preparing this drama, foreseeing that Colonus would be the place of assembly, he may have sought, by celebrating the deities of Colonus, to sanctify their act. But the best laid schemes ‘gang aft agley’; and revolutions are not made *per saltum*, as has lately been seen in Russia. The great meeting may have been somehow delayed. The conspirators may have waited till they could make sure of the πρωτατεύουσα φυλή, who had the right of appointing the place for a session of Council (*Ar. Ath. Pol.* 43 § 3) and possibly also for the meeting of an ἐκκλησία ῥητή. During the previous months the condition of Athens must have been one ‘of danger and distraction’ (Grote, c. 63), and it would be obviously unsafe while things were still unsettled—ἐτι οἰδεύοντων τῶν πρηγμάτων—to produce in March at the Dionysia a drama betraying oligarchic tendencies, or to prejudice the plan of the conspiracy by prematurely emphasizing the sacredness of Colonus. The Dionysiac theatre was neutral ground, and was accordingly chosen afterwards for the place of the ἐκκλησία ῥητή περὶ ὁμονοίας (Thuc. viii. 93 § 3).

It follows that in this case the intended production of the *Oedipus Coloneus* would be a *coup manqué*. And after the fall of the 400 in the same year no opportunity would be found for its revival until the poet's name had been consecrated by his death, and political excitements had been abated by the amnesty.

It may be objected that the above conjecture detracts from the ideal beauty of the *Oedipus Coloneus* as a work of art. But the grandeur of Aeschylus' *Eumenides* is not diminished by the manifest political references to the Areopagus and to the

Argive alliance. Nor is the tragedy of *Macbeth* less admirable because of the pointed allusions to James I.'s accession and to the Union of the Crowns. And if it is thought that on such an occasion even Sophocles would have alluded more dis-

tinctly to political circumstances, such passages may have been excised in the posthumous production. Compare, however, *Il.* 1536, ἡ θεοὶ γὰρ . . . τραπῇ, with *Eum.* 688—690 αὐτῶν πολιτῶν . . . ποτόν.

L. CAMPBELL.

ADVERSARIA.

1. M 211:

Ἔκτορ, αἶν μὲν πῶς μοι ἐπιπλήσσεις ἀγορήσιν
ἑσθλά φραζομένῳ, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδὲ εἴκοι
δῆμον ἰόντα παρὲς ἀγορεύειν, οὐτ' ἐνὶ βουλῇ
οὔτε ποτ' ἐν πολέμῳ, σὸν δὲ κράτος αἰὲν ἀέξειν.

THE ancients took δῆμον in line 213 to = δημότην, and there is no trace of another interpretation. But δῆμον cannot be an epithet, and no one would wish to adopt Bentley's δήμον even if the sense were good. Polydamas is in no sense *peuple*: he was no Thersites, but the wisest of Trojans and the only one who stood up to Hector. We seem to require some epithet in this sense, and it is singular that no one should have thought of writing δῆμον' ἰόντα: From an adj. δήμων, ἀδμήμονειν will have been formed like ἀννημονεῖν from μνήμων.¹ Δήμων, which I suppose may be formed from the root of δέδαιε, etc., will mean 'knowing, prudent,' much like δαίφρων and δαίμων. We may find it in the names Δήμων, Δημάδης, Δάμων, Ἰπποδάμιος, etc. (Fick-Bechtel, *Personennamen* p. 90).

2. Homeric Hymn to Hermes 457:

Ἴζε πέπον καὶ θυμὸν ἔπαινει πρεσβυτέροισιν
says Apollo to Hermes. The difficulty in the way of Ruhnken's usually received alteration μῦθον ἔπαινει is that hitherto there has been no example of the construction ἔπαινεῖν τινί τι. As on the other hand ἰαίνειν is idiomatic in this construction I endeavoured *J.H.S.* 17. 265 after Schneidewin to introduce ἐπαινεῖν or ἐπαινείν. This involved a new word, and a synizesis. I can now produce an instance of ἔπαινεῖν with the required construction. *Odyssey* σ 167

μὴ πάντα μνηστῆρσιν ἱπερφαλίσειν ὀμιλεῖν,
some seven MSS. read ἔπαινεῖν for ὀμιλεῖν, and it is a variant in three more. This is

¹ Καὶ τὸ ἀδμήμονειν δέ. οὗ πρωτότυπον ἀδμήμονος says Eustath. 833, 15, and 1721, 59, where he calls it an ἀρρητον ὄνομα. But it is read in Hippocr. *Epid.* i. 18 by one MS., and the Galenian text (Kühlewein).

enough evidence to establish ἔπαινεῖν as an ancient variant; and to turn the scale in favour of Ruhnken. The line will then be the equivalent of Δ 412:

τέττα, σιωπῇ ἦσο, ἐμῷ δ' ἐπιπέθειτο μύθῳ,
and in fact after this initial self-assertion we find Hermes an easy-going and serviceable God.

For ἔπαινεῖν with the simple dat. of the person there is more evidence than appears in the *Lexica*: see Meisterhans 172. 37.

3. *H. hom.* xxxi. 9:

σμερνὸν δ' ὅγε δέρκεται ὄσσοις
χρυσῆς ἐκ κόρυθος, λαμπραὶ δ' ἀκτίνες ἀπ'
αὐτοῦ
αἰγλῇεν στύλβουσι, παρὰ κροτάφων τε παρειαί
λαμπραὶ ἀπὸ κρατὸς χαρίεν κατέχουσι πρόσ-
ωπον.

Hitherto no authority has been found for παρειαί in the sense of 'cheek-pieces,' though the use is implied in the Homeric epithet κόρυθος or κινῆς χαλκοπαρῆον. However inscriptions (*C.I.A.* ii. pt. ii. nos. 676. 40, 701 col. 2. 60, 703. 11.) come to our aid with such phrases as κρανίδιον μί[κρον . . .] παρειας χρυσ[ας ἐχον], κραν. μικρον . . . παρειας οὐκ ἐχον. The Latins accepted *buccula*. Pierson's and Matthiae's conjecture τ' ἐθειραι for παρειαί is badly left.

4. Euripides, *I.T.* 378:

ὦ πλήμον, εἰ τέθηγκας, ἐξ οἷων κακῶν
ῥρρεῖς Ὀρέστα καὶ πατὴρς ζηλωμάτων.

'Poor boy, if thou art dead, what an evil emulation of thy father hast thou escaped,' says Iphigenia to her brother. That is, Agamemnon was hard to beat for wickedness, but as you are dead the hereditary tendency cannot work in you. Καλῶν (Reiske and Murray) is unnecessary for κακῶν and in any case must be ironical.—The only sense of ζήλωμα in the good period is active, 'rivalry, envy,' not 'things envied,' as Mr. England translates and says Iphigenia is thinking of the royal dignity of the house

of Pelops. She is thinking of Agamemnon's false character.

Ib. 1010 :

ἄξω δέ γ', ἥνπερ καὐτὸς ἐντανθοῖ πέσω,
πρὸς οἶκον, ἧ σοῦ κατθανὼν μὲνῶ μέτα.

Apparently a contradiction in terms : 'though I fall here, I will take thee home ;—or, we will die together.' Markland attempted *μαυτός* sc. *μὴ αὐτός* for *καυτός* and Hermann with even less probability *περῶ* for *πέσω* (adopted by Mr. Murray). It seems unlikely that an original *περῶ* should have given place to *πέσω* which causes such difficulty.

I have long thought that the solution lies in the sense we give to *ἄξω*. We are accustomed to translate *ἄγειν* 'convey in the direction of the speaker,' to bring, not to send ; but there is no etymological necessity for such a limitation and various passages give the more general sense of 'convey.' In the first place the compounds are common in this signification : *ἐξαγαγεῖν* in prose is to 'eject, let out' : Dem. xlv. 32, 33, lv. 17, Plato, *Crito* 45 A, Herod. ii. 56, iii. 138 al., *ἀναγαγεῖν* to 'restore, send back' Dem. xlv. 81. In verse too the compounds have this sense : Φ 237 the v. l. *ἐξήγε* = *ἐκβαλλε*, *ἐξαγαγεῖν* v 21, h. Dem. 349, if we follow the MS. *ἀνάξομεν* σ 115 = *πέμψομεν* *ib.* 84 and φ 309, cf. σ 147 *ὑπεξαγάγοι*, 278 *ἀπάγονσι*. τ 435 *ἐπακτῆρες* and 445 *ἐπάγοντες* 'beaters' who do not bring but send.

The simple verb is rarer as = *πέμπειν*, but the exx. are clear. Plato, *Crito* 51 B *σέβεσθαι* δεῖ πατρίδα—*ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντα* . . . *εἰάν τε εἰς πόλεμον ἄγῃ τρωθησόμενον ἢ ἀποθανοῦμενον*. A country sends her sons to war. A more prosaic instance : *C.I.A.* ii. pt. 1,

no. 814, frag. αβ v. 27 *οτι [καί] ἐκ τοῦ ιε[ρου τοῦ Α]πολλωνος τοῦ Δηλίου ἦγον τοὺς ἀμφικτυνας καὶ ἐτυ[πτον]* : the outrage consisted in driving the *Amphictyones* out with blows. In the middle Ξ 91 *μῦθον ὃν οὐ κεν ἀνὴρ γε διὰ στόμα πάμπαν ἀγοίτο* ; a man sends out his speech. ρ 218 is neutral.

In this play *ἄξει* 1131 is ambiguous, though Paley found it necessary to write *πέμψει* for it ; but 1352 *ἦγον διὰ χερῶν πρυμνήσια*, of Orestes' crew, can only mean 'passed, ran,' the ropes through their hands, that is away from them, to let down the ladder.

A few lines before (1001) *Iphigenia* uses the word where she clearly contemplates accompanying Orestes ; but if the word in itself, as I contend, was neutral, there is no reason why Orestes may not repeat it in a sentence the purport of which is different. 'If you could carry off the idol and convey me home, both together, that were well.' 'Convey you, yes I will, though I fall.'

5. Aristophanes, *Knights* 536 :

θεῖσθαι λιπαρὸν παρὰ τῷ Διονύσῳ.

Elmsley's *Διονύσου* should not, as it does, stand in all the texts. *Eccl.* 682 and *Lysistr.* 633. 4 (in Blaydes) are enough to shew that the *statuë* may stand for the statue, and an analogous use is Aesch. *in Tim.* 101 *ἐργαστήρια* . . . *ἐν μὲν ἐν Αἰδῶνι, ἕτερον δ' ἐπὶ Θρασύλλῳ* ; schol. Ἀττικῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ πρὸς τῷ Θρασύλλῳ μνήματι. Paus. ii. 23 *ἐντεύθεν* . . . *ναὸς ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ Διονύσου* . . . (§ 2) *τοῦ Διονύσου δὲ ἐγγυτάτω οἰκίαν ὄψει τῇν Ἀδράστων*. There must be other examples of so natural an usage.

T. W. ALLEN.

PLATONICA.—VII.

(Continued from Vol. XVIII. p. 435.)

THE LAWS.

At some future time I hope to make further contributions to the criticism of the *Laws*, especially the later books. But it is rather dull reading, and, until Mr. Burnet edits them, we have no good text of the books in question. Meantime I offer a few suggestions, mainly on the earlier half.

628 B *πότερα δὲ ἀπολομένων αὐ τῶν ἐτέρων*

[*εἰρήνην τῆς στάσεως γενέσθαι*], *νικησάντων δὲ ποτέρων δέξαιτ' ἂν τις μᾶλλον ἢ κ.τ.λ.* ;

εἰρήνην-γενέσθαι is bracketed by Schanz after Badham, and I am not now concerned with it. What I would ask is whether the use of *ποτέρων* in the second half of the antithesis is a natural one, and whether it should not change places with *τῶν ἐτέρων*. It means of course *one side*, and this expression would naturally come in the first of the

two clauses. Also the *αὐ* seems to me hardly justified, and I would suggest *ἄν*.

633 A καὶ σέ δέ for καὶ σέ τε? Cf. 637 C καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν δέ.

ib. C καὶ ἄνεν θεραπεύοντων αὐτοῖς ἑαυτῶν διακοινοῦνται.

This, which is the ordinary text, seems to me, I confess, bad Greek. Ast's αὐτοῖς αὐτῶν is much better, but I should prefer αὐτῶν ἑαυτοῖς. The terminations, as sometimes happens, have got interchanged. So for instance in Plutarch *Morals* 844 B ὅν τινες . . . αὐτῶ has long been corrected to ὅ τινες . . . αὐτόν, and *Lives* 670 C αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίους to αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίους.

640 D μεθύνοντων γὰρ μεθύων καὶ <νέων> νέος ἄρχων?

ib. E ἣ οὐ ξυννοεῖς τοῦθ' ὅτι μεθύων κυβερνήτης καὶ πᾶς παντὸς ἄρχων ἀνατρέπει πάντα . . . ὅ τι ποτ' εἶη τὸ κυβερνώμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

ἀνατρέπει should be ἀνατρέψει. Otherwise the optative εἶη would be wrong. Even with the future it is slightly irregular, but due to the fact that the future is almost convertible with ἀνατρέποι ἄν, and this sort of irregularity is common enough (optative and future in protasis and apodosis).

645 D ΚΑ. πρὸς τί δέ σκοπούμενος αὐτὸ ἐπανερωτᾷς;
ΑΘ. οὐδέν πω πρὸς ὅτι.

There is surely some verb lost before πρὸς ὅτι, e.g. ἐστὶ ὁ οἶδα.

646 E φοβούμεθα πολλάκις δόξαν, ἡγούμενοι δοξάζεσθαι κακοί.

Stephanus was, I think, right in principle in demanding δοξασθῆναι like γενήσεσθαι just before. But δοξάζεσθαι <ἄν> will do just as well. In 648 E editors now add ἄν to σωφρονοῖ.

656 C νόμοι . . . <περὶ> τὴν περὶ τὰς Μούσας παιδείαν.

So Schanz. But for more than one reason νόμοι . . . τῆς . . . παιδείας would seem preferable. Cf. 684 A κατὰ νόμους οὓς ζήντο τοῦ τε ἄρχεν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. The dative would also be possible, going in a causal sense with ἐξέσσεσθαι.

657 A τῶν νῦν δεδομιουργημένων οὔτε τι καλλίονα οὔτε αἰσχύν, τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ τέχνην ἀπειργασμένα.

Read τῇ αὐτῇ δὲ τέχνῃ.

ib. C τὴν τῇ μουσικῇ καὶ τῇ παιδιᾷ χρεῖαν.

χρεῖα is not verbal enough to take a direct dative. Read τῆς μουσικῆς καὶ τῆς παιδείας. In 667 C Schanz has corrected τί δέ τῇ . . . ἐργασία to τῆς . . . ἐργασίας.

658 A, B In this very imperfect sentence it seems to me that an infinitive, governed by προείποι and parallel to ἥκειν, has been lost after γεγονέναι. I suggest the insertion there of στεφανωθῆναι.

661 C Probably ταῦτά for ταῦτα. Cf. 660 A. In 838 C the same change is probable.

663 C τὴν δ' ἀλήθειαν τῆς κρίσεως ποτέραν κυρωτέραν εἶναι φῶμεν; τὴν τῆς χείρονος ψυχῆς ἢ τὴν τῆς βελτίονος;

Is not the sense of these words as they stand somewhat absurd? They imply that both the inconsistent judgments are true, but that one truth is more authoritative than the other. It is most likely that an exchange of terminations has taken place, such as is spoken of above at 633 C, and that we should read τὴν δὲ κρίσιν τῆς ἀληθείας; but other forms of words are possible, e.g. τῆς δ' ἀληθείας τῶν κρίσεων.

665 A ὁ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῶν Μουσῶν χορὸς εἴρηται, τὸν δὲ τρίτον κ.τ.λ.

Can we dispense with ὁ before τῶν Μουσῶν? Cf. 634 A ὁ Διὸς οἶν δὴ καὶ ὁ Πιθικὸς νομοθέτης οὐ . . . νανομοθέτηκατον.

666 B Διόνυσον παρακαλεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τελετὴν ἅμα καὶ παιδιάν, ἣν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπικούρου τῆς τοῦ γήρως αὐστηρότητος ἐδωρήκατο τὸν οἶνον φάρμακον.

I do not know if Schanz, who prints the passage thus, agrees with Stallbaum, who puts commas before and after τὸν οἶνον, explaining that those words are in apposition to ἦν. Such a view seems quite untenable. Read ἥς and the construction at once becomes easy. Cf. on 656 C and 736 A.

667 C ἦν δὲ ὀρθότητά τε καὶ ὠφελίαν (προσείποιμεν ἄν, as to what we should call rightness and utility), ὅπερ ὑγιεινὸν τῶν προσφερομένων λέγομεν ἐκάστοτε, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ εἶναι ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ ὀρθότατον.

Schanz marks τὸ ὀρθότατον as wrong, and Badham actually conjectured something like τὸ παρεχόμενον, governing ὀρθότητα and ὠφελίαν. τὸ ὀρθότατον is indeed wrong, but only in that it ought not to stand alone. It is abundantly evident that Plato must have written τὸ ὠφελιμώτατον καὶ τὸ ὀρθότατον

(or καὶ τὸ ὁ. καὶ τὸ ὦ.). The two things are coupled together throughout.

669 D γέλωτ' ἂν παρασκευάζοιεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅσους φησὶν Ὀρφεὺς λαχεῖν ὦραν τῆς τέριψος.

The meaning is 'to those men who' etc. Hence Badham proposed <τοῖς> τῶν ἀνθρώπων. The simple dative ὅσους (governed of course by λαχεῖν, of which ὦραν would then be the subject) would have the same effect.

671 D καὶ εἰσὶόντι τῷ μὴ καλῷ θάρρει τὸν κάλλιστον διαμαχόμενον φόβον εἰσπέρπει.

We need the future participle διαμαχοῦμενον to fight against proud thoughts.

679 D πρὸς τε τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας καὶ πρὸς τὰς πολεμικάς, ὅσαι τε πέζαι καὶ ὅσαι κατὰ θάλατταν γίγνονται τὰ νῦν, καὶ ὅσαι δὴ κατὰ πόλιν μόνον αὐτοῦ, δίκαι καὶ στάσεις λεγόμεναι.

Stallbaum, putting the comma before αὐτοῦ, takes it apparently as *there* (*in singulis tantum civitatibus ubi lites et seditiones vocatae* etc.), which with λεγόμεναι it certainly could not mean. This is the mistake about αὐτοῦ which is only too common.

In Schanz' text above κατὰ πόλιν αὐτοῦ *in the city itself* is I suppose contrasted with the idea of war, and this may be right. But, as the expression is a little unusual, we might consider whether αὐτοῦ has not taken the place of αὐ. Ritter suggests αὐτῶν.

684 E ἐπαρῶται γῆς ἀναδασμούς εἰσηγούμενον. εἰσηγούμενῳ? An accusative can hardly stand.

686 D τὸ δὲ νῦν γε ἡμεῖς τάχ' ἂν ἴσως . . . οὐτ' ὀρθῶς διανοοίμεθα οὔτε κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντες πάντα, περὶ ὧν ἂν οὕτω διανοηθῶσιν.

The context makes it very probable that the optative is wrong, the present indicative being what we want, and this is, I think, confirmed by περὶ ὧν ἂν διανοηθῶσιν, which ought to be optative if the main verb is so. We ought then probably to read διανοοίμεθα and to add this to the Platonic instances of τάχ' ἂν used as a phrase = simple τάχα (Goodwin, *M.T.* 244), cf. 629 A: *Phaedr.* 265 b and probably 256 b c: *Soph.* 255 c: [Ep.] 2. 313 b.

692 b μετριάσαι must be μετριάσειν or have an ἂν added. The existing ἂν goes with ῥήθησαν.

695 C Δαρεῖος . . . ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὴν ἐβδομος διείλετο ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη τεμόμενος.

Do we not need ἐβδομος <αὐτός>? Cf. 751 E κατοικεῖν δέκατος αὐτός. The phrase does not necessarily imply a premier position.

700 E εἴτε βελτίων εἴτε χείρων ἂν εἴη τις.

There is no place here for ἂν. Read perhaps αὐ or δὴ, consulting Ast's *Lexicon* s.v. εἴτε.

701 E ἐπισκοποῦμεν νυνί, ποτέρα τούτων ὀρθῶς πολιτεύεται.

The question is not which is right, but whether either is. Read ἐπισκοποῦμεν νῦν εἰ ποτέρα.

702 A αὐτῶν γ' ἔνεκα should be τῶν αὐτῶν or τούτων γ' ἔνεκα.

702 B and 730 B read διάγοι for διαγάγοι. In 792 A διαγαγεῖν is more admissible.

705 B συγχωροῦμεν τότε <τε> λέγειν ἡμᾶς ὀρθῶς καὶ τὰ νῦν!

714 D οἷε . . . θήσεσθαι ἐκόντα πρὸς ἄλλο τι πρῶτον τοὺς νόμους ἢ κ.τ.λ.;

For πρῶτον read πρότερον. The confusion occurs from time to time.

719 D ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ μὲν γυνή μοι διαφέρουσα εἴη πλούτῳ καὶ θάπτειν αὐτὴν διακελεύοιτο ἐν τῷ ποιήματι, τὸν ὑπερβάλλοντα ἂν τάφον ἐπαινοῖην, φειδωλὸς δ' αὖ τις καὶ πένης ἀνὴρ τὸν καταδεῖ, μέτρον δὲ οὐσίας ἐκτεμένος καὶ μέτριος αὐτὸς ὢν τὸν αὐτὸν ἂν ἐπαινεῖσαι.

For the impossible ποιήματι, various unsatisfactory proposals have been made. Something like προσήκοντι (προσφόρῳ πρέποντι) μνήματι seems meant.

The speaker passes somewhat awkwardly from what *he* would approve in one case to what in other cases the people themselves would approve, but apparently the text is right in this respect.

τὸν αὐτὸν however seems wrong. By Greek usage it would mean (I think) τὸν καταδεῖ. Probably Plato wrote τοιοῦτον or τὸν τοιοῦτον = μέτριον, a use of τοιοῦτος on which see Riddell's *Digest*, p. 137.

722 A τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἢ ὀλίγων γραμμάτων ποιήσασθαι τὸν λόγον λίαν εὐθες: τὰ γὰρ οἶμαι βέλτιστα, ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ βραχύτατα οὐδὲ τὰ μήκη τιμῶν.

Plato loves variety, but after two superlatives μήκη jars upon one. It is obvious to suggest μήκιστα, but I should rather prefer the unobvious τὰς βραχύτητας. So *Rep.* 400 b μήκη καὶ βραχύτητας προσήπτε. Ast gives a dozen instances of μήκη in Plato.

728 B τὴν γὰρ λεγομένην δίκην τῆς κακουργίας τὴν μεγίστην οὐδεὶς ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν λογίζεται, ἔστιν δ' ἡ μεγίστη τὸ ὁμοιοῦσθαι τοῖς οὖσιν κακοῖς ἀνδράσιν.

This is rather a tenet of Plato's own than a commonplace (λεγόμενην). Indeed in *Theaet.* 176 D it is almost explicitly stated as such: ἀγροῦσι γὰρ ζημίαν ἀδικίας, ὃ δὲ ἡκίστα ἀγορεύειν οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἢν δοκοῦσι κ.τ.λ. May one suggest that a confusion of two words has here taken place, of which examples may be found elsewhere, and that for λεγομένην we ought to read γι(γ)νομένην? The ἔστιν which follows takes up γιγνομένην better than λεγομένην: otherwise we should expect λέγεται δέ, as in 739 C.

There are one or two other passages in the *Laws*, where I rather suspect the same corruption. In 783 A after speaking of three great and over-mastering pleasures the Athenian goes on αὐτὰ δὲ δὴ τρία νοσήματα τρέποντα (or τρέποντας) εἰς τὸ βέλτιστον παρὰ τὸ λεγόμενον ἡδίστον τρισὶ μὲν τοῖς μεγίστοις πειρᾶσθαι κατέχειν, φόβῳ καὶ νόμῳ καὶ τῷ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ, 'turning them away from that which is called pleasantest to the best,' as Jowett rather loosely renders it. παρὰ means of course 'contrary to,' 'ignoring,' etc., but how weak here is λεγόμενον, 'what is called pleasantest.' παρὰ τὸ γιγνόμενον ἡδίστον would be much more forcible as well as candid. Plato quite grants the pleasure: he does not want to throw doubt on it.

Again in 717 A he speaks metaphorically of certain weapons. σκοπὸς μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν οὗτος· βέλη δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ οἷον ἢ τοῖς βέλεσιν ἔφεσις τὰ ποῖ' ἂν λεγόμενα ὀρθότατα φέροιτ' ἂν; Here λεγόμενα makes no sense at all. Ast actually held that λεγόμενα φέροιτ' ἂν = φέρεσθαι λέγουτ' ἂν; Stallbaum weakly translates *si quis de iis mentionem iniiciat*, as though mention of them were a condition of their hitting the mark; Jowett more wisely omits it in his translation altogether. Schanz writes φέρομενα. Let us rather have recourse to a *vera causa* and write γιγνόμενα or γενόμενα. Of course φέροιτ' ἂν is adapted to βέλη only, not to ἔφεσις; but, if the words καὶ . . . ἔφεσις are right, it may be some advantage that γιγνόμενα suits ἔφεσις too.

For the confusion of the two words cf. 671 B, where the MSS. have γιγνομένων, Eusebius λεγομένων: *Rep.* 601 B: *Ar. De Anima* 1. 4. 407 b 29: *Thuc.* 8. 14. 2: *Lys.* 13. 20.

736 A τούτοις (*these men*) ὥς νοσήματι πόλεως ἐμπεφυκότε δι' εὐφημίας ἀπαλλαγὴν

ὄνομα ἀποικίαν τιθέμενος . . . ἐξεπέμψατο (ὁ νομοθέτης).

For ἀπαλλαγὴν, which has no construction, read ἀπαλλαγῆς depending on ὄνομα. Ast suggested the dative, but with τούτοις that would be very awkward. Cf. on 666 n.

737 B ἀνεγκλήτους γὰρ δεῖ οὐσίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατασκευάζεσθαι ἀμῶς γέ πως . . . οἷς ἂν ἢ παλαιὰ ἐγκλήματα πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ὅσοις τοῦ καὶ σμικρὸν μετῇ' οἷς δέ, . . . ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκε κ.τ.λ.

οἷς ἂν ἢ Schanz after Ast. But A has ἢ and no ἂν, though ἂν would need to be repeated, for it can hardly be understood, after ὅσοις. May we not conjecture that ἢ really stands for ἦν and μετῇ for μετῆν, as perhaps in *Frogs* 1163! The imperfect is perfectly in place, for the passage means not simply that there should be no disputes about property, but that, where there used to be such disputes, they should now be terminated (ἀνεγκλήτους . . . κατασκευάζεσθαι). The imperfects are also supported by ἔδωκε, for which with ἦ and μετῇ we might rather expect δέδωκε.

739 C πρώτη . . . πόλις τέ ἐστιν (*the best state*), καὶ πολιτεία καὶ νόμοι ἄριστοι, ὅπου τὸ παλαι λεγόμενον ἂν γίγνηται . . . ὥς ὄντως ἐστὶ κοινὰ τὰ φίλων.

ἂν cannot, I think, stand so far from ὅπου. Read δὴ (which is sometimes associated with λεγόμενος and similar words, e.g. *Gorg.* 514 E τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο, and elsewhere; see Ast's *Lexicon* s.v. λέγω) γίγνηται.

757 C ἔστιν γὰρ δῆπον καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν ἡμῖν αἰετὸν τούτ' αὐτὸ τὸ δίκαιον.

Apparently τὸ δίκαιον is considered to be added here in a sort of explanatory opposition to τὸ πολιτικόν. But this is awkward and obscure. Perhaps the two adjectives have exchanged places, and we should read ἔστιν . . . τὸ δίκαιον . . . τούτ' αὐτὸ τὸ πολιτικόν, *this is political justice*. I do not remember the phrase πολιτικὸν δίκαιον elsewhere in Plato, but it is familiar in the *Ethics*. The same sense might be got less well by omitting τὸ before δίκαιον.

757 D τούτοις παρωνυμίοις χρῆσθαι.

The meaning is *these π.*, e.g. *ισότης* in an unusual sense, not *these as π.* Add therefore τοῖς.

758 B παρέχειν αὐτοῖς φύλακας ἰόντι τέ ποθεν ἄλλοθεν εἴτε καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως ἐτοιμῶς ἐπιτεχεῖν.

Rather ἐτοιμοῦς.

777 A οἱ μὲν πιστεύουσι τε οὐδὲν γένει οἰκετῶν.

Perhaps οὐδὲν <οὐδενὶ> γένει.

778 E μαλθακὴν ἔξιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς . . . εἴωθε ποιεῖν.

εἴωθεν ἐμποιοῦν would be more usual.

781 C ἀγόμενον δέ.

δέ should perhaps be δῆ, and I take it that 797 A should be ἀκούσατε δῆ μου. See 861 E below.

783 B After the last letters of θεοῖς it is possible that ὥς has been lost. It would ease the construction of the genitive.

784 C δέκα τῶν νομοφυλάκων ἐλομένους, οἷς ἂν ἐπιτρέψωσιν οἷδε καὶ τάξωσι, τούτοις ἐμμένειν.

So the vulgate, but A has no καί and τάξωσι is a correction of τάξουσι. Schanz follows Hermann in deleting it, but I should take it as meant (i.e. ἐπιτάξωσι) for a correction of ἐπιτρέψωσι, and as such I think it should be adopted. ἐπιτρέπω is a less natural word than ἐπιτάττω in regard to the authorities, especially in combination with ἐμμένειν.

792 B Add ἂν to ἀπεργάζεσθαι. This is in itself necessary, and the ἂν in the answer confirms it. Cf. 812 B, where ἂν has been inserted.

796 D ἦν <οῦν> εἶπον γυμναστικήν?

814 A <τοῦ> τοὺς φυλάξοντας παῖδας . . . ἱκανοὺς εἶναι?

As the text stands, there is no construction for the infinitive. τοῦ occurs in this use in 816 E.

816 E ἄνευ γελοίων τὰ σπονδαῖα . . . μαθεῖν μὲν οὐ δυνατόν, εἰ μέλλει τις φρόνιμος ἐσεσθαι· ποιεῖν δὲ οὐκ ἂν δυνατόν ἀμφοτέρω.

It would be difficult to find a parallel for the omission of εἷη in the last clause. Passages like *Nubes* 5 are quite different, for there a verb has preceded, and *Alceste* 182 is poetry. I do not however propose to insert εἷη here, but for ἂν to read αὖ.

820 C προβάλλοντα ἀλλήλοις.

ἀλλήλοις cannot go with a singular participle. Read ἀλλοις.

830 B εἴτε τις ἡμῖν συγγενναστῶν συνέβαινε ἀπορία πλείων.

There is no meaning in πλείων. πλείονων must be what Plato wrote.

831 D πράξιν πράττειν ὅσιον τε καὶ ἀνόσιον.

The editors and the dictionaries seem satisfied with ὅσιον, but it needs more than MS. evidence in one passage of a good author to persuade us that ὅσιαν should not be substituted. ἀνόσιον no doubt caused the slip.

834 A διαθεμένους αὖ περὶ τούτων νόμους.

So too with the expression διατίθεσθαι νόμον. Not to mention other authors, Plato in many dialogues has over and over again to speak of laying down laws, and the word is never διατίθεσθαι, but always the simple τίθεσθαι. Which is the more likely, that διαθεμένους is a mistake, or that he for once used the word in a sense it never bears elsewhere either in him or (apparently) in any one else?

ib. B ὥστε τούτου μὲν (the chariot-race) ἀγωνιστὰς οὐκ ἐπιχώριον ἔσται τιθέντας νοῦν μήτε ἔχειν μήτε δοκεῖν κεκτῆσθαι.

No one has made much of οὐκ ἐπιχώριον. I would suggest οὐκ ἐπιχωρίου <όντος>. ἀγῶνα for ἀγωνιστὰς might be thought of, but the corruption is very unlikely.

844 D Write γιγνομένην for γενομένην.

848 B τῷ μὲν τοίνυν τοιούτῳ τῶν μερῶν, τριῶν ὄντων, μηδὲν πλέον ἔχτω.

τῷ τοιούτῳ certainly cannot mean, as Stallbaum and Jowett take it, *such being the case*. That would be ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ. Ἀστ τοῦ τοιούτου with πλέον, *more of such produce*. Possibly τῶν . . . τοιούτων μερῶν, though I confess that τούτων τῶν μερῶν is rather what one would expect.

νέμομεν just above ought, I think, to be νεμοῦμεν. Cf. *Phileb.* 65 B.

854 E τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους παράδειγμα δὴήσει γενόμενος ἀκλεῖς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς τῆς χώρας ὅρους ἀφανισθείς.

Badham omits παράδειγμα. I would rather omit καί, taking the construction to be δὴήσει παράδειγμα γενόμενος, ἀφανισθείς ἀκλεῖς ὑπὲρ . . . ὅρους.

861 D εἰ μὴ τῷ τε ἀκουσίῳ καὶ τῷ ἐκονσίῳ διαφέρετον ἐκάτερον, ἀλλὰ ἄλλῳ τινὶ δῆποτε.

Is it legitimate to attach δῆποτε to τις? Perhaps ἄλλω ᾧτινι δῆποτε.

ib. E μὴ τοίνυν τις . . . οἴηται cannot stand alone in the sense of 'let no one think,' 'I would have no one think,' though the editors and Goodwin *M.T.* 264 seem satisfied with this. Take μὴ as final = ἵνα μὴ, a use that

sometimes occurs in Plato and Xenophon, or as *for fear lest*. The sentence is then a little broken by the interposition of βλάβαι γὰρ . . . ἐκουσίῳ and resumed with σκοπεῖσθε δὴ (not δέ: cf. on 781 c above).

866 D, E The μέν after ἐξαίφνης seems entirely out of place. Put it back a few words to follow θυμῷ at the beginning of the sentence, and we get the regular form θυμῷ μέν, θυμῷ δέ. The ὅσοι after θυμῷ δέ needs an ἄν.

877 B μετὰστασιν εἰς τὴν γείτονα πόλιν.

Why the neighbouring state? Read τινά.

ιβ. E. ὅταν τις ἅμα δυστυχῇ καὶ ἀσεβηθῇ τῶν οἴκων.

Such a passive use of δυστυχῶ seems to me impossible. It is in no way supported by such uses as τὰ δυσ-, εὐ-, ἀτυχηθέντα, any more than τὰ ἁμαρτηθέντα, αἱ ἁμαρτημένοι πολιτεῖαι, etc. would justify ἁμαρτάνομαι *I am wronged*. ἀσεβηθῇ is different, for ἀσεβῶ is sometimes a transitive verb (Aesch. *Eum.* 271 ἢ θεὸν ἢ ξένον τιν' ἀσεβῶν: Lys. (?) 2. 7 τοὺς θεοὺς ἀσεβείσθαι) and the 'house,' like the gods, may be regarded as the object of an impious act, the person or personified thing outraged by it. I would therefore read δυστυχίσῃ καὶ ἀσεβηθῇ. The one form has corrupted the other. In Plut. *Vitae* 1011 πιστεύσαντας is now corrected to πιστευθέντας. In [Arist.] *Physiogn.* 805b 21 τὰ μὲν οὖν κοινὰ τῶν σημείων οὐδὲν ἂν διασαφειῖται τῷ φησιγενωμονοῦντι we should surely read διασαφίσειε, answering to σημαίνειν just before. Polybius 3. 109. 12 ὃν ὑμεῖς αὐτὴν μὴ διαφενεσθῆτε (read διαψεύσητε) is a little different.

880 E. μήτε τῶν ἄνω δείσας θεῶν μῆνιν μήτε τῶν ὑπὸ γῆς τιμωρῶν λεγομένων. τιμωρῶν will be much neater. Indeed with μῆνιν the abstract τιμωρῶν is hardly possible.

881 E προσάπτηται should, judging by the other verbs, be προσάψεται.

885 C ἐπακούσωμεν αὐτῶν πρῶτον ἂ . . . λέγειν μαντεύομαι. μαντεύομαι calls for λέξιν.

889 D Perhaps τῆς πολιτικῆς for τὴν πολιτικὴν (see on 657 c above), but cf. Thuc. 6. 62. 2. If the accusative were right, κοινωνοῦν ought by the rules of grammar to be feminine.

899 A αὐτοῦ δὴ ἄμεινον <ὄν> ταύτην τὴν ψυχὴν . . . θεὸν ἡγεῖσθαι χρεὼν?

913 A μήτ' οὖν τις τῶν ἐμῶν χρημάτων ἄπτοιστο εἰς δύναμιν, μηδ' αὖ κινήσειε μηδὲ τὸ βραχυτάτον ἐμὲ μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς πείθων.

Read <μή> πείθων. That is undoubtedly the sense, and it cannot be got out of the Greek as it stands, for μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς must go with the verb.

924 D Read probably τοῦ ἐπιτηδείου . . . νιοῦ, νυμφίου δέ. The accusative is indefensible, and the change of case is the easiest remedy.

925 D μὴ λανθανέτω . . . ὡς χαλεπῶς . . . προστάττει . . . μὴ δοκεῖ δὲ σκοπεῖν ἂ μυρία . . . γίνεται.

Has it escaped notice that μὴ δοκεῖ is impossible grammar for οὐ δοκεῖ? Read μὴ σκοπεῖν δὲ δοκεῖ, unless δοκεῖ δὲ μὴ σκοπεῖν appears more probable. μὴ cannot be joined with σκοπεῖν, if δοκεῖ comes between. Cf. τοῦτων δὴ μηδὲν φροντίζειν τάχ' ἂν . . . δόξειε following.

929 B εἰ μὲν πείθῃ ὁ πατήρ καὶ συμψήφους λάβῃ.

The aorist λάβῃ points clearly to πείσῃ (cf. on 881 E), and the mistake is common enough. *Epinomis* 989 B is another and clearer case, μηδεὶς ἡμᾶς ποτε πείθῃ, where the present tense is not even good grammar. In Ar. *Eq.* 712 πείσεται is clearly required, and in *Nub.* 1422 ἔπεισε.

944 D οὐ γὰρ δυνατόν ἀνθρώπῳ δρᾶν τοῦναντίον ὡς ποτε θεόν φασι δρᾶσαι.

This might pass for one of the supposed uses of ὡς=ἤ, *than*, of which there are a few (very doubtful), after comparatives. Some editors read ὦν, which is likely enough. But I would rather read τοῦναντίον <ἤ> ὡς, since (1) ἤ ὡς is quite a common phrase, (2) the loss of ἤ may well be due to ν preceding it (NH).

963 D αὐτοῖν must be written αὐτοῖν, if it is to mean ἀλλήλων.

[*Epinomis* 973 C οὐκ ἔσται should be οὐκ ἔστι. The future is not appropriate. *Ibid.* κάλλιστ' ἂν should be κάλλιστα, for ἂν is impossible with ἔλῃ, and cannot be connected with προθυμοῖτο.]

HERBERT RICHARDS.

PLATONICA.

Euthyd. 271 D τούτω δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τῷ σώματι δευσιτάτω ἔστων καὶ μάχῃ ἢ πάντων ἔστι κρατεῖν—ἐν ὅπλοις γὰρ αὐτῷ τε σοφῶ πάνυ μάχεσθαι κτλ.

The clause καὶ μάχῃ . . . κρατεῖν is awkward, and Burnet, after Badham, rejects it; Gifford, however, the latest English editor, attempts to defend it as it stands, but hardly with success. The Bodleian codex omits ἔστι: whence Schanz excises both ἢ and ἔστι, and Madvig conj. μάχῃ ἢ πάντων κρατεῖ. That ἐν ὅπλοις μάχεσθαι was distinguished from παγκρατιάειν is shown by *Gorg.* 456 D: while *Laws* 834 A shows that one could speak of ἡ τοῦ παγκρατίου μάχῃ: similarly *Rep.* 333 E mentions μάχῃ πνικτική. A man might be a good pancratiast (τῷ σώματι δεινός) without being an expert in the other form of μάχῃ, viz. ὀπλιτική (cf. *Rep.* 374 D). Hence, as I suppose, the clause ἐν ὅπλοις κτλ. could hardly follow immediately on τῷ σώματι δειν., so that I should prefer to emend, rather than to expunge, the clause καὶ μάχῃ . . . κρατεῖν. With Schanz, I would delete ἢ as due to dittography: in place of πανΤΟΝ I would write πανΤΟΙΑΙ: and ἔστι I would either omit with the Bodleian, or else write ἐπικρατεῖν. Then μάχῃ παντοία will serve to expand τῷ σώματι (which refers especially to πάλη and πυγμή, *Laws* 795 B), and so prepare the way for the mention of ἐν ὅπλοις μάχεσθαι. In *Phil.* 15 D we find παντοίας . . . μάχης.

Euthyd. 273 A καὶ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον εἰσέρχουσιν τούτω . . . καὶ ἄλλοι μαθηταὶ ἅμα αὖ πολλοὶ ἔμοι δοκεῖν.

αὖ appears in Bodl. but is omitted in T, Vind. Schanz writes αὐτοῖν. αὖ can hardly be right. It might possibly be taken for a fragment of <πά>ν, but more probably for a fragment of <μά>λ' εὖ (cp. *Theaet.* 156 A). It is, indeed, not unlikely that we should omit ἅμα and read simply μαθηταὶ μάλ' εὖ πολλοί—ascribing to μάλα εὖ a derisive force, 'quite a host of them!' The other order, εὖ μάλα, occurs in *Tim.* 22 B.

Euthyd. 290 B οὐδεμία, ἔφη, τῆς θρηνητικῆς αὐτῆς ἐπὶ πλεόν ἔστιν ἢ ὅσον θηρεύσαι καὶ χειρώσασθαι.

Schanz records a long list of emendations, mostly aiming to supply a substantive to οὐδεμία and to remove αὐτῆς. To his list may

be added Dümmler's not over-happy ἀρετή. I think, however, that αὐτῆς may stand, although not exactly in the sense advocated by Gifford ('αὐτῆς marks the distinction between actual "hunting" and the metaphorical hunting of the geometers' etc.), but rather as distinguishing 'hunting' proper from ἡ στρατηγική, which has just been described as θρηνητική τις. If so, it only remains to supply a substantive to οὐδεμία. Badham proposed to insert χρεῖα or ὠφέλεια after αὐτῆς. Heindf.'s δύναιμι is also a suitable word; and ἐργασία (after θρηνητικῆς) might be thought of. But perhaps the likeliest insertion would be ἐπὶ ΠΛΕΟΝ ΕΣΤΙΝ <ΟΝΗCIC> Η ΟCΟΝ.

Euthyd. 293 D τὸ γὰρ λεγόμενον, καλὰ δὲ πάντα λέγεις.

So Bodl., T. But the Scholiast has καλὰ δὲ πάντ' ἄγεις, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀγγέλλεις· ἐπὶ τῶν αἰσια ἀναγγελλόντων. Abresch conj. παταγείς, which Stallb., Badh., and Schanz adopt. Burnet and Gifford, however, retain πάντα λέγεις. I suspect that Plato wrote καλὰ δὲ πάντα ἃ ἄγεις (or ἃ γ'αίς), meaning by ἃ ἄγεις, 'your importations' or 'your foreign wares,' ironically. Cp. *Soph.* 224 A τὸν ἄγοντα καὶ πωλοῦντα: and the emphasis on the foreign origin of the two Sophists in 297 C below, σοφιστῇ ἐκ θαλάττης . . . καταπεπλευκότι. Had it not been for the scholium, one might have conjectured an ironical λαλαγείς, 'you chirrup prettily!' (Another explanation of ἄγεις might be derived from Antiphon fr. 99 (Blass) 'A. δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀληθείας φησί· τοὺς νόμους μεγάλους ἄγοι, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡγοῖτο.)

Meno 76 A ἀνδρὶ πρεσβύτῃ πράγματα προστάττεις ἀποκρίνεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλεις κτλ.

Mr. E. S. Thompson rightly defends προστάττεις against the substitute (παρέχεις) proposed by Cobet and Schanz. It is sufficiently confirmed by such a parallel as *Parm.* 136 D πολὺ ἔργον . . . προστάττεις ὡς τηλικῶδε. But I am still offended by the otiose and clumsy infinitive ἀποκρίνεσθαι. If ever there was a marginal gloss which crept into the text surely this is one. It is a case precisely similar to that in *Phaedo* 115 A where the gloss νεκρὸν λούειν has crept in beside πράγματα παρέχειν, as Vermehren and Hartman have rightly pointed out. Another suspicious, though less certain, instance occurs in *Euthyd.* 288 E (οὐδὲν πλεόν, οὐδ' εἰ

ἄνεν πραγμάτων † καὶ τοῦ ὁρῦνται τὴν γῆν † τὸ πᾶν ἡμῖν χρυσίον γένοιτο), as observed by Hartman.

Meno 78 D πότερον προστιθεῖς τι τούτῳ τῷ πόρῳ, ὃ Μένων, τὸ δικαίως καὶ δίκως, κτλ.

Mr. E. S. Thompson and Burnet (after F) eject τι, and Schanz alters it to πῶ. Why not read ἔτι, either in the sense of *praeterea*, *προσέτι*, or as marking a reference back to 73 D, οὐ προσθήσομεν αὐτόσε τὸ δικαίως?

Meno 80 E ὁρᾷς τοῦτον ὡς ἐριστικὸν λόγον κατάγεις, ὡς οὐκ ἄρα ἔστι κτλ.

Mr. Thompson marks κατάγεις as corrupt, and mentions with approval Buttmann's παράγεις. Certainly κατάγεις cannot well mean 'spin'; but why should it not mean 'bring to land' or 'import'? For the use of λόγος in a nautical metaphor, cp. *Phileb.* 13 D, 14 A: and for the allusion to 'eristic' as an importation (! from Megara), see my note (above) on *Euthyd.* 293 D.

Meno 91 A B ταύτην οὖν τὴν ἀρετὴν σκόπει παρὰ τίνος ἂν πέμποντες αὐτὸν ὀρθῶς πέμπομεν.

Mr. Thompson, after Schanz and Cobet, assumes a lacuna before σκόπει,—to be filled by a word such as κτησόμενον or μαθησόμενον. I suggest that we insert here the words ζητούντα μαθάνειν which Mr. Thompson, following Naber and Schanz, rightly ejects from 90 E.

Meno 94 B ἵνα δὲ μὴ ὀλίγους οἶη καὶ τοὺς φανδοτάτους Ἀθηναίων ἀδυνάτους γεγονέναι τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα, κτλ.

These words, as Mr. Thompson observes, are 'not free from difficulty.' The most probable solution, in my view, is the excision of καὶ . . . Ἀθηναίων, which may have been an adscript characterizing the δύο υἱεῖς of Thucydides mentioned just below—or else the sons of Pericles mentioned just above. Of the various emendations proposed Vermehren's ἢ for καί is the most simple: it would be improved, however, by the insertion of a second ἢ before ὀλίγους.

Phaedo 73 A ἐνὶ μὲν λόγῳ . . . καλλίστῳ, ὅτι ἐρωτώμενοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἕαν τις καλῶς ἐρωτᾷ, αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν πάντα ἃ ἔχει . . . ἔπειτα ἕαν τις ἐπὶ τὰ διαγράμματα ἀγῇ . . . ἐνταῦθα σαφέστατα κατηγορεῖ ὅτι τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει.

Mr. Williamson adopts Heindorf's ἐπεὶ τοι, with the note: 'The MSS. have ἔπειτα, which is retained by some editors, and made to introduce a specially striking instance of the general truth expressed in the earlier clause . . . but it is very doubtful whether

ἔπειτα will bear this meaning.' He does not mention Vermehren's conjecture αἰτίκα, which would more easily carry this meaning. I would suggest, however, that the ἔπειτα clause is not intended to be subordinate in sense, but rather to introduce a second, more convincing (σαφέστατα), form of the λόγος: the process ἐπὶ τὰ διαγρ. αἰεὶν being opposed to, rather than included in, the process καλῶς ἐρωτᾶν. If so, ἔπειτα will bear its normal meaning (= ἔπειτα δέ . . .), and the words which need correction will be ἐνὶ μὲν λόγῳ. This is the more likely as the combination ἐνὶ λόγῳ is elsewhere used regularly in the sense of 'to sum up,' 'in a word' (without an adjective). I would restore, accordingly, πρῶτον μὲν λόγῳ.

Phaedo 84 A ἄλλ' οὕτω λογίσαιτ' ἂν ψυχὴ ἀνδρὸς φιλοσόφου, καὶ οὐκ ἂν οἰηθῇ τὴν μὲν φιλοσοφίαν χρῆναι ἑαυτὴν λύνειν, λυούσης δὲ ἐκείνης αὐτὴν παραδιδόναι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς καὶ λύπαις ἑαυτὴν πάλιν αὖ ἐγκαταδεῖν καὶ ἀνήνυτον ἔργον πράττειν, Πηνελόπης τινὰ ἐναντίως ἰσθὺν μεταχειριζομένης.

Here two questions arise.

In the first place, is not the phrase καὶ ἀνήνυτον ἔργον πράττειν otiose and suspiciously like a gloss explanatory of Penelope's method of weaving? I only wonder that Hartman did not scent it. Secondly, is μεταχειρίζομένης in the right case? Mr. Williamson holds it to be accommodated to Πηνελόπης, and prefers the accusative (in agreement with αὐτήν, sc. τὴν ψυχὴν): Vermehren would write μεταχειριζομένης (in agreement with ταῖς ἡδοναῖς καὶ λύπαις). But the subject of the whole sentence is ψυχὴ in the nominative, and surely it is the soul as subject, and not as object to itself, that would represent a reversed Penelope. Moreover, the participles in the sentence following (παρσκευάζονσα, ἐπομένη, etc.) are all in the nominative. Hence I should prefer to write μεταχειριζομένη regarding *both* the oblique forms given in the codd. as due to accommodation.

[Since writing this note, I find that Burnet, after Peipers, prints -ομένη: but in view of the treatment of the passage by our latest English editor, it may be worth while to reiterate.]

Rep. 376 D ἵνα μὴ ἔωμεν ἱκανὸν λόγον ἢ συχνὸν διεξέωμεν; ἵνα . . . διεξέωμεν in marg. A: om. A ἱκανὸν λόγον ἢ συχνὸν ADM: συχνὸν λόγον ἢ ἱκανὸν F' (Burnet). Teuffel would adopt the latter reading, with the change of μὴ to ἤ: Herwerden proposes ἵνα μὴ ἢ ἔωμεν συχνὸν λόγον ἢ οὐχ ἱκανὸν διεξέ.:

Jackson ἵνα μὴ ἔωμεν ἱκανὸν λόγον ἢ οὐχ ἱκανὸν διεξ. This last is attractive; but I am loth to oust *συχρόν*, in view of οὐκ ἄρα ἀφ' ἑτέρου, οὐδ' εἰ μακροτέρα τυγχάνει οὔσα, and of the fact that Plato is fond of the combination *συχρὸς λόγος* (*Theact.* 185 E, *Gorg.* 465 E, etc.). I venture, therefore, to propose yet another alternative, *viz.* ἵνα μὴ ἔωμεν οὐχ ἱκανὸν λόγον ἢ *συχρόν διεξ.*, 'that we may not leave standing an incomplete argument, nor yet pursue a lengthy one.'

Rep. 387 c ἄλλα οὔσα . . . φρίττειν δὴ ποιεῖ ὥς οἶται τοὺς ἀκούοντας.

Adam follows Hertz in ejecting ὥς οἶται as a gloss. Campbell conjectures ὥς ἑτέα, a word not elsewhere found in Plato, but possible owing to the Homeric echoes in the passage. Perhaps we should read ὥς οἰστέα, and compare *Soph. O.C.* 1360. But even so, the words are probably interpolated.

Rep. 400 E ἐλογία ἄρα . . . καὶ εὐρυθμία εὐθηλα ἀκολουθεῖ, οὐχ ἢ ἄνοιαν οὔσαν ὑποκορίζομενοι καλοῦμεν ὥς εὐθητιαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὥς ἀληθῶς εὖ τε καὶ καλῶς τὸ ἦθος κατεσκευασμένην διάνοιαν.

The words ὥς εὐθητιαν are difficult. Burnet follows Herwerden in obelizing them. Baiter ejects ὥς only, and Cobet would emend it to γυν. Adam, however, attempts to defend the text on the ground that ὥς 'goes with οὔσαν understood,' not with εὐθητιαν directly, the sense being 'which we euphemistically designate as if it were εὐ-ἡθία (. . . in the good sense of the word)'; but this construction does not strike me as at all probable. It seems clear that if εὐθητιαν is to be retained it must be con-

strued in the *bad* sense, in contrast to the clause following. On the other hand, it is an objection to the removal of ὥς εὐθῆ, that it leaves καλοῦμεν rather bare and spoils the symmetry of the sentence. Hence, I am led to the conclusion that εὐθητιαν should be retained and ὥς emended, so as to leave καλοῦμεν with its normal double accusative; and I propose to read καλοῦμεν <εἰμεν> ὥς εὐθητιαν, 'we benevolently term "good-nature,"'

Rep. 560 D μετρίότητα δὲ καὶ κοσμίαν δαπάνην ὥς ἀγροικίαν καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν οὔσαν πείθοντες ὑπερορίζουσι κτλ.

Our latest editors, Burnet and Adam, appear to accept this traditional text without demur. To me πείθοντες is a stone of stumbling. Inasmuch as it has been stated in the context immediately preceding that οἱ ἀλάζωνες λόγοι are already masters of the youth's soul (κατέλαβον τὴν τοῦ νέου τῆς ψυχῆς ἀκρόπολιν 560 B; κάτεσχον τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον 560 C; κρατοῦσι μαχόμενοι 560 D), it should be obvious that πείθοντες is not the appropriate term; for the method pursued by these λόγοι is that of tyrants,—violence rather than persuasion. Moreover, were πείθοντες right, we should expect its object (presumably αὐτὸν or τὸν νέον) to be expressed. Accordingly, I suppose πείθοντες to be corrupt and would substitute for it τιθέντες, which will correspond to the foregoing participles, ὀνομάζοντες and καλοῦντες. Dr. Adam's *Index* will supply Platonic parallels for all the letter-changes involved; and for the construction, τιθέναι ὥς c. *partic.*, cp. *Laus* 860 C, *Phaedo* 100 A, etc.

R. G. BURY.

AN EMENDATION OF ISOCRATES, *PANEGYRIC* 140.

ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐκ τούτων δίκαιόν ἐστι σκοπεῖν τὴν βασιλείῃς δύναμιν, ἐξ ὧν μεθ' ἑκατέρων γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεπολέμῃκεν.

The construction of the second ἐξ ὧν is plain enough, as it stands for ἐκ τούτων αἰ, where αἰ is cognate accusative to πεπολέμῃκεν. But what is the first ἐξ ὧν? If we take it to be for ἐκ τούτων αἰ with αἰ cognate accusative to γέγονεν we get indeed an Isocratean antithesis, but we get also what no one ever heard of, for αἰ γέγονεν implies that one can say ταῦτα βασιλεὺς γέγονεν to mean 'the king has done these things.' If to this it

be said that γέγονεν does not mean *has done* but goes with μεθ' ἑκατέρων, true enough, but then what is αἰ? You can say μεθ' ἑκατέρων γέγονεν, 'he has joined one of the two sides,' you cannot say ταῦτα μεθ' ἑκατέρων γέγονεν, 'he has joined them *in this*.' But again if we take αἰ to be nominative, in the first place we get no sense, for it is no sense to talk of 'exploits which have happened in company with one of the two sides,' when we want 'exploits performed by the king in company with them,' and in the second place it is very doubtful grammar, because the nominative of the relative, despite a very

few instances to the contrary, has no business to be attracted into an oblique case.

Read then γεγινώς, which will give just the sense desiderated. The corruption was

natural enough on account of the perfect indicative following so soon after.

ARTHUR PLATT.

A CORRECTION IN ARISTOTLE, *NICOMACHEAN ETHICS* IV. 1128 A 27.

ἴδοι δ' ἂν τις καὶ ἐκ τῶν κωμωδιῶν τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ τῶν καινῶν τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἦν γελοῖον ἢ αἰσχρολογία, τοῖς δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπόνοια· διαφέρει δ' οὐ μικρὸν ταῦτα πρὸς εἰσχημοσύνην. πότερον οὖν τὸν εὖ σκώπτοντα ὀριστείον τῷ λέγειν μὴ ἀπρεπῇ ἐλευθερίῳ, ἢ τῷ μὴ λυπεῖν τὸν ἀκούοντα ἢ καὶ τέρπειν; ἢ καὶ τό γε τοιοῦτον ἀόριστον; ἄλλο γὰρ ἄλλω μισθόν τε καὶ ἡδύ.

I hesitate to suggest an emendation in a passage where the chief Aristotelians apparently find nothing unacceptible; but I am still unable to see any proper sense for τό γε τοιοῦτον. τὸ τοιοῦτον would be vague and

obscure, but τό γε τοιοῦτον is nonsense. Whether τοιοῦτον is the normal form of the neuter in Aristotle is a question which I leave to Aristotelians to determine; if it be not, there is a further confirmation of the very slight and simple correction which I propose, viz. :—

ἢ καὶ τὸ γελοῖον τῶν ἀορίστων; i.e. 'Is τὸ γελοῖον also to be numbered among τὰ ἀόριστα?'—of which there is no ἐπιστήμη (*An. Prior.* 32. b. 19).

J. S. PHILLIMORE.

AD EPICTETUM.

(Locos citavi secundum Schenkeli editionem maiorem (MDCCCXCIV Teubn.), receptis emendationibus ab editore in supplementis tam huius quam minoris editionis (MDCCCXCVIII) probatis.)

I. 1, 5 τί γάρ ἐστιν ἄλλο τὸ λέγον ὅτι χρυσίον καλόν ἐστιν; αὐτὸ γὰρ οὐ λέγει. δῆλον ὅτι ἡ χρηστικὴ δύναμις ταῖς φαντασίαις.

Verba δῆλον ὅτι et quae sequuntur tam supervacanea sunt—responsio enim repetenda est e 4: ἡ δύναμις ἡ λογική—quam propter ordinem praeposterum suspectanda; desumpta videntur e 12:—καὶ ἀπλῶς τὴν χρηστικὴν ταῖς φαντασίαις. Sic infra, 7: τὴν χρῆσιν τὴν ὀρθὴν ταῖς φαντασίαις incluserim potius quam emendarim (editor coniecit τῶν φαντασιῶν).

I. 2, 36 Ἐπίκτητος κρείσσων Σωκράτους οὐκ ἔσται· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐ χείρων τοῦτο μοι ἱκανόν ἐστιν. (vulgo sine sensu εἰ δὲ μή οὐ χείρων, τοῦτο κτέ.)

Sive cum editore steteris vel cum Reiskio (εἰ δὲ μή <κρείσσων>, οὐ χείρων) vel cum Eltero (εἰ δὲ μήπου χείρων vel εἰ δὲ μόνον οὐ χείρων), multo maior evadet philosophus quam ipse se vult videri; sive cum Richardsio (*Class. Rev.* xix 2 p. 106 sqq. εἰ δὲ μή του

χείρων 'not worse than my neighbour'), multo minor. Accedit quod non in eo videtur versari oratio quantum a Socrate distet ipse (confer tertiam Elteri coniecturam εἰ δὲ μή πολὺ χείρων), sed quid, quatenus Epictetus sit, ut Epictetus possit praestare: hoc enim capitis superscriptio profitetur Πῶς ἂν τις σῶζοι τὸ κατὰ πρόσωπον ἐν παντί. Si suppleris εἰ δὲ μή <Ἐπικτήτ>ου χείρων, lucidiora etiam erunt quae sequuntur sect. 37.

I. 4, 9 'οὗτος', φησίν, ἡδὴ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ δύναται Χρύσιππον ἀναγινώσκειν κτέ.

Sermonem non recte distinxisse videtur Schenk1: magistellus quidam discipulum suum coram Epicteto laudat, tum sic alloquitur laudatum: Εἰ, νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς προκόπτεις. Invehitur deinde Epictetus in magistrum Ἄνθρωπε, ποῖαν προκοπὴν; τί [δ' inclusit editor; in S non extat] ἐμπαίζεις αὐτῷ; τί [δ'] ἀπάγεις αὐτὸν τῆς συναισθήσεως τῶν αὐτοῦ κακῶν; οὐ θέλεις δεῖξαι αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἵνα μάθῃ ποῦ τὴν προκοπὴν ζητῇ; audi quid ego huic adulescentulo dicam: ἐκεῖ ζητήσον αὐτὴν, ταλαίπωρε, κτέ.

I. 4, 24 τί ἐστὶ θάνατος, τί φυγή, τί δεσμωτήριον, τί ἴπποσκωνιον κτέ.

In apographis recte τί κώνειον. Cum neque

νόσος neque τοσοκομείον inter poenas numeratur, editoris coniecturae damnandae videntur.

I. 6, 9 — οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐμφαίνει τὸν τεχνίτην; ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν <οὕτω>· ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη τῆς διανοίας κατασκευή, καθ' ἣν οὐχ ἁπλῶς ὑποπίπτοντες τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς τυποίμεθα ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκλαμβάνομεν τι —, οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἱκανὰ κινήσαι τινὰς καὶ διατρέψαι πρὸς τὸ <μὴ> ἀπολιπεῖν τὸν τεχνίτην;

Pro οὕτω, quod e Stobaeo suppletur, malim οὖν. De μὲν οὖν, quod concedentis est, vide ind. i.v. οὖν, de ἀλλὰ in voce ἀλλὰ (sub D). — <μὴ>, quod a prima manu non est in S, vehementer dubito an intrusum sit ne omni prorsus sensu careret illud ἀπολιπεῖν — nam in consentanea Stobaei lectione (μὴ ἀπολείπειν) non plus auctoritatis est quam in ἐπιπίπτοντες (sect. 7) pro ὑποπίπτοντες —: num forte fuit πρὸς τὸ ἀποβλέπειν <εἰς> τὸν τεχνίτην?

I. 7, 18 Uptoni supplementum tam apte necessarium cum ceteris cohaeret tantoque opere vel per ipsa menda pro genuino commendatur, ut nihil obstare videatur quin in locum suum restituamus, dum emendatius: μὴ μενόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ὅποια παρεχωρήθη, καὶ ἡμῶς πᾶσα ἀνάγκη τῆς παραχωρήσεως ἀφίστασθαι καὶ τοῦ τὸ [ἀν]ἰκόλουθον [τοῖς] αὐτοῖς [λόγοις] προσδέχεσθαι, de sequentibus οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐτι ('neque enim ad nos iam pertinet' Schweigh.) confero iii. 22, 66 τί οὖν σοι καὶ ἐπιχειρεῖν πράγματι τηλικούτῃ; iv. 6, 33 τί γάρ σοι καὶ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν;

I. 9, 17 ὁλίγος ἄρα (I. γὰρ ὁ) χρόνος οὗτος κτέ.

I. 12, 23 'βάλε αὐτὸν εἰς φυλακὴν.' ποῖαν φυλακὴν; ὅπου νῦν ἐστιν. ἄκων γάρ ἐστιν κτέ.

L. ποῖαν φυλακὴν; <φυλακή,> ὅπου νῦν ἐστιν.

I. 12, 24 'σκελὸς οὖν μοι γενέσθαι πεπηρωμένον.'

L. με. Cf. Fragm. V (Schw. 67) πηρωθεῖς — τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὸν ἕτερον.

I. 15, 2 Οὐκ ἐπαγγέλλεται, ἔφη, φιλοσοφία τῶν ἐκτός τι περιποιήσῃ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἔξω τι τῆς ἰδίας ὕλης ἀνέξεται.

L. ἀναδέξεται (suscipiet). Cf. iii. 24, 64 τοσοῦτους πόρους ἀναδέχεσθαι, iii. 22, 67 τίνων γὰρ ἕνεκα ἀναδέξεται (ἂν δέξεται S, corr. editor) ταύτην τὴν διεξαγωγὴν;

I. 15, 5 <'Φέρε μοι ἐκείνον —, σοὶ δὲ — οὐδὲν ἔχω λέγειν <'>.

His, ut et ipsi Philosophiae verbis, virgulas addere oblitus est editor.

I. 15, 7 Οὐδέν, ἔφη, τῶν μεγάλων ἄφνω γίνεται, ὅπου οὐδ' ὁ (I. οὐδέ) βότρυς οὐδέ σῦκον.

I. 15, 8 εἴτα συκῆς μὲν καρπὸς ἄφνω καὶ μὴ ὥρα οὐ τελειοῦται, γνῶμης δ' ἀνθρώπου καρπὸν θέλεις οὕτω δὲ ὀλίγου καὶ εὐκόλως κτήσασθαι; μὴδ' οὖν, ἐγὼ σοι λέγω, προσδόκα.

In codicis lectione μὴδ' ἂν, quod loci sententiae prorsus contrarium est (cf. iii. 26, 7 Μάθε οὖν πρῶτον, τίνα τὰ αἰσχρά ἐστι, καὶ οὕτως ἡμῖν λέγε σεαυτὸν φιλόσοφον. τὸ νῦν δὲ μὴδ' ἂν ἄλλος τις εἴπῃ σε, ἀνέχου), iure offendit editor restituitque illam affirmandi spondendique formulam, qua utitur noster iii. 7, 13 ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σοι λέγω κτέ. Sed — dicam enim quod sentio — non mihi liquet quid sibi velit οὖν, quod supposuit editor: nonne multo melius sola μὴ negatio partes suas ageret? Elterus autem quid senserit rescribens — κτήσασθαι μὴδ', ἂν ἐγὼ σοι λέγω, προσδοκᾷ; haereo: suspicor tamen eum verbo προσδοκᾷ (erwarten) eam sententiam tribuisse quae est in ἐκδέχεσθαι (abwarten). — Confero ea quae praecedunt ἂν μοι νῦν λέγῃς ὅτι 'θέλω σῦκον', ἀποκρινοῦμαι σοι ὅτι χρόνον δεῖ. ἄφες ἀνθήσῃ πρῶτον, εἴτα προβάλη τὸν καρπὸν, εἴτα πεπανήθῃ, et suppleo: μὴδ' ἂν <θος>, ἐγὼ σοι λέγω, προσδόκα.

I. 22, 8 'οὐκοῦν, εἰ με δεῖ ἀποδοῦναι τὴν Χρυσίδα, δεῖ με λαβεῖν ὑμῶν τινος τὸ γέρας,' ὁ δὲ 'τὴν ἐμὴν οὖν λάβεις ἑρωμένην;' 'τὴν σὴν,' 'ἐγὼ οὖν μόνος...' 'ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μόνος μὴ ἔχω;'

Supple 'ἐγὼ οὖν μόνος <μὴ ἔρω>?' coll. i. 28, 23 πότε ἔπαισεν ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς; — ὅτ' ἐπελάθετο ὅτι πάρεστιν οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ ἑρωμένης κατᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ πολεμεῖν, ii. 24, 22 ἔα, ἄνθρωπε, ἐπὶ τί ἐλήλυθας; ἑρωμένης κτησόμενος ἢ πολεμῶν;

I. 22, 11 ποῦ οὖν θῶμεν τὸ ἀγαθόν; ποῖα οὐσία αὐτὸ ἐφαρμόσομεν (-σωμεν); [—] Τῇ ἐφ' ἡμῖν; [—]

Lineolas inclusi; verba sunt Epicteti, non interlocutoris. Item iv. 4, 24 [—] Ἐν πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις; [—]

I. 22, 13 sqq. ἐνδέχεται οὖν βλαπτόμενον καὶ ἀποτυγχάνοντα τῶν ἀγαθῶν εὐδαιμονεῖν; — Οὐκ ἐνδέχεται. — Καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς κοινωνοὺς οἶαν δεῖ ἀναστροφὴν <εἰρεῖν>; καὶ πῶς ἐνδέχεται; — πῶς δ' ἐτι <διαφυλάττειν> δυνήσομαι τὸ πρὸς τὸν Δία καθήκον;

Non opus est sive cum Wolfio διαφυλάττειν, sive cum Uptono τηρεῖν inserere; cum enim ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς κοινωνοὺς ἀναστροφῆς ad τὸ πρὸς τὸν Δία καθήκον pergat oratio, in altera rogatione nullum iam verbum desideratur, dummodo in priore eiusmodi verbum

restituatur quod ad utrumque obiectum referri possit; itaque illic vel φυλάττειν vel διαφυλάττειν vel τηρεῖν (καὶ <τηρεῖν> τὴν π.τ.κ.' οἶαν δεῖ ἀναστροφὴν;) insertum velim, non tamen εἰρεῖν.

I. 23, 3 πῶς οὖν ὑπονοητικοὶ ἔσμεν, οἷς μὴ φυσικὴ ἐστὶ πρὸς τὰ ἔγγονα φιλοστοργία;

Pro ὑπονοητικοὶ Elterus κοινωνικοί, Schweighaeuserus ἐπὶ κοινωνικοί, alii alia. Sed sententia postulat 'qui igitur suspectandi sumus?' i.e. ὑπονοητοί.

I. 25, 18 ἀλλὰ 'μὴ οἶκει ἐν Νικοπόλει.'

Interpungo 'ἀλλὰ μὴ οἶκει ἐ. Ν.' coll. i. 29, 27 'ἀλλ' ἐξέλθε πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς φυλακῆς' sicuti interponxit editor in supplemento.

I. 28, 22 ἔπαισε μεγάλα ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὅτ' ἐπῆλθον <τοῖς> Τρωσὶν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ ὅτε ἐπόρθουν τὴν Τροίαν—;

Audaciori editoris coniecturae τοῖς Τρωσὶν pro φασιν praeferrem quod suspicatus erat C. Schenkl νανσί, nisi plane supervacuum id videretur, vel si perspicuum esset quomodo in vocabulo usu praesertim tritisimo littera ν in φ abiisset. Fortasse in φασιν nihil latet nisi ἐφ' ἄσσαν: de aspiratione cf. i. 12, 2 καθιδίαν pro κατ' ἰδίαν, iii. 22, 84 ἐφίσσης pro ἐπίσης, iv. 7, 35 ἐφέξαιροῦνται pro ἐπ- (supplem. ed. min.); contra ii. 22, 25 ἄλλοτ' pro ἄλλοθ'. Cf. ed. min. p. ix (ann. ad ii. 19, 4 καθ' ἰδίαν).

I. 30, 7 —ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἦν, ἐγὼ δ' ὡς <πρὸς> μεγάλα παρεσκευαζόμεν.

Non inepte quidem in apographis πρὸς inseritur, per exclamationem tamen repetita esse posse quae paulo supra erant dicta 'τί οὕτω μεγάλα καὶ πολλὰ παρεσκευαζόμεθα πρὸς τὸ μῆδεν; quis neget?

II. 1, 25 πῶς οὖν ἐπὶ ὑμῖν πιστεύομεν, ὃ φίλτατοι νομοθέται <'> οὐκ ἐπιτρέπομεν παιδεύεσθαι, εἰ μὴ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις <'>;

Ipsorum νομοθετῶν verba virgulis notavi, cf. supra 22 οὐ γὰρ τοῖς πολλοῖς περὶ τούτων πιστευτέον, οἱ λέγονσι μόνοις ἐξεῖναι παιδεύεσθαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις. De omisso verbo dicendi cf. i. 15, 3 τούτων δ' οὐδὲν ἐπαγγέλλεται φιλοσοφία. 'ἐν πάσῃ περιστάσει τηρήσω τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν κατὰ φύσιν ἔχον', ii. 20, 5 (ubi conferatur annotatio), iii. 10, 5, iii. 22, 10. Sic etiam ii. 20, 16 τῆς φύσεως verba signanda erunt <'> ὅτι γὰρ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦτα —κατήγορος γενοῦ τῶν σαντοῦ δογμάτων<'>. Item iv. 1, 92 οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ποιεῖ ὁ φρόνιμος <'> πολλὰ ληστήρια κτέ.

II. 5, 25 εἰ μὲν ὡς ἀπόλυτον σκοπεῖς, κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶ ζῆσαι μέχρι γήρως, πλουτεῖν, NO. CLXXIV. VOL. XX.

ὀφθαλμῶν. εἰ δ' ὡς ἀνθρώπον σκοπεῖς καὶ μέρος ὅλου τινός, δι' ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὅλον νῦν μὲν σοι νοσῆσαι καθήκει, νῦν δὲ πλεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύσαι, νῦν δ' ἀπορηθῆναι, πρὸ ὥρας δ' ἔστιν ὅτ' ἀποθανεῖν.

Haud immerito Elterus offendisse videtur in passiva forma ἀπορηθῆναι; itaque is ἀφορισθῆναι suspicatus est. Licet saepius ab Epicteto, dum vitae incommoda computat, νόσος ἀπορία (πενία) θάνατος iungantur, tamen cum nonnumquam etiam ad suum ipsum infortunium, τὴν πῆρῳσιν scilicet, alludat (ii. 10, 5 τῷ νοσεῖν καὶ τῷ ἀποθνήσκειν καὶ τῷ περὶοῦσθαι, iii. 20, 4 ἀπὸ θανάτου γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν (ὠφέληθῆναι); ἀπὸ πηρώσεως γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι; Ench. 32, 3 θάνατος σημαίνεται ἡ πῆρῳσις μέρους τινὸς τοῦ σώματος), libens rescripserim νῦν δὲ πηρωθῆναι. Si quis obiciat ad verbum πλουτεῖν oppositum aliquid desiderari—si omnino in communi et negligentius currenti sermone artificia ista anxie observanda sunt —: in ipso πλεῖν, quod eorum est qui divitias quaerunt, inveniet.

II. 6, 8 τί οὖν ἀντιποιῇ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου; αἰεὶ μεμνημένος ὁ τι σὸν καὶ τί ἀλλότριον [καί] οὐ ταραχθήσῃ.

Non καὶ delendum, sed ὁ τι sanandum fuit: nusquam enim in dissertationibus neque in enchiridio μεμνησθαι cum pronomine interrogativo relativo ὅστις, ὁ τι coniungitur, sed ubique cum directo τίς, τί. Lege αἰεὶ μέμνη[μενο]σο τί σὸν καὶ τί ἀλλότριον, καὶ οὐ ταραχθήσῃ.

II. 7, 9 ἐπ' αὖ ἐπιγ' κληρονομῆσεις', —εὐχарιστοῦμεν αὐτῷ.

Sensit Elterus haec non esse pura puta, scripsitque ἐπ' αὖ <δ'>. Sed ipsum ἐπ' αὖ valde suspectum est, ut nusquam alibi in Epictetis occurrens; quin restituimus illud quod in deliciis habet noster ἐτ' αὖ. De Π=IT cf. i. 19, 25 οἱ τοῦτο pro ὅπου τὸ, ii. 21, 7 τι οὐ=πov. Dubito an etiam iii. 15, 14 'μὴ παρέργως ποτ', ἔφη, 'ἀπὸ Γάλλα κατεσκευάσατο ὅτι προνοεῖ ὁ κόσμος διοικεῖται'; nobilis Corais coniectura, quam non recepissem editorem miror et doleo, μὴ γὰρ ἐγὼ σοί ποτ', in hunc modum refingenda sit: μὴ τί ἄρ' ἐγὼ ποτ' κτέ. Certe σοι additum nolim: scriba enim cum semel a veritatis via deflexit παρεργω scribens, ultimum s de suo addidit.

II. 11, 14 πάντα καλῶς ἔχει τὰ δοκούντα ἅπασι; καὶ πῶς δυνατόν τὰ μαχόμενα καλῶς ἔχειν; οὐκοῦν οὐ πάντα, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἡμῖν δοκούντα. τί μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ Σέροις, τί μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ Αἰγυπτίοις, τί μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ἐμοὶ φαινόμενα ἢ τὰ τῷ δεῖν;

Interpungo οὐκοῦν οὐ πάντα. ἀλλὰ τὰ ἡμῖν δοκοῦντα; De ἀλλά vide ind. (ἀλλά E). Upton, qui ἡμῖν volebat, propter sequens τὰ ἔμοι φαινόμενα iniuria suspectum erat ἡμῖν: per 'nos' enim 'nostrates' in univ-ersum denotantur.

II. 11, 19 Τίς ὑποπέπτωκεν οὐσία περὶ ἧς ζητοῦμεν;—Ἡδονή.—Υπαγε αὐτὴν τῷ κανόνι, βάλε εἰς τὸν ζυγόν.

L. ζητῶμεν. Item. 14, 9 (λοιπὸν ἐφεξῆς τοῦτω ζητῶμεν (Cod. ζητοῦμεν) πῶς ἔσται τοῦτο), sicut infra 10 Coraes correxit ζητῶμεν οἷν τίνα ταῦτα.

II. 11, 22 'Εφ' ἡδονῇ οὖν παρούσῃ ἀξίον ἐπαίρεσθαι;

L. παριούσῃ. Dudum (20) concedebatur οὐκ εἶναι βέβαιον τὴν ἡδονήν.

II. 13, 11 μὴ τι περὶ τοῦ μὴ ψεύδος ὑπολαβεῖν (ἀγωνιῶμεν);—Οὐ· ἐπ' ἔμοι γὰρ ἔστι.—Μὴ τι τοῦ <μὴ> ὁρμηῆσαι παρὰ φύσιν;—Οὐδὲ περὶ τούτου.

<μὴ> inserui. Schweighaeuser volebat περὶ τοῦ [μὴ] ψεύδος ὑπολαβεῖν; sed praestat utrobique per negationem, cf. iv. 10, 2 τίς γὰρ λέγει· πῶς μὴ συγκατατιθῶμαι τῷ ψεύδει; πῶς μὴ ἀπονεύσω ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς; εἰς οὕτως ἡ εὐφροσύνη, ὥστε περὶ τούτων ἀγωνιᾶν, ὑπομνήσω αὐτὸν, ὅτι τί ἀγωνίᾳς; ἐπὶ σοὶ ἔστιν. De περὶ non repetito cf. Ench. 29, 7 (p. 444, vs. 38) τὰ ἔξω (sic plerique codd. pro περὶ τ. ἔ.).

II. 13, 21 'Επὶ τί; οὐχ ὥστε ἐμπείρω διαλέγεσθαι; τὸ δ' ἐμπείρω ἔστιν οὐχὶ εὐκαίρως καὶ ἀσφαλῶς κτέ;

τὸ δ' ἐμπείρω <τί> ἔστιν <;> οὐχὶ εὐκαίρως κτέ? Cf. iii. 1, 25 τὸ δὲ λογικῶς τί ἔστι; φύσει ὁμολογονμένως.

II. 14, 23 Τοιαῦτά ἐστι τὰ ἡμέτερα ὥς ἐν πανηγύρει. τὰ μὲν κτήνη πραθησόμενα ἄγεται καὶ οἱ βόες, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ μὲν ὠνησόμενοι οἱ δὲ πωλήσοντες· ὀλίγοι δὲ τινὲς εἰσιν οἱ κατὰ θέαν ἐρχόμενοι τῆς πανηγύρεως, πῶς τοῦτο γίνεται καὶ διὰ τί καὶ τίνες οἱ τιθέντες τὴν πανηγύριν καὶ ἐπὶ τίνι. (24) οὕτω καὶ ἐνθάδ' ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει ταύτῃ· οἱ μὲν τινες ὥς κτήνη οὐδὲν πλέον πολυπραγμονοῦσι τοῦ χόρτου. ὅσοι γὰρ περὶ κτήσιν καὶ ἀγροῦς καὶ οἰκέτας καὶ ἀρχὰς τινὰς ἀναστρέψουσθε, ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ χόρτος ἔστιν· (25) ὀλίγοι δ' εἰσιν οἱ πανηγυρίζοντες ἀνθρωποὶ φιλοθεάμονες, τί ποτ' οὖν ἔστιν ὁ κόσμος, τίς αὐτὸν διοικεῖ.

Editor (ed. mai. p. xcix) Elterum secutus qui in altera comparationis tripartitae parte (24, 25) unum membrum desiderabat, quo

designarentur illi ὠνησόμενοι et πωλήσοντες (23), pro γὰρ (24) substituere vult δέ, pro χόρτος (24 in fine) φόρτος (ἐμπορία proposuerat Elter). Verum ubi post τοῦ χόρτου continuo subsequitur enuntiatum explicativum quod per γὰρ instituitur eodemque vocabulo χόρτος finitur, illic duplex vitium suspicari vix licebit. Neque est cur suspicemur: revera enim bipertita, non tripartita est comparatio: τὰ κτήνη (23) et homines ὠνησόμενοι et πωλήσοντες prorsus uno ordine habentur: ut illa sic hi 'compelluntur' (ἄγεται), hi designantur per sequentia (24) ὥς κτήνη οὐδὲν πλέον πολυπραγμονοῦσι τοῦ χόρτου, ubi notandum est verbum πολυπραγμονεῖν quod proprium est negotiantium; nam quod additum est ὥς κτήνη, id nos ne inducat: non enim cum verbo potius iungendum est quam cum τοῦ χόρτου. Et qui fieri potest ut distinguatur hic inter infimam plebeculam et locupletiores, quod necesse est si tripartitam statuas comparationem? Hoc non est philosophi.

II. 16, 26 θέλεις οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς παιδίοις ὁμοιωμέν;

L. ὁμοιοῦμεν; Vide ind. i.v. ὁμοιος.

II. 19, 15 μέμνησαι ταύτης τῆς διαίρεσως, ὅταν ψοφήσῃ τὸ ἰστίον καὶ ἀνακρανγάσῃ, ἂν τίς σοι κακόςχολός <πῶς> παραστὰς εἴπῃ 'λέγε μοι——'; (17) ἂν δέ σε [δ] Καῖσαρ μεταπέμψῃται κατηγοροῦμενον, μέμνησαι τῆς διαίρεσως; ἂν τίς σοι εἰσιόντι καὶ ὠχρῶντι, ἅμα καὶ τρέμοντι προσελθὼν εἴπῃ 'τί τρέμεις, ἀνθρώπε; κτέ.'

Interpungo μέμνησαι τῆς διαίρεσως, ἂν τίς σοι εἰσιόντι καὶ ὠχρῶντι ἅμα καὶ τρέμοντι πρ. εἴπῃ—κτέ.; (=15 μέμνησαι ταύτης τῆς διαίρεσως—, ἂν τίς σοι—εἴπῃ κτέ.). Ceterum quod Codicis S lectionem (15) ἀνακρανγάσαντί σοι Gellii auctoritati praetulit Elterus, miror, cum verba ἂν τίς σοι—εἴπῃ eodem munere fungantur quo sequentia (17) ἂν τίς σοι—εἴπῃ, sicuti ὅταν ψοφήσῃ τὸ ἰστίον καὶ ἀνακρανγάσῃ et ἂν δέ σε Καῖσαρ μεταπέμψῃται inter se respondent.

II. 20, 11 τί γὰρ σοὶ καὶ ἡμῖν; τῶν γὰρ προσβάτων σοι μέλει, ὅτι παρέχει ἡμῖν αὐτὰ καρησόμενα καὶ ἀμελχθησόμενα καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον κατακοπήσόμενα <;>

Interrogandi signum addidi.

II. 20, 25—πῶς ἡ δικαιοσύνη οὐδὲν ἔστι, πῶς ἡ αἰδώς μωρία ἔστι, πῶς <ὁ> πατήρ οὐδὲν ἔστι, πῶς ὁ υἱός οὐδὲν ἔστι,
<ὁ> addidi.

II. 21, 15 Εἴτα λέγουσιν 'οἰδὲς ὠφέλειται ἐκ τῆς σχολῆς.' τίς γὰρ ἔρχεται εἰς σχολήν

[, τίς γὰρ] ὡς θεραπευθησόμενος, τίς ὡς παρέξων αὐτοῦ τὰ δόγματα ἐκκαθαρθήσόμενα;

[τίς γὰρ] inclusi: librarii obtutus a σχολῇ αὐτῇ σχολῆς aberravit.

II. 21, 21 'πῶς ἐμὲ οὖν τι ὠφελήκασιν (οἱ συλλογισμοί);' ἀνθρῶπε, μὴ γὰρ ἐπίθου, εἰ σοὶ χρήσιμοι, ἀλλὰ καθόλου;

Interp. μὴ γὰρ ἐπίθου, εἰ σοὶ χρήσιμοι; ἀλλὰ καθόλου. De ἀλλά cf. ii. 23, 7; iii. 4, 9; iv. 1, 162; 5, 13; 8, 23; Ench. c. 30 μὴ τι οὖν πρὸς ἀγαθὸν πατέρα φύσει ὠκειώθης; ἀλλὰ πρὸς πατέρα.

II. 22, 10 βάλε καὶ σοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδίου μέσον ἀγρίδιον καὶ γνώση, πῶς σε (I. σὲ) τὸ παιδίον ταχέως κατορύξει θέλει καὶ σὺ τὸ παιδίον εὖχῃ ἀποθάνειν.

II. 23, 23 Τί οὖν; ἀτιμάζει τις τὰς ἄλλας δυνάμεις; μὴ γένοιτο. λέγει τις μηδεμίαν εἶναι χρεῖαν ἢ προαγωγὴν <πλὴν> τῆς προαιρετικῆς δυνάμεως; μὴ γένοιτο.

Non <πλὴν> erat inserendum—antedidit enim μηδεμίαν, non μηδεμίας—, sed utique Comitum Shaftesburiensis emendatio τῆς φραστικῆς δυνάμεως recipienda.

II. 23, 43—ἀρεσάντός σοι λεξειδίον, ἀρεσάντων θεωρημάτων τινῶν κτέ.

I. θεωρημάτων cf. iii. 5, 15 μὴ τι πρὸς λεξείδια;—Μὴ τι πρὸς θεωρημάτια; et 17 εἰ δέ τις λεξείδια ἦται ἢ θεωρημάτια κτέ.

II. 24, 3 εὖροις ἂν τοὺς μὲν βλαπτομένους τοὺς δ' ὠφελουμένους.

Recte Reiskius εὖροις <δ'> ἂν. Et revera iam Sb supplevit sed per errorem alienissimo loco, 4 ἢ καὶ τούτων εὖροις [δ'] ἂν τοὺς μὲν ὠφελουμένους τοὺς δὲ βλαπτομένους; Cf. iv. 11, 25 τὴν κόμην <ῃ> ubi Sb exhibet ἢ τὴν κόμην.

II. 24, 11 Περὶ τίνος οὖν λέγω πρὸς σε, δεῖξόν μοι. περὶ τίνος ἀκοῦσαι δύνασαι; περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν;

Interp. II. τ. οὖν λέγω πρὸς σε; δεῖξόν μοι, περὶ τίνος ἀκοῦσαι δύνασαι. Cf. 15 δεῖξόν οὖν μοι, τί περὶ αὐτῶν διαλεγόμενός σοι.

II. 24, 16 [—] Κίνησόν μοι προθυμίαν. [—]

Ipsius Epicteti haec esse verba contextus clamat, ideoque inclusi lineolas. Cf. etiam

quae in fine capitis leguntur: ἀλλὰ μόνον δείκνυεσαν αὐτὸν τοῦ ἀκοῦειν καὶ ὅψει πῶς κινήσεις τὸν λέγοντα, ubi quae in apographis sunt addita <ἄξιον ἢ ἐπιτηδεῖον> τοῦ ἀκοῦειν nullam auctoritatis speciem prae se ferunt: videntur esse duae coniecturae in unum conflatae, quibus iure spretis editor cogitat de δυνατὸν vel οἷον τ' pro τοῦ. Tutius videtur δείκνυεσαν αὐτὸν <ἐμπεῖρον> τοῦ ἀκοῦειν (cf. 4 Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὅσοι μὲν ἐμπεῖρος ἀκούουσιν ὠφελοῦνται, ὅσοι δ' ἀπείρος βλάπτονται; et 8 Οὐκοῦν εἰ καὶ τὸ λέγειν ὡς δεῖ τοῦ ἐμπεῖρος ἐστίν, ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἀκοῦειν ὠφελίμως τοῦ ἐμπεῖρος ἐστὶ); de ordine verborum cf. iv. 6, 19 κατασκευάζεις σεαυτὸν ἄξιον τοῦ ἐλεεῖσθαι.

II. 26, 7 ἦδει γὰρ (Σωκράτης) ὑπὸ τίνος λογικῇ ψυχῇ κινεῖται, ζυγῶ ἐπιρρέψει (S ἐπιθρέψει), ἂν τε θέλῃ ἂν τε μὴ. λογικῇ ἡγεμονικῇ δεῖξόν μοι μάχην καὶ ἀποστήσεται κτέ.

Cum neque Corais (ἐπὶ τινὰ ῥέψει) aut Elteri coniecturam (κινεῖται, ζῶον ἐπὶ τί ῥέπει) probavisset, neque editoris lectione ἐπιρρέψει quidquam profici visum esset ceteris scilicet ut erant relictis, cumque non potius corrigendo quam supplendo salutem huic loco afflari debere statuissem—in hunc fere modum: ἦδει γὰρ ὑπὸ τίνος λογικῇ ψυχῇ κινεῖται. ζυγῶ ἐπὶ <θες τι καὶ ῥέψει>, ἂν τε θέλῃ ἂν τε μὴ. λογικῇ ἡγεμονικῇ δεῖξόν μοι μάχην καὶ ἀποστήσεται (nam in rebus ad trutinam pertinentibus ῥέπειν et ἐπιθεῖναι propria sunt vocabula, cf. Poll. 4, 172)—, in eadem fere sententia fuisse iam Uptonum comperi, qui quam apte e Ciceronis Acad. iv. 12 citaverit 'ut enim necesse est lancem in libra ponderibus impositis deprimi, sic animum perspicuis cedere,' neminem fugere potest. Verba autem ipsa quatenus sint quae perierint, utrum ἐπιθες τι an ἐπ. βάρος an quid aliud, quis dicat? Neque multum ad rem, dum sententia constet. Sed non plane negligenda videtur correctio manus posterioris Sb ζυγῶ ἐπειτα ῥέπει, ob id ipsum quod sensu vacua; num forte olim fuit ζυγῶ ἐπιθες <. . . .> ἐπειτα (non καὶ) ῥέπει? De Sb cf. quae supra ad ii. 24, 3 annotavimus.

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(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE EROTICI GRAECI.

ACHILLES TATIUS.

1. 1. 1 Σιδῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πόλις, Ἀσσυρίων ἢ θάλασσα, κ.τ.λ.

The article with *θάλασσα* and with other substantives following shows, what is fairly clear in itself, that we should read <ἡ> πόλις. *θαλάττῃ* absorbed it. So in 1. 8. 4, a very similar sentence, ὁ has disappeared before ὄρμος (Cobet). Cf. also § 2 Εὐρώπῃς ἢ γραφὴ κ.τ.λ.

1. 1. 7 μικρὸν ὑποκεχνηνῖαι τὸ στόμα, ὥσπερ ἀφήσειν ὑπὸ φόβου μέλλονσαι καὶ βοῇν.

Perhaps <φωνῇν> ἀφήσειν or something similar. Otherwise καί is strange.

1. 2. 2 'τὰ ἐμὰ μύθοις ἔοικε.' 'Μὴ κατοκνήσης.' ἔφην. '... ταύτῃ μᾶλλον ἦσιν, εἰ καὶ μύθοις ἔοικε.

ἦσων? ἦσεις?

1. 10. 4 ἐκπλήξεις should be ἐκπλήσσεις. The mistake is far oftener the other way.

Ib. 7. καὶ μὲν προσκαρτερῇ, ἐπίσχες τὴν βίαν. . . . εἰ δὲ μαλθακώτερον ἦδη θέλῃς, κ.τ.λ.

Perhaps εἰ δὲ μαλθακώτερον ἦδη βλέπῃς.

1. 11. 1 φοβοῦμαι μὴ . . . τὸ εὐτύχημα . . . ἐπιτρίψῃ με πρὸς ἔρωτα πλείονα.

ἐπιτρίψῃ, ἐπιτρίψῃ, or ἐπιτρίψῃ?

Ib. 3 θέλω μὲν σοὶ δικάσαι, πάτερ (*give judgment in your favour*), ἀλλ' ἀντίδικον ἔχω χαλεπώτερον.

Surely ἔχεις.

2. 34. 5 τὸ δὲ οἰκρότερον, τὰς χεῖρας ὤρεγέ μοι κ.τ.λ.

7. 3. 8 τὸ δὲ χαλεπώτερον, . . . τοὺς ἑκατὸν χρονοὺς λαβόντες τὸν μὲν ἀφῆκαν κ.τ.λ.

I cannot doubt that these are cases of the common confusion of comparative and superlative terminations (*e.g.* Charito 5. 1. 2 and cf. below on Heliodorus 8. 9). Cf. 2. 23. 1 τὸ δ' οὖν κοινώτατον, προσπεσὼν κατησπαζόμεν: 8. 11. 3 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, οὐδὲ εἶδον τὸ παράπαν κ.τ.λ.: Longus 2. 18 τό τε μάλιστα ἀνακτισόμενον αὐτὸν, φίλημα ἐφίλησε μελιτώδες: Charito 1. 2. 3, etc. The comparative does indeed occur, but with some additional word like *τούτου*: Char. 5. 10. 4 καί, τὸ τούτου χαλεπώτερον, οὐκ οἶδα κ.τ.λ.: 5. 1. 5 καί, τὸ τῆς δουλείας μοι βαρύτερον, ἐφιλήθη.

2. 35. 2 ῥᾶον δ' ἂν εἴποι νῦν ἦτοι ὥς κοινωνὸν ἔρωτος εὐρών.

The puzzling ἦτοι may possibly be only a dittograph of εἴτοι.

2. 37. 2 ἡράσθη <ποτέ Ζεὺς> μεираκίου Φρυγός?

Ib. 6 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἔχει τὸ σῶμα ἐν τοῖς ἀγκαλίσμασιν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς σαρκὶν ὅλως ἐτηρμωσμένον, καὶ πῶς ἐγκείμενον περιβάλλει τὴν ἡδονήν.

Before μὲν I miss a predicative adjective or participle, and again before πῶς an adverb.

3. 8. 5 τῇ λαϊᾷ προβέβληται τὸ κέρας ὠθῶν.

* Probably τὴν λαϊάν. *Frogs* 201 οὐκ οὖν προβάλει τῷ χεῖρε κάκτενεῖς;

3. 16. 3 οὐ τὸν θάνατον οὐδύρομαι σου μόνον . . . ἀλλ' ὅτι ταῦτα σὼν ἀτυχημάτων παίγνια, . . . ἀλλ' ὅτι σε ζῶσαν ἀνέτεμον, . . . ὅτι σου τῆς γαστροῦς τὰ μυστήρια ἐμέρισαν καὶ τὴν ταφὴν κακοδαίμονι βωμῷ καὶ σορῷ.

Correct first ταῦτα to τοιαῦτα: then καὶ τὴν ταφὴν, which makes no sense, to κατὰ τὴν ταφὴν *by way of burial*.

3. 20. 1 ἄμα δέ should perhaps be ἄμα δὴ.

3. 25. 5 ἔοικεν ὁ ὄρνις (the phoenix) ἀποδημῶντι βασιλεῖ καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐ πλανᾶται τὴν Ἥλιον.

Perhaps οὐ πλανᾶται <ζητῶν>, <προσιπάμενος>, or some other participle.

4. 4. 7 ἀνὴρ Ἑλλήν ἐνέθηκε τὴν κεφαλὴν κατὰ μέσσην τοῦ θηρίου τὴν κεφαλὴν: ὁ δὲ ἐλέφας ἐκεχῆναι καὶ περιῆσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐγκείμενον.

A clear case, if there ever was one, of a word accidentally repeated in place of another which was really intended. The second κεφαλὴν is a blunder for γένυν.

4. 15. 2 'μὴ Γοργίας,' εἶπον, '<ὦν> τυγχαίεις'?

5. 3. 8 ἡ δὲ οὔτε ἔστηκεν οὔτε πέπτωκεν ἀλλ' ἐδείκνυτο ῥοπὴν μέλλοντος πτώματος.

Write pluperfects for perfects, as in 6. 3: 8. 3, etc. Xen. Eph. 1. 8. 1 needs the same change.

5. 12. 3 <ἐκέκιν> τὴν ἡμέραν?

6. 1. 3 τὴν ἐσθῆτα ταύτην φύλαττε μνήμην.

Is such a use of μνήμη established? The references in L. and S. prove nothing. Perhaps μνήμα or μνημείον.

6. 3. 4 κόρην ἐωνησάμην . . . χρημά τι κάλους ἀπιστον. οὕτως αὐτὴν πιστεύσεως ἀκούων ὡς ἰδών.

Perhaps αἶν should be added to πιστεύσεως, believe or you may believe. The simple optative is too much of a prayer.

7. 4. 2 ἔργον needs an article.

8. 6. 15 πρὸς ταῦτα παρασκευάσασθε πῶς ἂν αὐτοὶ σχῆτε τύχης.

ὅπως ἂν αὐτοὶ ἔχητε?

8. 9. 12 In τὸν αἰὶον omit τόν.

8. 10. 4 ὑπερθεαίμακα τί τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσε πρίασθαι πρὸς τὴν τοσαύτην σπουδὴν . . . ὁπότερά σε τούτων ἐωνήσατο;

πρίασθαι seems to lack an object. Does not the second sentence suggest that the last letters of ἴσχυσε have absorbed the pronoun, and that we should read ἴσχυσέ <σε> πρίασθαι? For τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσε with infinitive cf. Xen. Eph. 3. 2. 13 τοσοῦτον ἡδυνήθην τὸ σῶμα διασῶσαι.

8. 11. 3 οἷδὲ εἶδον τὸ παράπαν οὔτε ξένον οὔτε πολίτην ἦκειν <βουλόμενον> εἰς ὁμίλιαν?

8. 12. 2 ὥμοσεν αἰὲ παραμενεῖν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἄνδρας ὁμίλιαν <ἂν> φυγεῖν? Or παραμενεῖν?

LONGUS.

Prooem. 1 θέαμα εἶδον κάλλιστον ὧν εἶδον.

The second εἶδον should no doubt be οἶδα. Cf. on 3. 23. 5 below and on Ach. T. 4. 4. 7.

2. 15. 3 ἀνθ' ὧν ἀξιοῦμεν ἄγειν τοῦτον, πονηρὸν ὄντα αἰπόλον, ὃς ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης νέμει τὰς αἶγας ὡς ναύτης.

It is difficult to make any sense of the last words. Read ὡς ναύτην and join it with ἄγειν τοῦτον. As he is a bad goatherd, they will take and make a sailor of him.

3. 14. 3 τὸ <τοῦ> ἔρωτος πικρόν?

3. 23. 5 Earth (that is, an echo) μιμείται καὶ αὐτὸν συρίττοντα τὸν Πᾶνα· ὃ δὲ ἀκούσας ἀναπηδᾷ καὶ διώκει . . . οὐκ ἔρων τυχεῖν ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ μαθεῖν τίς ἐστιν ὁ λαιθῶνων μαθητής.

μαθητής is not a very appropriate word. Presumably Longus wrote μιμητής (observe μιμείται just before) and it has been altered under the influence of μαθεῖν. Cf. note above on *Prooem.* 1. ἡῦρεν and ἡρέθη in

4. 25. 3 are perhaps another case of the same thing.

3. 31. 2 ὥμην . . . προσλαβεῖν seems to need the addition of something like δέιν. This is however a moot point in many places. See Buttman's *Midias*, *Exc.* v, Riddell's *Apology* p. 148, etc.

4. 14. 2 Add ὃ (probably before τῶν αἰγῶν) to αἰπόλος.

XENOPHON EPHESIUS.

1. 1. 1 μέγα τι χροῖμα κάλλους οὐτ' ἐν Ἰωϊαίᾳ οὐτ' ἐν ἄλλῃ γῇ πρότερον γενομένου.

Surely γερόμενον.

1. 2. 7 The beautiful Antheia was sometimes mistaken for Artemis, τῶν μὲν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως τὴν θεὸν εἶναι λεγόντων, τῶν δὲ ἄλλην τινὰ ὑπὸ τῆς θεοῦ περιποιημένην (sic).

Should we read ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦ παραποιημένην, a little altered? It is flat, but I do not see how anything with ἄλλην τινὰ can be otherwise. Some larger change may be needed.

1. 6. 2 ἀμφοτέρους μία νοῦσος ἔχει, λύσις ἐνθεν ἀνέστη.

But the λύσις—to mention one objection only—is in the future, and ἀνέστη can not refer to the future. Perhaps we may put a full stop after ἔχει and make νοῦσος the subject of ἀνέστη. 'Its source will be its cure,' i.e. love.

1. 9. 8 ὑμεῖς αἰὲ βλέπετε ταῦτά, not ταῦτα

2. 11. 5 δέομαι σοῦ . . . , ἂν ἀποκτείνης, καὶ ὀλίγον θάψον με κ.τ.λ.

Read perhaps something like καὶ ὀλίγον <χαρίσασθαι>. θάψον με κ.τ.λ.

4. 2. 8 ἡῤῃχετο . . . σῶσαι <τὸν θεόν> αὐτόν?

4. 3. 3 ὃ μεγίστη θεῶν, μέχρι μὲν νῦν ἀγνῇ μένω λογιζομένη σή.

Herod. 3. 95 is the only place cited for the present passive, though perfect and aorist passive are more frequent. Should we read νομιζομένη? Cf. 3. 11. 5 ἱερὰ τῆς Ἰσιῶδος νομιζομένη.

CHARITO.

1. 1. 4 Ἀφροδίτης ἑορτὴ δημοτελής, καὶ πᾶσαι σχεδὸν αἱ γυναῖκες ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸν νεῶν.

Are the first words right without an ἦν?

1. 2. 3 ὁπόσον for πόσον?

1. 7. 1 λέγων πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, 'Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ κιν-
δυνεύω . . . ἐξὸν πλουτῆσαι παρὰ μίᾳς νεκρᾶς.

Should not this be made a question? I have the same doubt about 1. 11. 6 *μόνοι* γὰρ ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἀκούετε τὴν πολυπραγμοσύνην τῶν Ἀθηναίων, and 6. 1. 5 τί δὲ ἂν πάλιν ὀργισθῇ Χαιρέας; πάλιν τάφος.

1. 12. 2 ὥς <ὦν> *μόνος* ληστής?

1. 14. 7 Callirrhoe wishes she had been left in her tomb. She is more lonely now. τίνα δὲ ἐνταῦθα καλέσω; γινώσκεις. τύχη βάσκανε, διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης τῶν ἐμῶν κακῶν οὐκ ἐπληρώθη.

There is no one for γινώσκεις to be addressed to, and it makes no sort of sense. *De corrigendo γινώσκεις alii videant*, says Hercher. When we notice that διὰ γῆς καὶ θ. is rather deficient in construction—for it goes poorly with οὐκ ἐπληρώθη and desiderates a verb of motion—it occurs to us that γινώσκεις perhaps conceals something that will help. Is διώκουσα possible?

3. 4. 3 τίς οἶδεν εἰ χρεῖα γένοιτο καὶ δикаστών;

The simple optative can hardly be right. ἂν may well have fallen out after οἶδεν. This would give us another example of the idiom οὐκ οἶδ' ἂν εἰ, etc. found in a very few places, e.g. Eur. *Alc.* 48: Dem. 45. 7: Isaeus 11. 44: and restored in one or two (e.g. Isaeus 9. 8) by conjecture. See Cobet *N.L.* 586.

3. 5. 6 Chaereas threw himself into the sea, ταχέως δ' ἀπορρίψαντες οἱ ναῦται μολὶς αὐτὸν ἀνεκούφισαν.

ἀπορρίψαντες *corruptum videtur*, says Hercher. Why not understand *their clothes*, as we should with ἀποδύντες?

3. 9. 5 Should not *τίνες εἰσὶν* be ἦσαν, as in 2?

Ib. 11 καθάπερ οὖν νέφος ἢ σκότος ἀπεκά-
λυψε τῆς ψυχῆς Διονύσιον.

Hercher pronounces this corrupt in a way that might suggest its being almost hopeless. There may no doubt be something more deeply wrong with the passage, but it will give a quite fair sense, if we simply read Διονυσίου, 'he removed as it were a cloud or darkness from the mind of Dionysius.'

3. 10. 1 προστάξας δὲ Φωκᾶν . . . διηγέσθαι.

Surely the accusative is again wrong and should be Φωκᾶ, as in 4. 3. 7: 5. 2. 5, etc.

4. 6. 1 ἐπεδήμει . . . Ὀνδίας καὶ Ἰωνίας

ὑπαρχος Φαρνάκης, ὅς δὲ καὶ μέγιστος εἶναι δοκεῖ τῶν ὑπὸ βασιλείᾳ καταπεμπομένων ἐπὶ θάλατταν.

It is just possible that εἶναι is here imperfect, *appears to have been the most important*, but much more likely that δοκεῖ, as in various other places, is a mistake for ἐδόκει, *was considered*. Cf. 5. 2. 2 Ἀρταξάτην τὸν εὐνούχον ὃς μέγιστος ἦν παρὰ βασιλεί, and the same in 6. 2. 2.

4. 7. 6 ὥς would have been more easily lost after μέγεθος than Hercher's οἶα or Cobet's ἄτε.

5. 5. 4 οἱ μὲν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.

It is difficult to see any sense in γάρ. The sentence might follow on τῶν διαβολῶν, or, better, on ῥημάτων.

5. 6. 8 ἢ δὲ σὴ τύχη, βασιλεῦ, ἄξιον ὄντα κατέστηρε.

'Are some words like *κριτὴν σε* missing? The sentence can hardly refer only to his being king, and even then the meaning would be imperfectly expressed. Cf. perhaps on Ach. Tat. 8. 10. 4.

5. 7. 1 πρὶν <ἂν> ἀκούσης?

5. 9. 8 Dionysius did his best, τὸ δὲ παρά-
δοξον τῆς συμφορᾶς καὶ τὸν ἀνδρείον ἐκστήσαι
δυνατότατον ὑπῆρχεν.

Why should we have the superlative *δυνατότατον*? It is not at all the natural Greek expression. I suspect the two adjectives have exchanged terminations. Charito wrote καὶ τὸν ἀνδρείοτατον ἐκστήσαι δυνατόν ὑπῆρχεν. Each word gains by the correction.

5. 10. 5 οὐδεὶς ὑμῶν ἐᾷ τοῖς βασιλείοις
εἰσελθεῖν;

The dative is a difficulty. Hercher suggests *προσελθεῖν*, but that use is poetical and not likely. Perhaps <τῶν ἐν> τοῖς βασιλείοις.

6. 3. 9 ἐν θήρᾳ δ' ἐνδιατρίβειν ἢ τοῖς βασι-
λείοις καὶ ἐγγὺς εἶναι τοῦ πυρός.

Some comparative like *κάλλιον* or *ἄμεινον* should be added before ἢ.

6. 4. 3 The king set forth for the chase in splendid attire: καθῆστο δὲ σοβαρός· ἐστὶ γὰρ ἴδιον ἔρωτος τὸ φιλόκοσμον· ἤθελε δὲ μέσος ὑπὸ Καλλιρρόης δρασθῆναι.

Hercher rightly throws doubt on μέσος, which is very tame and pointless. Perhaps, as sometimes happens, the order of letters has got inverted, and μέσος = σεμος = σεμνός.

7. 6. 8 γάμον οὐχ ὑπομένω θάνατον εὐχαίρει.

Write ὑπομεινῶ. So 5. 10. 7 οὐ περιμεινῶ τέλος ἄδοξον: 8. 3. 6 βασιλὶς γὰρ εἴ καὶ αἰεὶ διαμεινέις (older edd. διαμένεις).

8. 2. 3 τὴν στρατιάν . . . ἄγει πᾶσαν ἐιθάδε καὶ ὅσον οὐπω παρέσται.

Surely πάρεσται, as in Thuc. 4. 125. 1: 6. 34. 9. οὐπω makes no sense with a future, unless some specific time is indicated.

Ib. 7 ὡς δὴτα ἀναγκαῖον <ὄν> . . προκαταλαβεῖν?

Perhaps unnecessary.

8. 5. 11 ὥσπερ γάρ τις κεραυνῷ πεσόντος . . . μὴ παραχθείη.

It is not ἄν but εἰ (ὥσπερ γὰρ <εἰ> τις) that is wanting. Of course an idiomatic ἄν (ὥσπερ γὰρ <ἄν εἰ> τις) may have been omitted too.

H. RICHARDS.

(To be continued.)

A SUPPOSED QUALIFICATION FOR ELECTION TO THE SPARTAN SENATE.

THE office of senator at Sparta is assumed by some modern authorities to have been restricted to certain privileged families. The object of this paper is to challenge the assumption and to examine afresh the evidence adduced in support of it.

Gilbert (*Greek Constitutional Antiquities*, English translation, p. 48) says: 'Election to the Council of the Elders was in Aristotle's time open to the nobles, and the nobles only; and as a similar distinction between nobles and commons is discernible even in the earliest times, we must infer a restriction of the right of eligibility to the former class even in those days.' In a footnote Gilbert adds: 'In Aristotle's days the Gerontes were chosen from the καλοὶ κάγαθοί, the δῆμος possessing only the right of electing to this ἀρχή.' And then he cites various passages from Aristotle's *Politics* and one from Polybius.¹

Mr. Greenidge (*Handbook of Greek Constitutional History*) is rather more cautious. On page 100 he says: 'The Council of Elders (γερονσία) was composed of the two kings and of twenty-eight members, probably chosen, as we have seen, from certain selected families of the state. The evidence of Aristotle and Polybius proves conclusively that only members of the nobility were eligible.' The footnote refers us to the same passages of Aristotle and Polybius. Mr. Greenidge also says on page 89: 'In spite of this apparent equality' (viz. between all Spartiatae) 'we do find a distinc-

tion within the ὅμοιοι, between the nobles (καλοὶ κάγαθοί) and the commons (δῆμος). It was, apparently, a distinction between the members of the ancient clans, and those who were not members, between the old and the new burgesses; and this distinction was of political importance, for apparently only the nobles were chosen for the γερονσία. How it came that a class which could be called the demos grew up at Sparta is not known.' I cite Gilbert and Greenidge as typical exponents of the view which I am controverting, but much the same account is given in other works.

The first difficulty which occurs to me is the silence of Xenophon and Plutarch on the point. Xenophon, an older authority than Aristotle, in his encomium on the constitution expressly declares (*De Rep. Lac.* x.) the institution of the Senate to have been designed to foster the cultivation of virtue, even to old age; and nothing in what he says implies that the office was restricted to the members of certain families. Plutarch, who is not directly contradicted by any ancient writer, tells us that a vacancy in the Senate was filled by the election of the man who was adjudged the best in virtue of those over sixty years of age (τὸν ἀριστον ἀρετῇ κριθέντα τῶν ὑπὲρ ἑξήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων, *V. Lycury.* 26). Plutarch proceeds to describe minutely the mode of election, which was by acclamation of the assembly. Here we have two qualifications, (1) the age of sixty years and (2) excellence, ἀρετή. We learn nothing more of the class from which candidates came. If the impression left by Xenophon and Plutarch stands in need of correction, the evidence must be precise and unmistakable.

¹ *Ar. Pol.* ii. 9, 1270 b 21-26; vi. (iv.) 9, 1294 b 29-31 (cf. ii. 6, 1265 b 33-1266 a 1); vii. (v.) 6, 1306 a 12-19; *Polyb.* vi. 10, 9. I quote the *Politics* by Mr. Newman's edition, adopting his numeration of the books.

What then does Aristotle say in the passages adduced from the *Politics*? The first is from ii. 9, a chapter where every part of the political constitution and the social and economic conditions of Laconia is subjected to a merciless criticism. After some strictures upon the ephorate, which is described as a great and tyrannical office (διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι λίαν μεγάλην καὶ ἰσοσύραννον), Aristotle tempers his blame with a certain meed of praise. 'However, this magistracy' [the ephorate] 'does certainly hold the constitution together; for the commons are contented because they have a share in the highest office, so that, whether the result has been due to the law-giver or to chance, it is to the advantage of the state. For, if a constitution is to be durable, all sections of the citizens must will it to exist and to continue unimpaired. Now this is the case with the kings owing to the prerogative they enjoy, and with the good and noble owing to the Senate, the office of senator being the prize of merit: it is also the case with the commons owing to the ephorate, for the ephors are taken from the whole body of citizens' (1270 b 21-26).

The impression which this passage leaves is, I grant, that there was a marked difference between the ephorate and the Senate. Any Spartan citizen might aspire to the former office, only the 'good and noble' could hope to become senators. My contention is that the words οἱ καλοὶ κάγαθοί need not, and do not, denote a separate class of nobles or privileged families recognised by the constitution. The meaning of the term is sufficiently explained by ἄθλον γὰρ ἀρετῆς which follows. That the office of senator was ἄθλον ἀρετῆς, a prize of merit, might almost be called a commonplace with Greek writers, whether friends or foes of Sparta. See, for example, Xenophon, *de Rep. Lac.* chapter x; Demosthenes, *adv. Leptinem* § 107; Aeschines, *in Timarchum* § 180; Plutarch, *V. Lyc.* 26. Such ἀρετή was relative to the Spartan constitution, πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν. The possessors of such ἀρετή for the time being were οἱ καλοὶ κάγαθοί. To this point I shall return.

I pass now to a second passage, from Book vi. (iv.), chapter 9, with which may be compared the parallel passage, ii. 6, 1265 b 33-1266 a 1. In both these passages Aristotle is citing the opinion of certain political writers or theorists, who maintained that the constitution of Sparta was a mixed constitution (a view shared by Aristotle himself). In vi. (iv.) 9 Aristotle is examining what he calls 'polity' or a

moderate constitution. To the superficial observer such a constitution appears as a fusion or combination (μίξις) of undiluted oligarchy and undiluted democracy. A good combination of these opposing elements, Aristotle goes on to say, has this characteristic, that the same constitution may be styled either a democracy or an oligarchy. The example chosen is Sparta. It is often described as a democracy because of such democratical features as the uniform training of rich and poor, or the common meals where rich and poor have the same food, as they wear the same kind of clothing. Then come the words (1294 b 29): ἐπὶ τῷ δέο τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχάς, τὴν μὲν αἰρεῖσθαι τὸν δῆμον, τῆς δὲ μετέχειν τοὺς μὲν γὰρ γέροντας αἰροῦνται, τῆς δ' ἐφορείας μετέχουσιν. 'Again, of the two greatest offices, the commons' (δῆμος) 'elect to the one and are eligible to the other. I mean, that they elect the senators and are eligible to the ephorate.' These words are the stronghold of the views I am impugning. The difficulty is, if there was no restriction to nobles or privileged families for the Senate, if both Senate and ephorate were open to the whole of the Spartiatae and the election was more or less similar, how are we to account for the express distinction which Aristotle draws between the rights of the δῆμος to elect to the one and to stand for the other?

Well, the object of the passage is to collect as many democratic traits as possible, and I submit that when we come to magistracies it is probable that Aristotle had in view the democratic principle which regulated elections to offices, viz. all which are not reserved for sortition 'by all out of all' (1300 a 31-33). It is with which he is tacitly comparing the practice at Sparta. There, where 'some,' viz. the senators, were elected 'by all' and 'others,' the ephors, 'out of all,' we have an approximation to this principle. In ii. 9 Aristotle made no mention of the fact that the demos had votes, because, I presume, it would have been insufficient to account for the loyalty of the demos to the constitution. Thus the antithesis between the clause with μὲν and the clause with δέ is, not so great as it appears, the latter being of course the more important. It should be remembered that the two qualifications of age and merit in themselves effectively limited the possible candidates. The former, the age of sixty, would exclude more than three quarters of the Spartiatae, who could not join the assembly (Apella) before they were thirty; the latter, merit, would reduce still further

the ranks of the remaining quarter. Thus the *καλοὶ κάγαθοί* over sixty would be a decided minority in a minority; which answers precisely to the state of things at Elis as described in 1306 a 15 *sqq.* In what precedes I have assumed the *δῆμος* to mean the assembly or *Apella*, that is, the whole body of the Spartiate exclusive of kings and actual senators. Even then it is a curious body to be styled a *δῆμος*; but it may fairly be argued that the case is made worse on the assumption of a hereditary nobility of *καλοὶ κάγαθοί*. Did they vote with the rest and are they included in the *δῆμος*? If so, what becomes of the opposition between *δῆμος* and *οἱ καλοὶ κάγαθοί*? I suppose that an opponent would say that they did belong to the *δῆμος*, but had special privileges not shared by the rest, or *οἱ τυχόντες*. Yet this is to split up the *δῆμος* and destroy the one point of community between the *δῆμος* of a democratical state and such a close corporation as the Spartan *Apella*, viz. the equality of privilege enjoyed by all the members of the one and of the other respectively.

Lastly, there is the expression *αἵρεσις δυναστευτική* used, by implication, of the election of Spartan senators in vii. (v.) 6, 1306 a 15–19. There Aristotle, dealing with the causes which tend to undermine different constitutions, says: 'Oligarchies, again, are overthrown when another oligarchy is created within the original one; that is to say, when the whole governing body (*πολίτευμα*) is small and yet they do not all share in the highest offices. This was once the case at Elis. The government was in the hands of a few, and very few even of them found their way into the Senate' (*τῶν γερόντων ὀλίγοι πάντων ἐγένοντο*), 'as it consisted of ninety members elected for life and the mode of election was that which prevails under a *δυναστεία*, like that to the Senate in Sparta.' We learn from *Pol.* vi. (iv.) 5 that by *δυναστεία* Aristotle means the most intense or closest form of oligarchy, where the son succeeds the father and where magistrates are supreme and not the law. He also describes it as a *τυραννίς* in commission, which would fairly correspond to Lysander's decarchies or the Thirty at Athens. This is startling evidence. Although the *δῆμος* elected senators at Sparta, there was at least a probability of son succeeding to father in the office. That is to say, the son might succeed eventually; for unless the father died over eighty, the son could hardly be sixty at his death. Now no doubt the hypothesis that candidates were

restricted to a few privileged families offers a ready explanation. But in historical discussions no mistake is more dangerous than to assume at the inception of an institution full recognition of all its effects and tendencies, or to suppose that, because certain consequences frequently, nay, invariably, followed from an institution or a measure, such consequences must have been prescribed and regulated by statute. Before the expedient proposed is accepted as inevitable, let me call attention to an historical analogy. To compare small things with great, the Spartan Senate is not unlike the more famous Senate at Rome. The Roman *populus* did not indeed directly elect its senators, but it elected its magistrates, who by prescriptive right and tradition passed into the Senate. Now the striking fact about the Roman Senate in its palmy days, the century and a half preceding the Gracchan revolution, when the movement towards democracy seemed arrested, is that it assumed the character of a close corporation. What Mommsen has called the 'new aristocracy' was not recruited to any appreciable extent from outsiders. It became for all practical purposes an hereditary nobility and the *Fasti* are crammed with instances of son succeeding to father in great patrician and plebeian families for generations. Was there, then, any legal restriction to these privileged families? Not at all. The regulations which permitted a Marius and a Cicero, at long intervals, to enter the select circle, had been in force all along. It seems to me, then, quite possible to account for the pre-eminence of certain families at Sparta in a similar way, viz. by ability, or at any rate a high level of mediocrity, transmitted from father to son, and the prestige, which, in a conservative society, would naturally follow.

I have tried to show that, without the arbitrary assumption of a legal restriction to certain families, each of the three passages yields a tolerably satisfactory sense. Let me define the issue clearly. It is not whether nobles and commons existed at Sparta from the earliest times: that is quite irrelevant. The question is whether the election of senators was constitutionally restricted to certain families or open to all citizens above sixty who were possessed of a certain degree of personal merit. I rest my case very largely on the words *καλοὶ κάγαθοί*, which I understand in this sense. The holders of the opposite view take them to designate a privileged class, a nobility of birth. If they are consistent, they must

understand οἱ καλοὶ κάγαθοί as identical with οἱ εὐγενεῖς, so that it is ancestral merit and ancestral wealth that are requisite in the candidate. For Aristotle defines εὐγένεια as προγόνων ἀρετὴ καὶ πλοῦτος vii. (v.) 1, 1301 b 3, or ἀρχαῖος πλοῦτος καὶ ἀρετῇ vi. (v.) 8, 1294 a 22. I submit that this interpretation does not accord with the language of such panegyrists as Plutarch and Xenophon, nor again with the words of Demosthenes *adv. Leptinem*, to which reference has already been made: ἐπειδὴν τις εἰς τὴν καλοκρίνην γερουσίαν ἐγκριθῇ παραστῶν αὐτὸν οἷον χρή, δεσπότης ἐστὶ τῶν πολλῶν. ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄθλον τῆς πολιτείας κυρίῳ γενέσθαι μετὰ τῶν ὁμοίων (§ 107). Surely Demosthenes means by ἀρετὴ personal, not ancestral, merit. It is significant, too, that in vi. (iv.) 7, 1293 a 35–b 21 (cf. 1294 a 9–11), where a general summary is given of so-called aristocracies, or mixed constitutions, the class to which Sparta belonged, πλοῦτος, ἀρετῇ, and δῆμος are mentioned as the objects kept in view in the assignment of office, and no mention¹ is made of γένος or εὐγένεια. That birth was elsewhere recognised as a claim to office distinct from merit is clear from vi. (iv.) 15, 1300 a 17 ἡ γένει ἢ ἀρετῇ. Cf. Mr. Newman, vol. iv. p. xii. Popular opinion often presumed εὐγένεια, no less than καλοκάγαθία, in the wealthy διὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ἀκολουθεῖν παιδείαν καὶ εὐγένειαν τοῖς εὐπορωτέροις, as Aristotle himself explains, 1293 b 37.

I am not quite sure that Gilbert would have finally accepted the identity of οἱ εὐγενεῖς with οἱ καλοὶ κάγαθοί. Although he says on page 48 that the nobles and the nobles only could be candidates, in a note on page 12¹ he explains καλοὶ κάγαθοί as εὐποροὶ and when he comes to ἄθλον γὰρ ἀρετῆς he says that 'the Gerontes were chosen from among those of the well-to-do who were distinguished for personal merit.' Granted that this is correct, it only proves the existence of a wealthy class at Sparta, not of a hereditary nobility. But I think he quite misunderstood Aristotle's use of καλοὶ κάγαθοί in two passages which he adduces in the same note. The first is *Pol.* vi. (iv.) 8, 1293 b 39 *sq.* ὅθεν καὶ καλοὺς κάγαθους καὶ γνωρίμους τούτους (sc. τοὺς εὐπόρους) προσαγορεύουσιν. Gilbert apparently thought that this passage justified him in identifying καλοὶ κάγαθοί and εὐποροὶ, whereas in fact Aristotle is fully aware of the difference between the two terms and carefully pointing out the causes of the confusion between

them in the popular mind. Why are the well-to-do taken for καλοὶ κάγαθοί and γνώριμοι, when they are not necessarily either the one or the other? It is because property secures its possessors against the temptations to ordinary crime (1293 b 38 *sq.*) Similarly in the second passage, 1294 a 17–19 σχεδὸν γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις οἱ εὐποροὶ τῶν καλῶν κάγαθῶν δοκοῦσι κατέχειν χώραν. The well-to-do are not here asserted to be καλοὶ κάγαθοί: Aristotle merely reminds us that there are many societies in which the good and capable are thought to be replaced by the well-to-do.

The words καλοὶ κάγαθοί bear a precise ethical meaning in other Aristotelian treatises and καλοκάγαθία receives elaborate treatment in the last chapter of the *Eudemian Ethics*, where it is said to be the crown of all virtue. My conviction that Aristotle uses the words καλοὶ κάγαθοί in a predominantly ethical sense is strengthened by Xenophon's use of the same words, not this time of Spartiates, but of the περίοικοι who accompanied Agesipolis, *Hell.* v. 3. 9 πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν περιόικων ἐβέλονται καλοὶ κάγαθοί ἡκολοῦθον. Thus, according to Xenophon, there were men who were 'good and noble' when judged by the standard of Spartan virtue, even amongst the provincial Laconians.²

One possibility has occurred to me, but I regard it as so remote that it can be at once dismissed. We are all familiar with that abuse of ethical terms for political purposes of which Theognis is an early and conspicuous example. If Aristotle had written in ii. 9 οἱ καλοὶ κάγαθοί καλούμενοι or if he had been giving external opinion instead of his own, it is just conceivable that the phrase should be construed as if it had been used by the members of oligarchical clubs. Even this, however, would hardly lead us to an hereditary nobility, for the Four Hundred and the Thirty were καλοὶ κάγαθοί in this sense in the slang of the day.

Besides Aristotle's evidence, there is a passage in Polybius vi. 10. 9 which is cited by my opponents in favour of their views. Polybius, in speaking of the Spartan senators, describes them as κατ' ἐκλογὴν ἀριστίνδην κεκριμένοι, and the word ἀριστίνδην in Polybius is interpreted 'by right of birth,' a sense which, as Mr. Greenidge remarks, has become 'almost a technical legal term' when applied to 'the time of the monarchies and of the aristocracies of birth which succeeded them.' Thus the word occurs in the first

¹ The corresponding references to the second German edition are page 52 and page 13, *note*.

² I owe this reference to the kindness of Mr. L. Whibley.

extant line of the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία and in Plutarch, *V. Solonis* c. 12, referring to the same event, viz. the constitution of the court which tried the Alcmaeonidae. I do not challenge Mr. Greenidge's statement that when applied to these early constitutions ἀριστίνδην may practically and technically signify 'by right of birth,' but I wish to point out two considerations which in my judgment nullify completely the argument from Polybius. (1) No one has proved that Polybius is using the term in the assumed technical sense when applied to the historical Spartan Senate; and, if we turn to Polybius vi. 24 (*ad init.*), we find him using ἀριστίνδην when describing the selection of the Roman centurions. In that case the word clearly means 'on grounds of merit,' κατ' ἀρετήν, and not 'by right of birth' and the presumption is that it bore the same

meaning fourteen chapters earlier. (2) As to the meaning of ἀριστίνδην with such a verb as αἰρεῖσθαι in the undoubted writings of Aristotle there can be no shadow of doubt. If we turn to *Politics* ii. 11, 1273 a 23, 26, the same mode of election which in the one line is designated ἀριστίνδην is in the other designated κατ' ἀρετήν. At Carthage οὐ μόνον ἀριστίνδην ἀλλὰ καὶ πλουτίνδην οἰόνται δεῖν αἰρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄρχοντας (1273 a 23 sq.) or, to put the same fact in another way, ἡ πολιτεία βλέπει εἰς τε πλοῦτον καὶ ἀρετήν καὶ δῆμον (1293 b 14 sq.). Thus an election ἀριστίνδην can be opposed to one ἐκ τῶν τυγχόντων (1272 b 36), i. e. to one where no special qualifications are required of a candidate but where any one, even a nobody, may stand.

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AN UNRECORDED ATTIC COLONY IN EUBOEAE?

(A paper read before the Oxford Philological Society, 1905.)

IT MAY be permitted to revive the discussion of a document of which the importance appears to have been overlooked and the true interpretation not yet agreed upon. A few years ago a mutilated inscription was found in Euboea in the territory of Chalkis and published with conjectural emendations by Papabasilios in the *Ephemeris Archaiologikē*, 1902, p. 29. Leaving aside what is conjectural, we discern at a glance that the block contains a portion of a ἱερὸς νόμος, the ritual-code of some community, prescribing sacrifices to various deities and apportioning to various sacred or secular officials their respective perquisites of the offerings: we recognise also a purely Attic dialect and a form of writing that prevailed in Attica near to the middle of the fifth century B.C. and for nearly a generation later, before the alphabet was completely Ionicised. The Greek scholar who has published it maintains that it is a Chalkidic document and that the divinities and heroes mentioned belong to the old state religion of Chalkis and Euboea. But in the same number of the *Eph. Arch.* p. 137, his opinion is strongly controverted by Wilhelm, who insists on the purely Attic character of the writing and the vocabulary and argues that all the personages of the worship belong to Attic religion and finally explains its discovery in Euboea as due to some accidental

transportation, quoting other examples of inscribed stones being carried from one place to another sometimes perhaps as ships' ballast. In the following number of the same journal, 1903, p. 133, Papabasilios replies to Wilhelm and tries to maintain his original position.

Any one at all familiar with Attic epigraphy will at once be convinced by the examination of the inscription that Wilhelm is right in his main contention, and the epigraphical knowledge and insight of this scholar are well known. The writing and the vocabulary prove the document to be of Attic origin; and the authority of the Greek editor's opinion is destroyed by his assertion that the script of Chalkis and Eretria were at this time the same as the Attic: students of Greek epigraphy and dialects are aware that this is contrary to the facts, and Wilhelm rightly exposes the inaccuracy of this supposition in his final reply (*Eph. Arch.* 1904, p. 103).

On the other hand, the decision of the latter scholar that the content of the inscription, the cults of deities and heroes clearly decipherable in the list, is wholly consistent with what we know of the Attic religion, does not entirely commend itself on reflection; and still less convincing is the Greek editor's view that the cults are wholly

Euboeic. We must always bear in mind that our record is incomplete, as Wilhelm points out, and we must beware of dogmatizing too rigidly on the basis of it: divinities and heroes were no doubt often worshipped in localities where no ancient authority attests their presence. Still the fairly ample evidence at our disposal creates a certain probability as to questions of cult-localities, without which we could not argue on these lines at all. Now certain of the divine personages mentioned here are no more Attic than Euboeic, Apollo Pythios, Artemis, Poseidon for instance. We must look for more definitely local figures and still more for local appellatives that we can fix to a certain geographical point.

Wilhelm believes that he has found some of these in the inscriptions, enough to prove the Attic character of the whole. In column A l. 9 he would read [Δι] τροπαῖοι ἐν Κυν[ο]σούρα], and this restoration appears to me convincing, while the suggestion of Papabasileios that we should read ἐν Κυνὸς Κεφαλῇ the unknown name of an unknown promontory supposed to be in Euboea is ineffectual. But Wilhelm's proof that the Kynosoura where sacrifice was offered to Zeus Tropaios was in Salamis, was very confusedly stated in his first paper and not clearly given in his last. However when we compare Herodotus 8, 76-77 with Paus. 1, 36, 1 and *C. I. A.* 2, 471, we may conclude that the long promontory in Salamis almost opposite the temple of Artemis Munychia on the Attic shore was called Kynosoura (the name agrees excellently with its shape) and that this was where the epheboi sacrificed to Zeus Tropaios (vide also Milchöfer Text zu Karten von Attica vii, viii, 27). We may remember that there was another Kynosoura at Marathon, and that here also there may well have been an altar of Zeus Tropaios to commemorate the great battle; only there is no record of it. It is reasonable then to accept Wilhelm's view that this phrase in the inscription refers to the Salaminian cult.

Line 11 shows the letters ΟΘΟΙ ΑΜΝΟΞ, and the first letters are evidently part of the name of some deity or hero in the dative: Papabasileios suggests Xouthos, the ancestor of the Ionic stock or Kothos a dimly remembered Euboean hero; other restorations appear possible, and if Xouthos (ΧΞΟΘΟΙ) is the most probable as Wilhelm maintains, we can easily understand his name appearing among the cult-figures of the Marathonian tetrapolis, though it has not yet been found there; but he could also have received

heroic honours in Euboea as the ancestor of an Ionic stock, and this fragment of the inscription cannot be urged as proof of the Attic rather than the Euboeic character of the document.

A l. 10 shows us the letters ΕΙ ΕΝ ΤΟΙ ΕΛΑΙΕΙ which Papabasileios interprets as Ἀφροδίτῃ ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῳ = 'Aphrodite in the olive-yard,' and calls attention to the interesting fact that in the neighbourhood of Chalkis there exists a chapel Παναγίας τῆς Ἐλαιούσης. But Wilhelm maintains that in the space before the first two letters ΕΙ there is no sign of Τ (this is clear from the facsimile) and he discovers traces of the oblique stroke of the Attic Λ; if this is certain, a point which the facsimile published does not enable us to determine, his restoration is inevitable Ἡρακλεῖ ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῳ. And he quotes the later fifth-century inscriptions of accounts that mention the shrine of Ἡρακλῆς ἐν Ἐλαίῳ, Elaieus being the name of a deme of the Hippothoontid tribe (*C. I. A.* 1, 164, l. 6, 170, 7, 173, 4: Steph. *s.v.* Ἐλαίεύς). He does not however explain or notice the curious use of the article in the phrase ἐν τῷ Ἐλαίῳ, which throws some doubt on the identification which he proposes, for the article as far as I can find is never used in this way with a deme: it is therefore somewhat more natural to interpret ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῳ as 'in the olive-yard,' a vague phrase directing us to no known locality, although ἐλαίεύς is not found elsewhere in this sense.¹

At the end of column A there are certain blurred strokes visible which Wilhelm confidently interprets as [ΝΥΝ]Φ[Α]ΙΞ Κ[Α]Ι [ΑΧ]Ε[ΛΟΟΙ]. The original then must reveal something more than the published copy. We may trust his authority as to the letters, and I cannot suggest any other restoration than his. Nevertheless he is rather too hasty in using this as a clinching

¹ For ἐλαίεύς in the sense of 'a place of olives,' a common noun of local significance, Papabasileios compares such forms as δοναεύς, κωπεύς, φελλεύς (*Eph. Arch.* 1902, p. 36). The first example is certainly relevant. Φελλεύς is the name of an Attic deme, and the termination 'εύς,' which occurs in the names of many of these demes (cf. Ἐλατρεύς in Delos), is thought to be adjectival. But the deme φελλεύς means 'a rocky place'; and it seems that the termination could be used for the formation of a local descriptive name, whether a proper or a common name. If the Attic deme Ἐλαίεύς meant originally 'the olive-place,' such a word could occur elsewhere as descriptive of similar localities. Neither the Greek editor nor the German scholar considers the question about the article.

proof that the document is dealing here with a purely Athenian cult; certainly the cult-association of the Nymphs and Achelous was established on the banks of the Ilissus (Plat. *Phaedr.* 230 B); but he should have considered, if he was aware of the fact, that it also existed at Oropus, in the district of the Euripos (Paus. 1, 34, 2).

But the most convincing proof that the content of the document belongs in part at least to the sphere of Attic religion is afforded by line 5 of column A where the words *OLYTOI* refer to the cult of Hippolytos or Aphrodite ἐφ' Ἱππολύτῳ, both hero and goddess being worshipped on the Attic Acropolis owing to Troezenian influences. It is surprising that this fact which is fatal to the hypothesis of the purely Chalkidic character of the inscription should have been ignored by the Greek editor (for the Attic cult vide my *Cults*, vol. 2, p. 658 and Aphrodite R 11^a).

On the other hand Wilhelm does not sufficiently appreciate the difficulty of accounting for the inclusion of such cults as those of Glaukos and Eros (Col. A l. 12 and l. 4) in a genuine Attic calendar. As regards the latter, a mere argument from the silence of our records is admittedly unsatisfactory; but here we can say more than that they have hitherto given us no evidence that Eros was admitted among the divinities of the Attic state: they allow us to maintain that if he was admitted at least before the time of Euripides and Plato certain definite statements in these authors are unintelligible; for both deny that there was any such cult, and though they were wrong as regards the Greek world as a whole (witness Thespieae and Parion) they must have known the truth about the religion of their own native land (vide *Cults*, vol. 2, Aphrodite R 119^a: the altar said to have been erected by Charmos in the time of Peisistratos, if the story is genuine, belonged merely to private cult, vide *Athenae*. p. 609^a, Paus. 1, 30, 1). The matter then stands thus: we may say that we know the Eros-cult at this time to have been non-Attic, we do not know whether it did or did not exist in Euboea, but we have reason for believing that Boeotian cult-influences were rife in the latter region, and that the Thespian Eros was at this time a widely recognised deity in Boeotia. As regards Glaukos, the case is somewhat different, but the conclusion we should draw from the known facts is the same. There is no trace of this marine demigod elsewhere on the soil or in the waters of Attica. But if his name

occurred in an Attic inscription found in Attica, we should not be startled. The ancients have not bequeathed us an exhaustive record of Attic religion, and no one professes to know the whole. But where it is a question whether a document belongs to Attica or Euboea, the name of Glaukos occurring as a cult-name in it makes for the Euboeic theory, for his home was at Anthedon on the Euripos and according to one story Euboea was his mother.

But there is no cult-name in either column which is as unmistakably Euboeic as that of Hippolytos is Attic: unless we were to accept the conjectured restoration of Papabasilaios for l. 8 Col. B [Ἀρτέμιδος Νι]σαίας which can scarcely be called convincing.

We may then describe the inscription as a document found in the neighbourhood of Chalkis written in Attic script and dialect, containing allusions to purely Attic religion but also to cults that seem to belong to the Euripos district rather than to Attica. And Wilhelm's hypothesis though preferable to the other scholar's does not explain all the phenomena; nor does it help us to understand on what sort of occasion and under what circumstances this state-archive was inscribed. It does not seem to be a statement of accounts showing the expenses incurred by officials in their management of the various local rituals: only one cipher-sign is discernible in what remains of both columns (B l. 11). It is not the ἐπὶ νόμος of a single Attic district or deme; for on Wilhelm's view of the text, we find cults of Salamis Athens and Elaieus grouped together. Nor can it be a comprehensive enactment dealing with Attica as a whole; for its mention of ὁ ἀρχηγέτης compels us to believe that it is dealing with the ritual of some single cult-centre.

And finally we may feel that it is a *prima facie* objection to Wilhelm's theory, that it supposes the inscription to have been brought by mere chance to the locality where it was found, and we may maintain that before resorting to this hypothesis we ought first to consider the possibility that it was originally and purposely set up there, though composed and inscribed by Athenians.

I would suggest that the real solution of the problem lies in the proper interpretation of the word ἀρχηγέτης, which occurs at least once (Col. B l. 7). It is remarkable that the significance of the term in such a context and the clue that it supplies should have been entirely overlooked by Wilhelm and that the Greek editor should have nothing more to say about it than that

ἀρχηγέτης is probably the name of a Chalkidic magistrate, though he is aware that the proper title of the official in this community was *Ἡγεμών*.

As the style and nomenclature of this inscription is wholly Attic, we must interpret *ἀρχηγέτης* in the Attic sense. The poets use the word quite loosely with the meaning of ruler or leader; but it did not occur in the Attic technical terminology as a title of any ordinary magistrate or official, nor as far as I am aware was it so used in other Greek communities.¹ In its technical application it usually designated the divine or heroic ancestor or founder of the city or tribe or deme: thus Athena herself was *ἀρχηγέτις* of Athens, as Apollo was *ἀρχηγέτης* of other communities; and the various eponymous heroes of Attic tribes and demes might be worshipped as *ἀρχηγέται*. And the real individual who was the *οἰκιστής* of a new colony would be honoured as *ἀρχηγέτης* after his death. It is possible also that at Athens the word might be sometimes applied to the founder of a new cult, a significance which we may attach to the term in an Argive sepulchral inscription which designates a priestess—who is represented on the stone with sceptre and key—as *ἀρχαγέτις*. Following this leading clue I would therefore venture this explanation of the whole document before us: it is a ritual-code regulating the public worship of a settlement of Athenian citizens who have been sent out to colonise vacant lands in the neighbourhood of Chalkis or Eretria: the settlers are chosen from various Attic demes and transplant with them some of their indigenous local cults, from the neighbourhood of Athens, from Salamis, or the tetrapolis: they also adopt certain worships that belong to the new soil or to the vicinity, such as those of Glaukos and Eros: the leader of the colony is the *ἀρχηγέτης* who will receive divine honours after his death. It appears from the context in which his title appears on the stone that he is still living, for he is associated with certain officials who enjoy perquisites at the sacrifices. One of the first acts of the newly settled community would be to legislate concerning the *ἱερά* or public liturgies, for which purpose they might consult Delphi,

and if so would probably be recommended to maintain the cults of their old homes and to adopt certain others that were likely to be efficacious in their new.

The advantage of this hypothesis as compared with any yet put forth is that it explains at once the employment of Attic writing and dialect, the Attic character of certain figures of the worship and the apparently non-Attic character of others, and it also supplies the motive for the publication of a new religious code; and it accounts for the mention of the *ἀρχηγέτης*. It is not easy indeed to find another example of the founder or leader of the colony enjoying this title in his life-time; he is usually the *οἰκιστής* or *κτίστης*; and where we elsewhere find mention of *ὁ ἀρχηγέτης* in narratives or records of cult² we recognise him to be the divine or heroised ancestor of the community; but the examples are far too few to enable us to affirm that it could not be applied to the living founder and there is nothing in the word to suggest why it should not be.

If the hypothesis put forward contains the truth, the importance of the inscription is greatly enhanced; for it becomes the only record of an otherwise unattested Athenian settlement in the neighbourhood of Chalkis and Eretria after the re-conquest of the island by Pericles in B.C. 445. Strabo,³ Diodorus,⁴ and Plutarch⁵ only mention the Attic settlement on the land of Histiaea in the north of the island; the last author speaks indeed of the expulsion of the Hippobotae from Chalkis by Pericles, but is silent as to the sending of cleruchs thither. The scholiast on Aristophanes⁶ talks vaguely and uselessly about Athens planting cleruchies in Euboea ('ἐκκληρούχσαν αὐτήν') but adds the important statement from Philochorus that only Histiaea was colonised and that the rest of the country ἐπ' ὁμολογίᾳ κατασταθῆναι. We have the actual texts of the compacts which Athens made with Chalkis and Eretria,⁷ one clause guaranteeing that no citizens should be exiled. Yet we are told that Pericles did expel the Chalkidic Hippobotae, and whether Plutarch was right or wrong in this matter, the Euboean losses in the campaign might have left certain lands vacant which Attic cleruchs could settle on without breach of the public compact.

¹ Herodotus 9, 86 calls the leading men of the Medising faction at Thebes *ἀρχηγέται ἀνὰ πρώτους*, but he is evidently using the word in its vague literary sense, and we know that the technical name for the magistrates at Thebes was not this. In the Delphic-Spartan rhetra *ἀρχαγέται* is used as a synonym for the kings, but Plutarch in his interpretation (*Lyc.* 6) does not imply that this was ever their official title in their life-time.

² E.g. in the recently discovered inscription in Delos, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1903 (xxvii. p. 75, l. 99) *οἰκοδομήσαι τὸν περιβολὸν τοῦ Ἀρχηγέτου*.

³ P. 445.

⁴ 12, 7: 12, 22.

⁵ *Pericl.* 23.

⁶ *Clouds* 213.

⁷ *C.I.A.* iv. 27^a.

On a small tablet found near the Propylaea¹ in the writing of the latter part of the fifth century we find record of an Athenian ἀποικία ἐς Ἐρ . . . ; the stone is broken at a tantalising point: the accepted restoration is now ἐς Ἐρεσσον and refers the inscription to

¹ C.I.A. 1, 339.

the resettlement of Lesbos after the revolt; but the former opinion that we should restore ἐς Ἐπερρίαν might find favour again, if the interpretation of our new document which I have proposed were to be accepted.

LEWIS R. FARNELL.

THE RELATION OF THE RESOLVED ARSIS AND RESOLVED THESIS IN PLAUTUS TO THE PROSE ACCENT.

No satisfactory attempt has ever been made to account for the existence of the strict rules observed by Plautus, and the early Roman dramatists generally, in the use of dactyls, anapaests, and proceleusmatics in dialogue verse. Why, for instance, is a dactylic word not a good substitute for a trochee, seeing that an anapaestic word is a perfectly good substitute for an iambus? Or why is an anapaest divided as in *hōstibus ōmnibus* forbidden, while a dactyl divided as in *quē nōlēs faciām omnia* is perfectly legitimate? It is true that explanations have been suggested of one or two particular rules, but they are far from convincing. Thus the rule forbidding caesura in a resolved thesis in dialogue verse is explained by Prof. Lindsay as due to the desire of the Roman dramatists not to add to the length of the 'irrational' thesis by 'the pause that inevitably attends upon the conclusion of a word.'¹ But it is not the fact that a pause necessarily or usually occurs between words in a spoken sentence, the division of sentences into words being logical, not phonetic. Further, caesura is just as strictly forbidden in the resolved arsis of the same feet, which arsis is not 'irrational.' It is therefore hard to see why such an explanation is offered. All these rules have for their object the determining of the conditions under which certain feet may be admitted to trochaic and iambic verse, and these feet resemble one another in having 'irrational' theses, and resolution of the arsis or of the thesis or of both. What is needed therefore is a comprehensive explanation. The true reason for the existence of any one of these rules will probably be the reason for the existence of all the rest. To show that such a comprehensive explanation is possible is the purpose of the present paper.

Writers on Plautine metric usually recognize some five or six rules regulating the

admission of dactyls, anapaests, and proceleusmatics to the dialogue metres. As these rules serve purposes so very similar, they naturally overlap sometimes; but it will be convenient to consider them in the form in which they are usually stated. It is demonstrable that they are all particular cases, or at least corollaries of a single law, which may be stated thus:—

*Except in the first foot of a colon, a resolved arsis or thesis must, in dialogue metres, begin in a syllable which would bear in prose the primary or secondary word-accent, or a sentence-accent.*²

As regards the proceleusmatic, it has already been shown by A. W. Ahlberg that both the arsis and the thesis of that particular foot must begin in syllables accented in prose (*De Proceleusmaticis*, etc., Lund, 1900, p. 36. Cf. Ritschl, *Prol. Trin.* p. 289). His method was the collection and classification of all the proceleusmatics occurring in the dialogue metres of Plautus and Terence. Such a method would be hardly practicable for the resolved arses and theses generally; but I hope, by a different method, to show that every resolved arsis or resolved thesis found in Plautus is constructed in obedience to the same law. The one seeming exception—the case in which a resolved arsis seems to begin in a short final syllable—will be separately discussed below. It should be observed that, like the proposed law, the particular rules which are deducible from it as corollaries do not apply to the first foot of a colon.³ Also the few iambic and trochaic lines occurring in the *Cantica* should not be

² It need hardly be said that this law did not at first occur to the writer in the form in which it is here presented. It emerged in the course of a minute analysis of many hundreds of lines, undertaken with a view to discovering the exact means by which the dramatists avoided metrical ambiguity. It is here demonstrated in what seems to be the briefest possible form.

³ See O. Seyffert in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1891, p. 926.

¹ Introduction to *Captivi*, 1900, p. 68.

included in the dialogue metres. I take the rules seriatim.

1. A dactylic or tribrach word or word-ending cannot receive the ictus on the middle syllable.¹

This follows directly from the general law. For the tribrach word this rule is not relaxed for the first foot or for anapaestic metre.

2. A dactylic word or word-ending cannot be a substitute for a trochee or an iambus.

As a substitute for a trochee, a dactylic word would contain a resolved thesis whose first syllable would not be accented in prose. As a substitute for an iambus, it would receive the ictus on the middle syllable, which is forbidden by the first corollary, and therefore by the general law. It is significant that a word that becomes dactylic by elision is admissible as a substitute for either a trochee or an iambus (*ēriper(e) ōculos*, or *ēriper(e) om̄nēs*).² Such a word so placed obviously fulfils the requirements of the law.

3. The first two syllables of an anapaest may not be the ending of a polysyllable.

Two such syllables must constitute either a resolved arsis or a resolved thesis—*pec̄tōra mull̄cent*, or *pec̄tōra mull̄cent*—the law being broken in either case.

4. The first syllable of an anapaest may not be the last syllable of a word of more than one syllable.³

A syllable so placed would be the first of a resolved arsis or of a resolved thesis—*maḡnā uolū̄ptas*, or *maḡna uolū̄ptas*. The law is obviously broken in either case.

5. The first two syllables of a dactyl may not form one word, or the ending of a word.

A dactyl so formed must be rising—*cārūs*

¹ As these rules are generally recognized, it is not, perhaps, necessary to refer to places where they may be verified. The rules are given in Prof. Lindsay's *Captivi*², Introd. iii. Most of them are also to be found in Klotz's *Altömische Metrik*. In some cases Klotz was driven by the exigencies of his theories to deny generally admitted, and indeed obvious facts. Thus he states (p. 274) that the accentuation $\_ \cup \cup$ (of a dactylic word) is permissible in any part of the line; but of the fifty-two instances there adduced, forty-five are in the first foot, and the remaining seven are in *Cantica*. Maurenbrecher also questions some of these rules (*Hiatus u. Verschleifung*, pp. 25 ff.); but succeeds in proving nothing more than that in the text, as we have it, there are some exceptions. Which was to be expected.

² Cf. Lindsay, l.c. p. 74.

³ Klotz, to suit his theory, allows $\_ \cup \cup \_$. But all his instances are of the type of *Pers.* 653: *mēus patr̄r ubi* me sciet, where he unnecessarily scans *ubi* (p. 257 ff.).

a/micus — or falling — *cārūs a/micus*: in either case the law would be broken.⁴

6. A long syllable accented in prose may not be shortened in dialogue verse under the law of *Breues Breuiantes*.

In order that such a syllable might be shortened, it would be necessary that it should be preceded by a short syllable, and that an *ictus metricus* (cancelling the word accent) should fall either on the preceding short syllable, *mōlēstus*, or on the following syllable, *mōlēstūs*. In the first case a resolved arsis, in the second case a resolved thesis would offend against the proposed law. This rule, like the others, is suspended in the first foot of a colon and in anapaestic metre, as has been proved by the careful studies of A. W. Ahlberg.⁵

As has been already remarked, there is one case of resolution of the arsis which seems to contradict the proposed law, the case in which the resolved arsis (not thesis) seems to begin in a short final syllable. If this case be reserved for the present, the above demonstration proves the law not for every instance of resolved arsis or thesis in Plautus, but for every instance falling within the scope of these six generally recognized rules—that is to say, for the overwhelming majority of instances. We are quite justified therefore in entertaining the presumption that the law is general, and in seeking to prove that it is so. To be more precise, these six rules prove that the law is observed whenever the resolved arsis or thesis begins in one of the last three syllables of a word of more than one syllable. There are three cases in which they fail to prove that the law is observed:

1. When the resolved arsis or thesis begins in that part of a polysyllable that precedes the chief accent—*calamitatē*, *sapiētiā*;
2. when it begins in the first syllable of a word, or word-ending, of the measure of *muliere*;
3. when it begins in a monosyllable—*quid agis*, *quid id est*.

In case 1 the assumption that the syllable under the ictus would have borne the secondary accent in prose is obvious, and it is strengthened almost to the point of certainty when we find that Plautus and Terence observe strict rules in their metrical treatment of such words. Thus words of the measure of *calamitatem* normally receive the ictus on the first and fourth

⁴ Klotz (p. 263) seems to admit $\_ \cup \cup \dots$; but all his examples are in the first foot, except *Aul.* 139, which is in a *Canticum*.

⁵ *De Correptione Iambica Plaut.*, Lund, 1901, p. 77 f.

syllables, not on the second and fifth—*cālamitātē*, but not *cālāmītātē*. According to Prof. R. S. Radford,¹ words of that measure occur nearly 200 times in Plautus alone; but there are only four or five places in all Plautus and Terence where they seem to be stressed otherwise than on the first and fourth syllables. The offending instances are *Cist.* 3 *āpēriūstis* (in a bacchiac line), where we should restore *aperiūstis*; *Heaut.* 906 *ōpēriūere*, where restore *operiūere* (cf. *Men.* 550); *Andr.* 941 *rēlligione*, where scan *relligione*; *Mil.* 562 *nōn mālitiōse tamen*, where the right order is possibly *mālitiōse nōn tamen*. The stressing *cālāmītātē* may therefore be said to be invariable. The accent of *cālamitas*, and words and word-endings of that measure, in republican Latin, seems to have become the secondary accent of *cālāmītātē*; and it seems to be generally true that, where the position of the accent varied in the different parts of an inflexional system, a syllable which lost the principal accent acquired a secondary accent. This is further indicated by the metrical treatment in Plautus of words of the measure of *commōditātē*. In such words the ictus falls either on the second and fifth syllables, *commōditātē* (e.g. *Poen.* 916, *Ter. Andr.* 569), or on the first and fourth syllables, *cōmmōditātē* (e.g. *Men.* 140, *Mil.* 1383). This double stressing is explained if we suppose the (principal) accent of *commōditas* to have become the secondary accent of *commōditātē*. When the ictus fell as in *commōditātē*, the syllable that bore the secondary accent began a resolved arsis: when it fell as in *cōmmōditātē*, the same syllable began a resolved thesis. Similarly, the accent of *aliquis* became the secondary accent of *aliquāntum*, which explains the stressing *prætereā aliquāntum animi cāussa*, *Trin.* 334. In this way inflexion would cause a minimum of accentual disturbance; thus *detinui*, *detinuisti* (probably not, in prose, *detinūisti*). This conclusion is further supported by the evidence of the Romance languages. Thus the doubling of *l* in the Italian *scellerato* (beside *scelsto*) is an effect of the secondary accent of Latin *scēlērātus*, which had the same position as the (principal) accent of *scēlērāt*, *scēlērē*, etc.² It is, at the very least, a significant fact that we do find in Plautus the stressing *commōditātē*, but do not (normally) find a stressing *cālāmītātē*.

¹ 'The Latin Monosyllables in Relation to Accent and Quantity.' *Trans. Amer. Phil. Association*, vol. xxxiv. 1903, p. 66 ff.

² Cf. Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* iii. 7, p. 160.

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Case 2 offers no difficulty. It is now generally admitted that words ending in four short syllables were accented on the fourth syllable from the end in the time of Plautus, *mūliere*, *puēritia*. The accentuation *mūliere* is normal in Plautus, *mūliere* occurring only in arguments (e.g. *Pseud.* Arg. I. 7), prologues, or in lines otherwise suspect.³

In case 3, when the resolved arsis or thesis begins in a monosyllable—*quid agis*, *quid hōc quod*—it is evident that the law was obeyed if the monosyllable was accented in prose more prominently than the word or words that followed it, that is to say, if it bore what is called a sentence-accent. The question of sentence-accent arises whenever two or more words occurring in a sentence are grouped together for the purposes of accentuation, with the result that the proper accent of one or both or all the words forming the group is modified. For example, if in the spoken sentence *quid agis?* the two words of which it is composed were grouped together, so that either the proper accent on the first syllable of *agis* was suppressed or some other modification of the proper accent of one or both words followed, then the accent (or accents) of the group might be called a sentence-accent (or accents).⁴

We have little certain knowledge of sentence-accents in Latin, but we have some; and if, where we have certain knowledge of a sentence-accent, we find that Plautus has regard to it in forming resolved arses and theses, that fact will increase the probability that in some other cases also, where its existence is less certain, such an accent was heard and played its part in Plautine metric. It is known, for instance, that a preposition and a following noun 'governed' by it were accented, and sometimes written, as one word (*Quint.* i. 5. 27). This *inforo*, *inūrbe*, *antēpedes*, *antededis*, *antelimen*, *prōpediem*, *ergāpatrem*, *ergāndrem*, *prōptēcos*, and so forth. In such cases the proposed law is obeyed by Plautus and Terence. Thus we find such stressing as *ante pedēs*, *Mer.* 780 (where the first syllable of the resolved thesis would bear the chief accent in prose, *antēpedes*: cf. the metrical stressing *diuitiās* beside the prose pronunciation *diuitias*); *intēr eos*, *Trin.* 623; *intēr eos*, *Cas.* 561; *prōpter amōrem*, *Mil.* 1284 (where the first syllable of the

³ Cf. Lindsay, *op. cit.* iii. 5 (2), p. 158.

⁴ I should perhaps apologize for defining a term so generally used; but if it is an error, it is an error on the safe side, and the term is not always used strictly.

resolved thesis would bear the secondary accent in prose, *proptèramorem*, the secondary accent in this case occupying the position of the principal accent in *proptèreos*, etc. : cf. *commòditas* : *commòditatem*) ; *per ànnónam caram*, Stich. 179 (in prose *pèrànónam*). It is certain, again, that interrogative pronouns and adverbs were prominently accented.¹ When therefore we find that such stressings as *quis homo*, *quid agis*, *quid agám* are normal in Plautus and Terence (invariable, I think, at least in those parts of the line to which the proposed law applies), we are entitled to claim that here too regard was had to a sentence-accent. Of all the monosyllables found beginning a resolved arsis or thesis, *quid* is by far the commonest ; but there remain a number of instances in which other monosyllables, such as *et*, *ut*, *híc*, *sí*, occur in that position. That those monosyllables bore a sentence-accent is less certain than that interrogatives did so ; but seeing that in other cases, where we have certain knowledge of a sentence-accent, we find resolved arses and theses beginning in syllables that bore it, it is at least extremely probable that in the comparatively small number of resolved arses and theses beginning in such words as *et*, *ut*, *híc*, *sí*, the proposed law holds good.² This disposes of the three cases in which the preceding demonstration fails definitely to prove that the law was observed.

Nothing remains therefore but to consider the one apparent exception, the case in which a resolved arsis seems to begin in a short final syllable, e. g. *Most.* 402 *támquam sí intus nátus némo in aedíbus habitét*.—*licét*.³ If the final syllable of *aedíbus* remained short in this verse, the proposed law was broken : if it was metrically lengthened, the law was not broken. It is tempting to a theorist to assert anything which supports his own theory ; but he must be on his guard to make no assertion that is not supported by evidence independent of the theory he is advocating. Consequently, though there is nothing incredible or even unusual in the lengthening of a short final syllable by the power of the ictus, it will

not be proper for me to assert that *aedíbus* has its final syllable metrically lengthened in this verse, unless there is independent evidence for that view. I am aware that Ritschl, with it, must be confessed, more of emphasis than of argument, pronounced against this metrical lengthening in Plautus,⁴ and that he has been followed by other scholars ; but the question is to be decided solely by an appeal to facts.

The most striking fact in connexion with the occurrence of short syllables in arsis in Plautus is that, by a rule strictly observed, the succeeding syllables must be of such a kind that lengthening of the short syllable in arsis shall be at least possible. First, the next following syllable may be long ; as in *As.* 250 *fingeré falláciam*, *Pseud.* 355 *prómeré possúm domó*, *Men.* 842 *lámpadíbús ardéntíbús* : cf. *Men.* 327, 506, 900 ; *Most.* 402, 849, 1118 ; etc. In these cases the lengthening of the short syllable in arsis must be admitted, unless the text be declared unsound. But far more significant than such instances is the fact that, wherever a syllable can be said to remain short in arsis, it must be followed not merely by one, but by two short syllables, capable of forming a resolved thesis. The rule is, that, when the final short syllable in arsis is followed by a word beginning with a short syllable, that short syllable must bear the primary or secondary prose accent (Klotz, *l.c.* p. 255 f.) ; from which it follows that the next following syllable must be either short, or shortened under the law of Breues Breuiantes. Thus, *dicere uolui tibi* would be a good verse-ending ; but *dicere modéstó modó* would be impossible. Even *filius in exercitum* (cf. *Am.* 102), though uncommon, is quite possible, because the scansion *inēxercitum* is not excluded (*in*-having a secondary accent) ; but *quam filius amabat tamén* is not possible. There are many hundreds of instances in Plautus of the placing of a short final syllable in the arsis ; but there is not one exception to this rule.⁵ I do not see how it is possible to resist the conclusion that in all these cases the poet intended the syllable placed in arsis to be metrically lengthened, so that the two following short syllables could form a resolved thesis. Klotz perceives to what conclusion the facts point ; nevertheless he rejects it on the *a priori* grounds that such lengthening is not proper

¹ For the testimony of the grammarians on this point, see Lindsay, *op. cit.* iii. 12 a (5).

² Cf. Radford, *op. cit.*, who, using an entirely different method from that here followed, comes to the conclusion that, wherever a short monosyllable causes shortening of a succeeding syllable by the law of Breues Breuiantes, *séd ápstulisti, et á me*, the metrically stressed monosyllable would have borne a sentence-accent in prose.

³ For a large number of instances, see Klotz, *Altr. Metr.* p. 257 ff.

⁴ *Prol. Trin.* p. 185.

⁵ For *Poen.* 1194, *Stich.* 55, 737, see Klotz, p. 265. The last-mentioned occurs in a scene which is really a *Canticum* : observe the abnormal ictus *amabílis*, causing abnormal shortening of the preceding *a*.

('eigen') to drama, and does not occur in Greek drama (*l.c.* p. 265).

Another significant fact is this, that a final short syllable so placed is allowed in any foot of the line, except the last but one in verses requiring an iambic close. Thus *satis agitāt* or *dicerē uolui* are impossible verse-endings where an iambic close is required. Why? Apparently because they would have been recited *satis | agitāt*, etc., with an anapaest in the last place.¹

We have another means of testing the question whether Plautus regarded a short final syllable placed in arsis as metrically long, in the special case in which the phenomenon is associated with an apparent breach of Luchs's well-known law. That law, not always rightly stated, forbids an iambus in the penultimate foot of verses requiring an iambic close, when the end of that foot coincides with the end of a word.

If, in the line, uolt te nōuos ⁴*erūs* ⁵*operām* ⁶*darē* | ¹two ²*uteri* domino, the final syllable of *erūs* was short, the penultimate foot was an iambus, and the law was broken; if, however, it was metrically lengthened, the penultimate foot was an anapaest, and the law was not broken. It has been said that Plautus tolerates the line-ending *ū | ū | ū | ū | ū*. If that can be proved, then lengthening of the final syllable of *erūs* in the line-ending *crūs operām darē* is neither proved nor disproved; but if it can be shown that in no other case he tolerated that ending, then that fact is very strong evidence for the postulated lengthening.

Excluding verse-endings of the type *erūs operām darē*, all other seeming breaches of Luchs's law are divisible into three types²: (a) *reueniunt domūm*, (b) *in aliūm diēm*, (c) *dab(o) operām tibi*. At first sight, the instances of type (a) seem to prove conclusively that Plautus did tolerate the verse-ending *ū | ū | ū | ū | ū*. There are five instances of this type in Plautus, and one in Terence: *Am.* 188 *reueniunt domūm*, *Poen.* 27 *reueniunt domūm*, *Most.* 57

¹ I have maintained, in *Hermathena* xxx. (1904), p. 140 f., that an anapaest is occasionally found for an iambus in the verse-close. That opinion I still hold; but I had not then observed the restriction to which that licence is subject. It is allowed only when the verse ends with a *quadri-syllable* of the measure of *perueniant*; e.g. *aūgurū* (*Acc. Trag.* 624 R), *diuitiās*, *ēueniāt*, *sūrrupit*. *Veniāt* would be impossible in place of the final iambus; and those editors who postulate *perueniāt*, and the like, give no instances of verse-closes in which the simple verb is required in a form **ueniāt*.

² See A. Luchs in *Studemunds Studien*, i. p. 13 ff.

reueniāt senēx, *Curc.* 86 *reicipiāt marē*, *Phor.* 507 *reīnēdām sciō*, *Men.* 550 *ōperuit forēs*. It cannot be an accident that in five of these instances we have a verb compounded with *re(d)*. Such verbs had variable scansion of the initial syllable in republican Latin. We have *reūortimini* in *Am.* 689, *rēccludo* in *Cap.* 918, *ređducem*, *ibid.* 923, *Rud.* 909, *ređducem* in *Cap.* 931. Where the metre decides the quantity, *ređduco* is normal in Plautus and Lucretius (Munro on *Lucr.* i. 228; Sonnenschein on *Rud.* 909). It is needless to multiply instances, which are well known. In each of the above cases we may scan the first syllable long. There remains the solitary *ōperuit forēs*. This is one of several places in which irregularities are associated with the perfect of *operio* or *aperio*. In *Cist.* 3 *āperuistis*, in *Heaut.* 906 *ōpēruere* are abnormally stressed, as has been noticed above. These various irregularities disappear if we restore the archaic perfects *operiūt*, *aperiūt*: cf. *posiūt*, *salūiūt*, etc. Thus these six instances, so far from proving that Plautus tolerated the ending *ū | ū | ū | ū | ū*, afford very strong evidence indeed that he did not. The dramatists never write such verse-endings as *mīlierēs domūm*, *fidiciñde dedit*, *faciliūs tibi*. How convenient it would have been to do so, if it had been metrically possible, is proved by the comparative frequency with which modern editors have introduced such endings into the text (e.g. *Rud.* 1247: cf. Luchs, *l.c.* p. 14).

In type (b), *in aliūm diēm*, lengthening of a monosyllabic preposition in arsis is not to be thought of, *inaliūm* being as much one word as *ineo*. But it is a necessary condition in this type of verse-ending that the preposition shall be preceded by synaloepha. There are only seven certain instances (including those in which *ut* or *at* takes the place of the preposition). They are all of the type of *milit(i) in aliūm diēm* (*Aul.* 530: other instances in Luchs, *l.c.* p. 16, where, however, some correction is necessary). That this never absent synaloepha is not accidental, but has a prosodic effect, is shown by the conditions found in the remaining case in which Luchs's law seems to be broken, namely, in endings of the type (c), *dab(o) operām tibi*. Omitting one or two places where the text is not certain, there are nineteen instances of this ending in Plautus, and three in Terence (Luchs, pp. 13, 15). The necessary conditions are that there shall be synaloepha before the anapaestic word, and that either a pause (e.g. at change of speakers) or a long syllable

shall precede the entire sequence—*fāctūmst, dāb(o) operām tibi*. The presence of this long syllable (an 'inner' thesis), or of the pause that may take its place, indicates that the need was felt of some sort of signal when this ending was used: it breaks the pace of recitation, and allows the actor a moment's pause. The synaloepha always found here evidently had the same prosodic effect as the differently placed synaloepha in type (b): it gives (at this particular place in the line) weight to the properly short syllable which it either precedes (b) or follows (c), and allows a pronunciation *fāctūmst, dābō | operām | tibi* or *mīlītī in | aliūm | diēm*, though the hiatus need not have been so pronounced as it is here represented. All that was necessary was, that the short syllable in arsis should be in each case weighted a little, to allow a momentary pause. It is not to be supposed that so abnormal a hiatus, or, rather, synaloepha with such abnormal effects, could be used in any part of the line. It has long been suspected that the point in the line that immediately precedes the final iambic dipody had some special characteristics.¹ Nor should it be forgotten that these types of verse-ending are exceptional and comparatively infrequent. I hesitate to claim that the prosodic effect of synaloepha at this point in the line is definitely proved; but there is always one unanswerable argument in its favour. If Plautus really tolerated a verse-ending $\cup \cup | \cup \cup$, why does he never once, in all his 19,300 lines of dialogue verse, end a line with such a collocation as *mūliērēs domum*? Or why do we never find such an ending as *sātis adēst tibi*? Those would be really conclusive instances. But they are wanting. I conclude therefore that in those seeming breaches of Luchs's law which come under the types *rēuēniūt domūm, milit(i) in aliūm diēm, dāb(o) operām tibi*, we have no certain evidence that Plautus tolerated the ending $\cup \cup | \cup \cup$. It follows that it is highly improbable that he tolerated it in lines ending like *erūs operām darē*. If he did not, the final syllable of *erūs* must have been lengthened in arsis.

To sum up the evidence in favour of the view that a short final syllable under the ictus was treated as metrically long by Plautus: we find that such syllables are so

introduced by Plautus that *they can always be scanned long, but cannot always be scanned short*; further, the scanning of such syllables as long involves no metrical difficulties, but the scanning of them as short involves a number of exceptions to Luchs's law. If therefore we accept the guidance of the facts, accept, that is, the inductive method, we are indisputably led to the conclusion that short final syllables so placed were lengthened, probably by a pause of one mora. The acceptance of that conclusion would even enable us to introduce a little order into the scanning of Saturnians. For example: *facilē facteis superāses*; *Gnaiuōd patrē prognātus*; *insecē uorsūtum*. Incidentally, it would also remove the one stumbling-block in the way of Klotz's law that the *syllaba breuians* and the *breuiata* must both belong to the same arsis or thesis (in cases like *patrē ubi*, where Klotz was compelled by his theory to scan *ūbī*).

If the lengthening of short final syllables under the ictus be admitted, the sole seeming exception to the law proposed in the earlier part of this paper disappears. There is, of course, a further step to be taken—to enquire the *raison d'être* of the law itself. I hope to consider that question on a future occasion. Meanwhile, thus much may be said. We do not find its *raison d'être* in the supposed, the oft-asserted preference of Plautus for coincidence of the verse-accent (ictus) with the prose-accent. For three reasons: 1. the law requires the first syllable of a resolved thesis, which has the weakest metrical stress, to be a syllable that would be accented in prose (*cōsiliūm, intered*); 2. the law does not apply to the first foot of a colon, or to anapaestic metre; 3. except in resolved arses and theses, and in those cases that come under the dipody-law, there is no evidence in the dramatists of any effort to avoid clashing of the verse-accent and the prose-accent. In the limitations of the applicability of the law we, naturally, have a clue to its *raison d'être*. The law does not apply to that metre (the anapaestic), or to that part of the dialogue metres (the first foot) which is exempt from metrical ambiguity. In the necessity of avoiding metrical ambiguity, of providing a sure verse-clue—a necessity in every form of verse, and in every language—we shall find, I believe, the *raison d'être* of the proposed law.

CHARLES EXON.

¹ Cf. Jacobsohn, *Quaestiones Plautinae*: Göttingen, 1901.

THE SILVAE OF STATIUS.

I 3 105-110.

digne Midae Croesique bonis et Perside
 gaza, 105
 macte bonis animi, cuius stagnantia rura
 debuit et flauis Hermus transcurrere
 ripis
 et limo splendente Tagus. sic docta fre-
 quentes
 otia, sic omni detectus pectora nube
 finem Nestoreae precor egrediare senec-
 tae. 110

Heinsius and Markland, that is to say the two keenest minds that have ever concerned themselves with Statius, independently altered *detectus* to *detersus*. Their reason for the change they did not state, and Mr Vollmer cannot guess it. '*detectus*' says he 'ist ohne Bedenken; die Wolke tegit, ihr Verschwinden detegit, vgl. Liu. xxxiii 7 iam iuga montium detexerat nebula'; and neither he nor his numerous admirers have any suspicion that this note is a sur-render instead of a defence. It was not because they did not see its meaning that Heinsius and Markland condemned *detectus*, but because they saw it. *omni detectus pectora nube* is good and clear Latin, and it signifies *apertus, simplex*. Hor. epist. i 16 62 'noctem peccatis et fraudibus obice nubem,' a veil of concealment; Quint. inst. viii proem. 20 '(cultus) muliebris et luxuriosus non corpus exornat sed detegit mentem,' lays the mind bare, Sen. ad Marc. 26 4 'nihil in obscuro, *detectas mentes* et aperta praecordia et in publico medioque uitam.' Conversely a dissimulator is called *tectus*, κρυψίνους: Cic. de fin. ii 51 'is enim, qui occultus et *tectus* dicitur, tantum abest ut se indicet, perficiet etiam ut dolere alterius improbo facto uideatur.'

Is *simplex* what Statius means? Far from it, he means *serenus*. *nube* is rightly understood by Mr Vollmer himself as 'Sorge und Furcht'; which interpretation he supports in a characteristic manner by quoting a few examples which are relevant (such as Ouid. ex Pont. ii 1 5 'pulsata curarum nube serenum') and a larger number which are not: one of these is Ouid. met. i 357, where Deucalion, after the ebb of the deluge, says 'terrent etiamnum nubila mentem,' that is 'I still tremble when I see clouds in the sky.' Now *nubes curarum* non tegit pectora, 'ihr

Verschwinden' non detegit pectora. When Homer at Il. xvii 591 says τὸν δ' ἄχρεος νεφέλη ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα, just as when he says at iii 442 ἔπος φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν, the meaning of ἐκάλυψε is not *hid* (ἐκρυψε) but *wrapped*. Mr Vollmer therefore, in writing 'die Wolke tegit, ihr Verschwinden detegit,' puts the case against *detectus* in a nutshell.

What the *nubes curarum* does is to make the spirit gloomy; its victim is not *tectus* but *nubilus*, and to remove the gloom is not *detegere* but *detergere*. Fest. p. 363 Muell. 'tersum diem pro sereno dictum ab antiquis,' Hor. carm. i 7 15 sq. 'albus ut obscuro deterget nubila caelo | saepe notus,' Apoll. Sid. carm. 7 135 '*detersam mentem* caligo relinquat,' Symm. ep. ii 24 'ut sollicitudinem . . . spes promissa detergeat,' vi 72 'praestate litteras, quarum laetitia nubem tergeat praesentis iniuriæ.' But the corruption *detectus* appears to indicate the form *deterus*. Nonius p. 179 quotes from Cato 'circumtonsi et terti atque unctuli' and from Varro 'aerea tertia nitet galea'; and that the Romans of later times maintained their ancient freedom against the assaults of grammarians is shown by the precept of the appendix Probi G.L.K. iv 198 4 '*tersus* non *tertus*.' In Statius as in other writers of Domitian's day there are traces of antique orthography preserved in the corruptions of the MSS. Theb. i 706 *ultra est* ω, *ultra sim* P, that is *ultrast*; ii 417 *toruus et* ω, *seruo sed* P, that is *toruus et*; ix 865 *obliquus* ω, *oblitus* P, that is *oblicus*. In Theb. xi 152-4 we find

ardet inops animi, nec tam considerare regno
 quam scelus et caedem et perfossi san-
 guine fratris
 expirare cupit.

What 'sanguine fratris expirare' can mean I do not know; but I know that in Verg. georg. ii 510 we read 'gaudent *perfusi sanguine fratrum*'; that Virgil's own spelling, as Quintilian inst. i 7 20 declares on the authority of Virgil's handwriting, was *perfussi*; and that Virgil's cod. Gudianus, which offers *refussa* at Aen. i 126 and *infussa* at iv 250, has *confossae* at iv 250 where other MSS have *confusae*. So I conjecture

perfussus sanguine fratris
 expirare cupit.

At Theb. v 131 the Puteaneus presents *gauissa*.

I 4 58-62.

tunc deus, Alpini qui iuxta culmina dorsi
signat Apollineos sancto cognomine lucos,
respicit, heu tanti pridem securus alumni, 60
progressusque moras 'nunc mecum,
Epidauria proles,
hinc' ait 'i gaudens'.

Rutilius Gallicus has fallen ill of overwork in the service of the state, and Apollo, at first neglectful, now intervenes. Since *progressusque moras* has neither sense nor structure most editors read *prae progressus*, 'quod explicant' says Markland '*statim, sine mora*; non male ad sensum, sed phraseos desunt exempla, et deerunt si recte auguror'; Mr Vollmer translates 'dem Zögern Aeskulaps zuvorkommend, der Jupiters Strafe fürchten könnte, weil er von diesem mit dem Blitze getroffen worden, als er den Hippolytus oder Glaucus ins Leben zurückgerufen'. For the sweet sake of a MS reading we would all believe these explanations, or any others; but *prae progressus* is a conjecture, and a conjecture cannot count on such devotion: it ought to mean something, not to beg a meaning from public charity. The form of the sentence resembles Ach. i 126 sqq. 'iam dudum tacito lustrat Thetis omnia uisu, | *nec perpessa moras* "ubinam mea pignora, Chiron, | dic" ait': instead of *progressus* we want some word to signify *abrumpens* (Theb. xi 201 'abrumpe moras, celeremus', Ach. ii 198 'heia, abrumpe moras'). Now in the line above, 60, the reading of the MS is not *pridem* but *precidem*; and I ask the question whether this is not *praecidens*, first added in the margin to restore what had been torn away from the beginning of u. 61 (torn away I say, for *praecidens* could hardly be corrupted to *progressus*), and then mistaken for a correction of *pridem* in u. 60, so that the gap in u. 61 still remained and was filled up otherwise. For '*praecidensque moras*' see Plin. ep. ix 14 'cuius cunctationem. . . temporis ratio praecidit.'

I 4 71-75.

prima togae uirtus illi quoque: clarus et
ingens
eloquio; mox innumeris exercita castris
occiduas primasque domos et sole sub omni
permeruit iurata manus, nec in otia pacis
permissum laxare animos ferrumque re- 75
cingi.

The construction breaks down in 73 sq. The acc. *domos* is governed by the transitive

verb *permeruit* (= *meruit per*) as by *perfuris* in Theb. iv 388 sq. 'Eoasque domos flagrante triumpho | *perfuris*.' But if *permeruit* is a transitive verb it cannot be taken with *sole sub omni*, which requires the intransitive *meruit*. What has happened is rendered clear by the parallel of Theb. i 200 sq. '*primaque occidentaeque domus et fusa sub omni* | terra atque unda *die*': a verse is lost which completed the sentence something in this fashion,

occiduas primasque domos et sole sub omni
<effusos pelagi tractus terrasque patentes>
permeruit iurata manus.

I 5 34-41.

non huc admissae Thasos aut undosa
Carystos,
maeret onyx longe queriturque exclusus
ophites: 35
sola nitet flauis Nomadum decisa metallis
purpura, sola cauo Phrygiae quam Synna-
dos antro
ipse cruentauit maculis lucentibus Attis
quoque Tyri niueas secat et Sidonia rupes.
uix locus Eurotae, uiridis cum regula
longo 40
Synnada distinctu uariat.

I cannot here recover the words of Statius, but I think that I can restore the sentence to its original form and divert conjecture from a false track.

The first difficulty is the *purpura* of u. 37. Purple marble, porphyry, was not hewn from the quarries of Numidia: what they produced was giallo antico, and that is why they are called *flaua*. Nor was it purple marble that Attis sprinkled with his blood-stains: they were purple, but it was white, ii 2 87 sqq. 'Synnade quod maesta Phrygiae fodere secures | per Cybeles lugentis agros, ubi marmore picto | *candida* purpureo distinguitur area gyro.' The second difficulty is verse 39, which has no meaning or construction. The least improbable conjecture is perhaps Heinsius' '*quasque Tyros uena secat e Sidonide rupes*'; but nothing is known of marble quarries at Tyre or Sidon.

These two difficulties should help to solve one another. The *sola nitet* . . . *decisa* of 36 and the *sola* . . . *quam* of 37 cannot belong to *purpura*, and the only word in the passage to which they can belong is the *rupes* of 39. The *Tyri* and *Sidonida* of 39 cannot belong to *rupes*, and the only word in the passage to which they can belong is the *purpura* of 37. Further, almost all the

marbles mentioned at this place are mentioned also at i 2 148 sqq. in these verses :

hic Libycus Phrygiusque silex, hic dura
Laconum
saxa uirent, hic flexus onyx et concolor alto
uena mari rupesque uident, quis purpura
saepe
Oebalis et Tyrii moderator liuet aeni.

That is how Statius describes porphyry ; and here he describes it again :

sola nitet flauis Nomadum decisa metallis 36
quoique Tyri ~~~~~ et Sidonia rupes 39
purpura, sola cauo Phrygiae quam Synna-
dos antro 37
ipse cruentauit maculis lucentibus Attis. 38

Verse 39 was probably repeated after 38 by reason of the homoeoteleuton *-allis, attis*, and then wrongly deleted in the first place instead of the second. The construction is 'sola nitet rupes Nomadum metallis decisa, etque rupes quoui (liuet saepe!) Tyri et Sidonia purpura.' *rupi* would be more regular than *rupes*, but the hyperbaton is like Luc. i 13 sqq. 'heu quantum terrae potuit pelagique parari | hoc, quem ciuiles hauserunt, sanguine, dextrae' and Sil. xi 459-61 'sed, quos pulsabat Rhipeum ad Strymona, nerui, | auditus superis, auditus manibus Orpheus, | emerito fulgent clara inter sidera caelo'; and the ambiguity, if ambiguity there be, is like Prop. ii 26 7 'ne forte tuum mare nomen haberet' and Hor. epist. i 19 28 'temperat Archilochi musam pede mascula Sappho.' Statius himself has a more violent dislocation of words in Theb. ix 135 sqq. 'uidit, quamquam undique crebrae, | Hippomedon, ante ora minae, saeuoque proteruam | abstulit ense manum.' For 'Tyri et Sidonia purpura' see ii 2 122 'Troica et Euphratae diademata,' v 1 26 'Apollineus Bacchique sacerdos'; though *niueas secat* may contain another substantive in disguise.

II 1 19-30.

ipse etenim tecum nigrae sollemnia pom-
pae
spectatumque urbi scelus et puerile fere-
trum 20
produxi, saeuos damnati turis acruos
plorantemque animam supra sua funera
uidi,
teque patrum gemitus superantem et
bracchia matrum
complexumque rogos ignemque haurire
parantem

uix tenui similis comes offendiquetenendo. 25
et nunc heu uititis et frontis honore soluto
infaustus uates uersa mea pectora tecum
plangolyra. et diu comitem sociumque
doloris,
si merui luctusque tui consortia sensi,
iam lenis patiare precor. 30

The oldest conjecture at u. 28 is *at diri*; Markland's *en duri* is apter, but the elision of an iambus before *en* is probably illegitimate. Mr Vollmer writes *sed tu*: both words are inoffensive, but both are superfluous. What the sense and context suggest is a word to signify *acris* or *recentis*, a fresh and overwhelming grief ('me fulmine in ipso | audiuerat patres' he proceeds in 30 sq.); and the letters of the text point straight to such a word :

crudi comitem sociumque doloris.

crudi = *et udi*, for the confusion of *c* with *e* and of *r* with *t* are both common enough. The cod. Matritensis which has preserved us Statius' siluae contains also the astronomica of Manilius, and at Man. iv 350 it has '*et imine*' for '*crimine*,' at iii 10 '*lacetum*' for '*lacerum*,' and at i 821 '*aera*.' where Manilius' other MSS have '*acta*': in the siluae it offers i 4 1 *eloto* for *clotho*, iv 4 91 *iuueneae* for *iuueneae*, i 4 74 *permetuit* for *perme-ruit*, and ii 6 10 *ut se* for *urse*. The comparison of fresh grief to a raw wound is frequent, as at Plin. ep. v 16 11 '*ut enim crudum adhuc uulnus medentium manus reformidat, deinde patitur atque ultro requirit, sic recens animi dolor consolationes reicit ac refugit, mox desiderat et clementer admotis adquiescit*,' and is used by Statius himself in v 1 18 sq. '*cum plaga recens et adhuc in uulnere primo | nigra domus*' and in uu. 3 sq. of this very poem, '*abruptis etiam nunc flebile uenis | uulnus hiat magnaeque patet uia lubrica plagae*': he repeats the phrase itself at Theb. iii 334 sq. in describing a wounded bull fresh from victory over its rival, '*uacua iacet hostis harena | turpe gemens crudosque uetat sentire dolores*'; he varies it at silu. v 5 38 sq. '*ille ego, qui quotiens blande matrumque patrumque | uulnera, qui uiuos potui mulcere dolores*.'

II 1 45-49.

blandis ubinam ora arguta querellis
osculaque impliciti uernos redolentia flores
et mixtae risu lacrimae penitusque loquentis
Hyblaeis uox mixta fauis, cui sibila
serpens
poneret et saeuae uellent seruire nouercae.

That Statius, who at i 1 15 sq. appears to have written 'ora . . . mixta notis belli,' could write 'uox mixta fauis' is not incredible; but neither he nor any known Latin author could place it side by side with 'mixtae risu lacrimae': 'tears blent with smiles and a voice blent with honeycomb.' All that Mr Vollmer has to say is '*mixta* ist chiastisch wiederholt,' as if that mended matters. Markland conjectured *tincta*; but it comes nearer to the MS and suits well the artificiality of Statius to write 'Hyblaeis uox muls a fauis,' that is 'sweetened.' It was the admixture of honey which produced the drink called *mulsum*, and the word is applied to honeyed speech in Plaut. Poen. 325 'ut muls a loquitur' and rud. 364 'ut dulcis es, ut *muls a* (*multa* C) *dieta* dicis.' In other connexions also the poets use *mulcere* for 'sweeten': Sil. vii 169 'pocula nec norant sucis *mulcere* Lyaei,' Man. v 264 sq. 'Arabum Suriis *mulcebit* odores | et medios unguenta dabit referentia flatus, | ut sit adulterio suorum gratia maior,' 332 sq. 'ille dabit cantus inter conuiuia dulcis | *mulcebitque* sono Bacchum,' 'make the wine taste sweeter.' In Colum. x 261 sq. we have 'rosa praestat honores | caelitis templisque Sabaeum *miscet* odorem,' which is an imitation of Verg. Aen. i 416 sq. 'Sabaeo | ture calant arae sertisque recentibus halant.' But 'miscet Sabaeum odorem' is no sort of Latin for 'miscetur cum Sabaeo odore,' and here too I should write *mulcet*.

II 1 65-68.

obuius intranti rursus quis in ora manusque
prosiliet breuibisque umeros circumdabit
ulnis?

muta domus, *fateor*, desolatique penates,
et situs in thalamis et maesta silentia mensis.

'inepta et nullius sensus uox ista *fateor*,' said Markland, who lived in the eighteenth century, knew the meaning of Latin words, and attended to the context. Now come down to the year 1893 and listen to Mr F. Skutsch in Fleck. Jahrb. vol. 147 pp. 827-8.

credisse nullum fere siluarum uocabulum coniecturis magis uexatum esse quam illud *fateor*? taedet sescenta illa conamina, ineptissima plerumque, recensere; putes criticos non minus nostri loci securos quam sermonis latini ignaros fuisse. nam quam saepe parentheticum illud *fateor* poetae adhibuerint, dici nequit; uide, ut ex multis pauca delibem, Ouidium rem. 314, met. ix 362; ipsum Statium silu. iii 4 39; Martialem i 90 5, ii 28 5, iii 12 1, Claudianum compluribus locis quos Birtii index subministrabit; Maximianum ii 29, v 39; poet.

lat. min. iv p. 424 c. 527 u. 4 Baehr., ibd. v p. 367 c. 62 u. 3. sed Marklandus 'si domus muta est et desolata' inquit 'quaeso a te, Stati, quid ad rem est siue tu hoc fatearis siue non fatearis?' hanc tamen questionem non minus recte ceteris poetis quos nominauit plurimis locis eorum quos modo congesti proposueris, immo non pauci loci erunt quibus minus bene illud *fateor* explices quam nostro. nam Statius sane *fateor* quod, si propositum exequi uult, celare praestaret; consolari uult amicum, sed ne consolatur quidem celat, quantum damni pueri mors praematura attulerit. at apud Ouidium l.l. si Dryopae in arborem mutatae soror ait *openque* | non poteram tibi ferre, soror: *quantumque* ualebam | *cresecentem* truncum *ramosque* *implex* morabar | *et, fateor*, uolui sub eodem cortice condidi, hoc loco *fateor* uix intellegitur, nisi compertum tibi est quantopere huius parenthesis uis continuo usu debilitata sit, qua de re fusius dicendi compendium mihi faciunt quae adnotauit Bonnetus de Gregorii Turonensis latinitate p. 258 adn. 2.

Perhaps the fittest reply would be 'nugatur, fateor, Skutschius.' It is Mr Skutsch himself who is 'sermonis latini ignarus' and 'nostri loci securus.' The parenthetic *fateor* has two meanings: it means to confess or concede something which one might be thought willing to deny (Ouid. rem. 314 'curabar propriis aeger Podalirius herbis | *et, fateor*, medicus turpiter aeger eram'), and it means to declare something which one has the power to conceal (Ouid. met. ix 362 Stat. silu. iii 4 39 'nil ego, nil, *fateor*, toto tam dulce sub orbe | aut uidi aut genui'). Out of all the poets' 'innumerable' examples Mr Skutsch neither quotes nor can quote a single one where *fateor* is used as I have used it above and as Statius must have used it if he used it here. Mr Skutsch fancies that Statius 'fatetur quod, si propositum exequi uult, celare praestaret: consolari uult amicum.' Statius, on the contrary, is extolling the graces of Glaucias and magnifying the loss which Melior has sustained: this has been his theme ever since u. 35 'confer gemitus pariterque fleamus'; the whole paragraph consists of enquiries like 'quis tua colloquiis hilaris mulcebit amantis | pectora?' and exclamations like 'heu lactea colla'; and in the next verse 69 he proceeds 'quid mirum, tanto si te pius altor honorat | funere?' But suppose that Statius wanted to conceal or deny the truth: how could he? Which knew best whether Melior's house was silent and Melior's hearth was desolate? Melior or Statius? And then Gregory of Tours (who uses *fateor* in some such sense as 'comme bien vous le pensez') is fetched from the 6th century to corrupt the Latinity of the 1st.

Mr Vollmer says that 'dieser partikelartige Gebrauch (fast = "leider") des Verbum'

is found 'schon Verg. A. ii 134 xii 813.' It is not: those passages are these, 'eripui, fateor, leto me et uincula rupi,' 'futura misero, fateor, succurrere fratri' suasi.' Markland proposed *pariter*, which is violent, and Baehrens *stat ero*, which is unnatural. I conjecture

muta domus mus sa t desolatique penates,
mus-mus shortened to *mus* and *fa t* expanded to *fateor*. See Auson. parent. ix 15 '*muta domus silet et torus alget*,' Prop. iv 3 53 '*omnia surda tacent*,' Petr. 126 '*fabula muta taces*,' Ouid. met. iv 433 '*muta silentia*,' Verg. Aen. xii 718 '*stat pecus omne metu mutum, mussantque iuuencae*.' If the repetition of the syllable *mus* (though it is hardly a repetition, since the *u* of *musso* is probably long) strikes any reader as displeasing, let him ask himself why '*Sinin infandum*' at Theb. xii 576 and '*siluas uasta* at Luc. vi 42 do not so strike him.

II 1 124-129.

Hereuleos annis aequare labores
 coeperat adsurgens, sed adhuc infantia
 iuxta; 125
 iam tamen et ualidi gressus mensuraque
 maior
 cultibus et uisae puero decrescere uestes,
 cum tibi quas uestes, quae non gesta-
 mina mitis
 festinabat erus.

Down to the year 1900 the reading of the MSS at the end of u. 125 was supposed to be *mixta*. Markland in 1728 emended *iuxta*, but many editors still retained *mixta*, and Mr Vollmer in 1898 of course was one of them. In 1900 Mr Klotz informed us that *iuxta* is actually the reading of the Matritensis, and he prints it in his text, and so do the following editors: Markland is not mentioned. This is the way to deal with conjectural emendators: reject their emendations as long as you can, and then, when you are forced to accept their emendations, suppress their names. Heinsius conjectured *sancire* for *sanare* at ii 1 84, Lindenbrog *declinis* for *declinivis* at ii 3 45, Markland *ceruae* for *terrae* at ii 3 22, *carpit* for *carpsit* at ii 6 98, *nec* for *haec* at iv 5 37, and *nam* for *uam* at v 1 76: all these conjectures are now found in the Matritensis and received into the text of editions, but nothing is said of their discoverers.

127 sq. *uestes*, | cum tibi quas *uestes*.¹

¹ '*uestes* mit Nachdruck wiederholt' Vollmer; and similarly at v 5 33 sq. (*iuuat inlaudabile car-*

haec pauperies sermonis' says Markland 'non Statiana est, sed alius cuiuspiam, qui in margine libri sui hanc uocem scripserat ad explicandam aliam quae in contextu erat, et quae difficilior illi uidebatur.' It may be so, or it may be that the genuine word had fallen out; and an appropriate word which might easily fall out after *-i quas* is <*lanas*>. Perhaps too there is another place where *lanas* has been supplanted by *uestes*. At Ouid. her. xiii 37-40, when most MSS give '*scilicet ipsa geram saturatas murice uestes*, | *bella sub Iliacis moenibus ille gerat?* | *ipsa comas pectar, galea caput ille prematur*, | *ipsa nouas uestes, dura uir arma ferat?*' Mr Vollmer will again be ready with the comment '*uestes* mit Nachdruck wiederholt,' overlooking '*comas pectar*' as he overlooked '*quae non gestamina*;' but Mr Sedlmayer's cod. Gothanus posterior, which has several traits of integrity, offers '*saturatas murice lanas*,' and if this is a conjecture it is a good one: met. vi 9 '*tinguebat murice lanas*,' art. i 251 '*de tincta murice lana*,' iii 170 '*de Tyrio murice, lana, rubes*.'

Markland and most editors, in the middle of u. 129, punctuate '*erus?*' which is wrong; Mr Klotz punctuates '*erus!*' which is worse. The stop to be placed at the end of a sentence is determined by the principal verb: the principal verb of this sentence is '*uisae*,' which is neither interrogative nor exclamatory. The '*quas*' of '*quas uestes*' (unless you supply '*non*' from the next clause) is exclamatory, like the '*quem*' of '*quem, Natura, patrem*' in u. 34: the '*quae*' of '*quae non gestamina*' is interrogative; but if you insist upon expressing these facts by punctuation you must print '*cum tibi quas uestes! quae non gestamina? mitis | festinabat erus*.'

II 1 227-230.

ades huc emissas ab atro
 limine, cui soli cuncta impetrare facultas,
 Glaucia:² insontes animas nec portitor
 arce
 nec durae comes ille ferae. 230

men | fundere et incompete miserum *laudare* dolo-rem) '*laudare* durch das vorhergehende *inlaudabile* gestützt und gegensätzlich betont.'

² 'Ich halte den Hiat nach dem Vocativ ebenso wie nach einer Interjection für berechtigt' Vollmer. This opinion will carry such weight as belongs to the opinions of a metrist who scans both *Phidumque* and *reicitque* as ὀ-ῶ-ν-ε. If the text were right, it would of course be Γλαυκία (Martial calls him *Glaucias* as well as *Glaucia*) shortened in lieu of elision like Virgil's *Pelio Ossam*; but this has no parallel in Statius, who at iii 2 65 writes *Pelion Ossae*. The old conjecture *Glaucia*; <*nam*> *insontes* is the most probable.

This 'comes,' according to Heinsius, is Cerberus' brother the dog Orthrus, whom Silius xiii 845 sets to worry unchaste Vestals; according to O. Rossbach Rhein. Mus. 1893 p. 594 it is the 'ianitor... sedis laxae, qui uiscera saeui | spargis nostra cani' of Luc. vi 702 sq., perhaps the same as 'ostia Ditis | centenis suetus Briareus recludere palmis' in Sil. xiii 587 sq. If either of these explanations is right, *durae* must be altered, as the old editors, who were at home in Latin poetry, altered it, to *dirae*: it is in this age, the age of the Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie and the thesaurus linguae Latinae, that scholars accept '*durae* ferae' as a Roman's designation of Cerberus.

But side by side with Charon it is not any associate of Cerberus' that one expects to find; it is Cerberus himself, whose especial duty it is to prevent the escape of the dead: Fronto fer. Als. p. 228 Nab. 'canem denique custodem apposuisse umbris territandis, quae aufugere ad superos cuperent'; and since it is necessary to change at least one letter of the MS text perhaps that letter should not be *u* but *f*:

nec *durae* comes ille *serae*.

Tib. i 2 6 '*dura* ianua *fula sera*.' Cerberus himself is the companion of the inexorable bar: he is chained to it as a 'canis catenarius.' Prop. iv 11 25 sq. '*Cerberus* et nullas hodie petat improbus umbras | et iaceat tacita laxa catena *sera*,' 7 89 sq. 'nox clausas liberat umbras | errat et abiecta *Cerberus* ipse *sera*.'

II 2 138-154.

at nunc discussa rerum caligine uerum
aspicis: illo alii rursus iactantur in alto,
set tua securos portus placidamque quie-
tem 140
intrauit non quassa ratis. sic perge nec
unquam
emeritam in nostras puppem dimitte pro-
cellas. 142
tuque, nurus inter. 147
. praecordia curae,
non frontem tuescere minae, sed candida
semper
gaudia et in uultu curarum ignara uo-
luptas;
non tibi sepositas infelix strangulat arca 150
diuitias audique animum dispendia tor-
quent
fenoris: expositi census et docta fruendi
temperies. non ulla deo meliore cohae-
rent

pectora, non alias docuit Concordia
mentes. 154
discite securi, quorum de pectore mixtae 143
in longum coiere faces sanctusque pudicae
seruat amicitiae leges amor. ite per annos
saeculaque et priscae titulos praecedite
famae. 146

The first word of u. 140 is in the MS *et*. The old editors saw that an adversative particle was wanted, and they changed it to *at*; this however stands at the beginning of u. 138, and Dr Postgate's *sed* is the more probable. In the last German editions the passage wears this shape,

at nunc discussa rerum caligine uerum
aspicis—illo alii rursus iactantur in alto—,
et tua etc.

It is thought more probable that an author should thus tear 'iactantur in alto' away from 'portus' and 'ratis' and attach it to 'discussa caligine uerum aspicis' than that one letter should be lost or altered in the course of 1300 years; and to have such notions of probability is thought 'vorsichtig.'

In uu. 142-154 reason, I know not how, has got the upper hand, and modern editions arrange the verses as above, accepting Calderinus' lacuna in 147 and Amiterninus' transposition of 143-6, despite what Cruceus sagely calls its 'audacia Scaligeriana.' There remain the difficulties of 154 and 143, in which neither *docuit* nor *discite* has any meaning.¹ The old editors changed *discite* to *uiuile*, which is violent, and *docuit* to *deciuit*, which fails to complete the sense (e.g. *magis deciuit*). Nothing seems more

¹ 'Aus deo meliore ist zu Concordia (zu i 2 240) ein *melior* oder *melius* zu ergänzen, wie oft ein comparativer Begriff nur bei einem Satzgliede ausgedrückt wird, weil seine Betonung für zwei ausreicht, vgl. iii 2 77 Anm. Theb. iii 454 (aus *largius* zu *pronus* ein *magis*) xi 435 ff. Prop. i 2 13 (zu *pieta* ein *melius* zu ergänzen) App. Verg. Epigr. xiii 9 f., ebenso *magis* ἀνδ κοινῶν Leo Anal. Plaut. i 47 Hor. Sat. i 2 123. *docuit* ist richtig: Concordia giebt den Aufmerksamsten gute Lehren. Daran schliesst sich vortrefflich v. 143 *discite*, das nur wie *docta* v. 152 auch auf Epikurs Lösung σοφωδάλως ἔχῃ (epist. S. 131 17 Us.) anspielt, auf das Streben immer weiter zu kommen im Reiche der Wahrheit, vgl. Sen. Ep. 76 3 *tandiu discendum est, quemadmodum uiuas, quamdiu uiuis*' Vollmer. 'τὸ δὲ *discite* nullum ad casum refertur, neque uero necesse fuit Statio adicere, quid discendum esset Pollio, quem philosophantem iam ante fecerat. nihil ergo mutandum' Cruceus. 'tibi qui diceret, *discite*, recte diceret. omnia enim ignoras, et de quocumque id intellegeres, bene intellegeres. at Pollio docto et Pollae iam compositae ad omnium uirtutum muliebrium legem dici non potest *discite*, nisi addatur, quid discendum restet' Gronouius.

likely than that this passage, which has suffered both dislocation and loss, has suffered loss at the point of dislocation, and that both *docuit* and *discite* were furnished with a meaning by some such verse as this:

non alias docuit Concordia mentes
<uinacula amare magis. fallentis gaudia
uitae>
discite securi.

Compare v 1 43 sq. 'si uos collato pectore mixtos | iunxit inabrupta concordia longa catena.'

II 4 16-19.

huc doctae stipentur aues, quis nobile fandi
ius Natura dedit: plangat Phoebeius ales
auditasque memor penitus dimittere
uoces
sturnus et Aonio uersae certamine picae.

If Markland or Gronovius set eyes on this sentence he would suppose *dimittere* to be a misprint. When he found that it was the reading of all modern editions he would wonder what had happened since his time to the study of Latin or of natural history. The clause means, without a shadow of ambiguity, that the starling remembers to forget completely the words which he has heard: Catull. 64 207 sqq. 'caeca mentem caligine Theseus | consitus oblito *dimisit* pectore cuncta | quae mandata prius constanti mente tenebat.' In the 17th and 18th centuries, which knew more about starlings or Latin verbs, they used to read *demittere*: Liu. xxxiv 50 2 'ut eas uoces uelut oraculo missas in pectora animosque *demitterent*.'

II 6 21-25.

quid si nec famulus? uidi ipse habitusque
notauit
te tantum cupientis erum; sed maior in
ore
spiritus et tenero manifesti in sanguine
mores.
optant multum Graiae cuperentque
Latinae
sic peperisse nurus.

25

Neither in old nor new editions do I find a word about the *sed* of u. 22. Yet what can it mean? Not 'but,' not 'ay and,' not 'to proceed,' not 'to resume.' Mr. Krohn has proposed *sic*, which seems almost equally inappropriate. Then there remains *maior*: greater than what? 'seruo scilicet' quoth the Delphin editor. *sed* wants removing and *maior* wants defining:

spe maior in ore

spiritus,

that is 'praeter expectationem magnus,'
'maior quam pro aetate et condicione.'
Compare 75 'solito sublimius ora leuauit.'

II 6 85-95.

sed nec seruilis adempto 85
ignis: odoriferos exhaustit flamma Sabaeos
et Cilicum messes, Phariaeque exempta
uolucrum
cinnama et Assyrio manantes gramine
sucos
et domini fletus: hos tantum hausere
fauillae,
hos bibit usque rogos; nec quod tibi Setia
canos 90
restituit cineres, gremio nec lubricus
ossa
quod uallauit onyx, miseris acceptius
umbris
quam gemitus. sed et ipse iuuat.
quid terga dolori,
Vrse, damus? quid damna foues et
pectore iniquo
uulnus amas? 95

'93 *sed et ipse iuuat*. haec uerba, quorum sensum et connexionem cum praecedentibus aut subsequenter nullatenus uideo, corruptissima puto' Markland. They have lately taken to printing '*sed et ipse iuuat*?' or '*sed (et ipse iuuat) quid*'; of which Markland would probably say, as he said of Cruceus' conjecture *iuua*, 'nihilo melius adhuc intelligo.'¹ The sense needed is 'but enough of lamentation' or the like: for instance

sed flesse iuuat,

that is *flendi finem facere*: 'but it is well to make an end of weeping; why thus succumb to grief?' FLESSE is ET ESSE, compare ii 1 88 *flegisse* for *elegisse* and ii 2 103 *emis* for *finis*; then *esse* and *ipse* are so often interchanged that I have ceased to note examples, but here are some: Ouid. her. xx 50, 124, amor. i 4 46, met. xii 536, xiii 58, 864, trist. ii 134, iii 1 14, iv 1 37, 3 56, 7 11, v 2 58, 12 19, ex Pont. iii 1 133, iv 13 12, Catull. 106 1, Verg. catal. 9 24, Prop. iii 1 36, Sen. suas. vi 27, Sen. Oct. 449, Mart. x 1 4, Iuu. xiv 244.

¹ *sed* plötzliche Wendung, hervorgehoben durch die sofort folgende Parenthese: aber—jetzt ist es Zeit, sich aufzurufen und bei dieser Aufforderung unterstützt mich der Tote, der nicht will, dass zu viel um ihn geklagt werde' Vollmer.

III praef. 23–27 ed. Klotz.

Earinus praeterea, Germanici nostri liber-
tus, *scit* quam diu desiderium eius moratus
sim, cum petisset ut capillos suos, quos cum
gemmata pyxide et speculo ad Pergamenum
Asclepium mittebat, uersibus dedicarem.

I should have said nothing about Mr
Vollmer's *scis*, did I not see it accepted by
all the subsequent editors,—though Dr
Postgate would transfer the clause '*scis* . . .
moratus sim' to its proper place at the end
of the sentence.

Mr Vollmer began upon this passage in
Fleckeisen's annual for 1893, p. 832:
'fugit adhuc editores quam sensu cassum
sit uerbum *scit*. nihil ad rem attinet
Earinum scire quam diu Statius neglexerit
optato obsequi, immo Statii intererat liberto
imperatoris cunctationem excusare, non prae
se ferre, id quod Marklandus bene sensit
quam diu interpretatus *quam non diu*.'
There was no 'cunctatio': whether you
read *scit* or *scis*, Markland's interpretation
is equally necessary; and in 1898 Mr
Vollmer accepts it, '*quam diu* hat schon
Markland richtig als *quam non diu* ver-
standen.'

This objection having vanished, another
starts up in its place: '*scit* hat keinen Sinn,
da St. nicht wie in Praef. I die einzelnen
Adressaten als Zeugen für seine *celeritas*
aufruft, sondern sich nur an Pollius wendet.'
The first half of this reason, 'St. nicht . . .
aufruft,' is *petitio principii*; it is false unless
scit is false, which is the very question at
issue: the second half, 'sondern . . . wendet,'
is pure irrelevance. *sondern* is commonly
regarded as an adversative particle: what
opposition here exists between the words
which precede and follow it? This praefatio,
being an epistle to Pollius, is of course
addressed 'nur an Pollius,' whether you
read *scis* or *scit*; and the praefatio to
book I, in which 'die einzelnen Adressaten'
are invoked by Statius 'als Zeugen für seine
celeritas,' is addressed 'nur an Stella,' and
instead of being as Mr Vollmer fancies, a
contrast, is a parallel. The difference in
sense between *scit* and *scis* is simply this:
the former means 'Earinum testor, me eius
desiderium non diu moratum esse' the latter
means 'te testor, me Earini desiderium non
diu moratum esse'; and which is better?
which knew most about the 'capilli Flavi
Earini,' Earinus or Pollius?

But 'neque a ratione grammatica non
abhorret persona tertia quam non *eius* sequi
debebat, sed *suum*,' 'die Verderbnis (erwie-
sen durch das nach *scit* unmögliche *eius* . . .

sim) hat ihren Ursprung in der Verken-
nung des Anakoluthon.' Is Statius then required
to write better Latin than Livy or Caesar
or Cicero? Liu. xxxii 34 5 'an, quod a
sociis *eorum* non abstinuerim, iustam querel-
lam habent?' Caes. b. G. ii 1 2 'coniurandi
has esse causas: primum, quod uereretur
ne omni pacata Gallia ad *eos* exercitus noster
adduceretur,' v 27 2 'Ambiorix ad hunc
modum locutus est: sese pro Caesaris in se
beneficiis plurimum ei confiteri debere, quod
eius opera stipendio liberatus esset, quod
Aduaticis, finitimis *suis*, pendere consuesset,
quodque *ei* et filius et fratris filius ab Caesare
remissi essent,' Cic. de or. i 232 'quod cum
interrogatus Socrates esset, respondit sese
meruisse ut amplissimis honoribus et praemiis
decoraretur et ut *ei* uictus cotidianus in
Prytaneo publice praeberetur,' pro Ligar. 36
'T. Ligarius, qui tum nihil egit aliud (neque
enim haec diuinabat) nisi ut *eum* tui studio-
sum et bonum uirum iudicaret.' Even *ille*
is so used: Iuu. xiii 202 sq. 'quaerebat enim
quae numinis esset | mens et an hoc *illi*
facinus suaderet Apollo.'

IV 3 153–157.

iurauit tibi iam nivalis Aretus,
nunc magnos Oriens dabit triumphos.
ibis qua uagus Hercules et Euhæ, 155
ultra sidera flammeumque solem
et Nili caput et niues Atlantis.

I have never seen this passage rightly
explained. Mr Vollmer says on u. 156 '*ultra*
s. fl. s. über ihre Bahnen hinaus, weiter als
ihr Aufgangs- und Untergangsort, im Folgen-
den durch Nil und Atlas als östlichsten und
westlichsten Punkt (chiastisch zu *Hercules*
et Euhæ) genauer bestimmt.' The inter-
pretation of *Nili caput* as 'östlichsten
Punkt' is refuted by the *Oriens* of 154,
and the sense of 156 is altogether misunder-
stood. Dr Postgate in *Philologus* 1905 p.
129 no less erroneously supposes 'sidera
flammeumque solem' to have some connexion
with the 'arces igneas' of Hor. carm. iii
3 10.

These praises of Domitian are taken from
Virgil's praises of Augustus in Aen. vi
791–805. Domitian has conquered the
North and will conquer the East. *Arctus*
reminds the poet of Hercules' expedition to
the Hyperboreans, *Oriens* reminds him of
Euhæ's march upon the Indies; and he
adds that Domitian will go wherever these
two great travellers have been before him,
that is all the world over: 'ibis qua uagus
Hercules et Euhæ' is Verg. Aen. vi 801 sqq.

'nec uero Alcides tantum telluris obuiuit . . . nec . . . Liber.' Donitian will go 'ultra sidera flammeumque solem': that is Aen. vi 795 sq. 'iacet extra sidera tellus, | extra anni solisque uias.' These words of Virgil's were misunderstood by the writer of the Hercules Oetaeus just as Statius' words are misunderstood by Mr Vollmer: 42-5 'te, clare Titan, testor: occurri tibi | quacumque fulges, nec meos lux prosequi | potuit triumphos; solis excessi uices | intraque nostras substitit metas dies.' But Virgil did not deal in these absurd hyperboles, and his meaning is correctly explained by Seruius: 'nulla terra est, quae non subiaceat sideribus; unde perite addit *extra anni solisque uias*, ut ostendat xii signa, in quibus est circulus solis.' Virgil's 'extra sidera . . . extra anni solisque uias' and Statius' 'ultra sidera flammeumque solem' both mean 'south of the zodiac and the ecliptic.' This use of *sidera κατ' ἑξοχὴν* for the twelve zodiacal constellations recurs in Luc. iv 57 '*sidera respiciens delapsae portitor Helles*'; Aries, the leader of the zodiac, looks back over his shoulder at the other eleven as they follow him round the sky: *signa* is thus used ib. 109 and *astra* in Man. i 607. Then we proceed in u. 157 'et Nili caput.' This phrase was a proverb long before Statius' time: Pind. Isth. vi (v) 33 καὶ πέραν Νείλοιο παγῶν καὶ δι' Ὑπερβορέους, schol. τὴν ξύμπασαν οἰκουμένην θέλει εἰπεῖν. The founts of Nile do not indeed lie south of the whole zodiac, for Capricorn is much further south than they, but they lie south of most of the zodiac; and though the ancients did not know this for a certainty, they knew that the Nile was already a great river at a latitude far south of Cancer; which is quite enough for Statius, since the poets, as I will shortly show, do not always remember that the zodiac is oblique. The use of *Nili caput* therefore to signify a region even further south than 'sidera flammeumque solem' presents no difficulty; but what of *niues Atlantis*? surely Atlas is not south of the zodiac. In fact no, but in poetry yes: this, as I said before, is taken from Verg. Aen. vi 795 sqq. 'iacet extra sidera tellus | extra anni solisque uias, ubi caelifer Atlas | axem uero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum.' 'significat' says Seruius 'Maurorum Aethiopiam, ubi est Atlas; de qua Lucanus (iii 253-5) '*Aethiopiisque solum, quod non premeretur ab ulla | signiferi regione poli, nisi poplite lapsa | ultima curuati procederet ungula Tauri*.' I must here explain these verses of Lucan, because they are not understood by Lucan's editors. When he

says 'the land of the Aethiopians, which would lie under no portion of the zodiac (signifer polus = poli pars signifera), did not the hoof of Taurus project,' he means that Aethiopia lies further south than any part of the zodiac except the hoof of Taurus. But of course the hoof of Taurus is not by any means the southernmost part of the zodiac: Taurus is a northern constellation, and his hoof, though it projects a long way southward, only just crosses the equator. Lucan has forgotten that the zodiac is oblique: he imagines it torn from its actual position and nailed neatly along the tropic of Cancer: if this operation could be effected without bringing the sky down, the hoof of Taurus would be, as Lucan fancies, the southernmost part of the zodiac, and would have Aethiopia under it, and all the rest of the zodiac would be north of Aethiopia. Virgil shares Lucan's error that Aethiopia is south of the zodiac, and he further believes that Atlas is in Aethiopia; and both errors are copied by Statius. I may add that some geographers held *Nili caput* and *niues Atlantis* to be one and the same spot: Vitr. viii 2 6 'ex monte Atlante Dyris, qui . . . peruenit . . . in Aegyptum . . . et ibi Nilus appellatur.'

IV 4 18-24.

te quoque clamorae quaenam plaga mitior urbi

subtrahit? aestiuos quo decipis aere soles? quid tuus ante omnes, tua cura potissima,

Gallus, 20
nec non noster amor, dubium morumne probandus

ingeniine bonis? Latiis aestiuat in oris anne metalliferae repetit iam moenia Lunae

Tyrrhenasque domos?

I have punctuated verses 20-4 so as to show that they are modelled upon Hor. epist. 1 3 9-13 'quid Titius, Romana breui uenturus in ora, | Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit haustus, | fastidire lacus et riuos ausus apertos? | ut ualet? ut meminit nostri? fidibusne Latinis | Thebanos aptare modos studet auspice Musa | an tragica desaeuit et ampullatur in arte?' The vulgate punctuation is 'quid? tuus . . . amor (dubium . . . bonis) Latiis . . . domos?'

IV 8 45-50.

di patrii, quos auguriis super aequora magnis

litus ad Ausonium deuexit Abantia classis, 45

tui, ductor populi longe migrantis, Apollo,
cuius adhuc uolucrum laeua ceruice
sedentem
respiens blande felix Eumeli's adorat,
tuque, Actaea Ceres. 50

Verses 48 sq. describe a statue whose head is turned to look at a dove perched upon its shoulder, the dove which led to Italy the Euboean colonists who founded Cumae and afterwards Neapolis: iii 5 79 sq. 'Parthenope, cui mite solum trans aequora uectae | ipse Dionaëa monstraui Apollo columba.' Whose statue? Parthenope's, say the commentators; and they add that Parthenope was the daughter of Eumelus, perhaps the Eumelus mentioned in Kaibel's inscr. Gr. Sicil. et Ital. 715 Εὐμηλον θεὸν πατρῶων φρήτορσιν Εὐμηλεῖδων. But Parthenope, like the rest of the Sirens, was the daughter of Achelous: Sil. xii 33 sq. 'Sirenum dedit una suum memorabile nomen | Parthenope muris Acheloias.' The belief that she had another father named Eumelus has no ground except the *Eumelis* of this verse; and the *Eumelis* of this verse is a conjecture. The reading of the Matritensis is *eumeliss*; and what this means may be seen from the following errors in the same MS: iii 3 210 *sitiss* for *situs*, iv 3 134 *boniss* for *bonus*, v 2 22 *generosiss* for *generosus*, 4 5 *trucibiss* for *trucibus*. The statue was not a statue of Eumelis but of Eumelus, whoever Eumelus may have been.

V 1 242-246.

sic, ubi magna nouum Phario de litore
puppis
soluit iter iamque innumeros utrimque
rudentes
lataque ueliferi porrexit brachia mali
inuasitque uias, in eodem angusta phaselos 245
aequore et immensi partem sibi uindicat
austri.

Gronouius diatr. p. 271 explains 'in eodem angusta phaselos Aequore, scilicet est, fertur.' Geuartius on the other hand, whom Markland follows, writes 'it eodem' in u. 245. Mr Vollmer—but his explanation is only fit for a footnote.¹ Here is much ado

¹ 'Der Vordersatz geht bis *mali*; *inuasitque* hat *phaselos* zum Subject, *que* schliesst sich an das folgende *et*; der Tempuswechsel *inuasit* . . . *uindicat*, welcher bislang die Herausgeber zur falschen Interpunction nach *uias* veranlasst hat, besteht zu Recht: das Boot (hier nicht ein nachgeschleppter Kahn) hat mit dem grossen Schiffe zugleich die Fahrt angetreten und bekommt nun auf der ganzen Reise doch noch genug von dem Winde, der eben wie der Glanz des Kaiserhauses *immensus* ist.'

about a simple matter: *et* . . . *sibi* means *sibi quoque*.

V 2 58-60.

bibe talia pronis
auribus, haec certent tibi conciliare propinqui,
haec iterent comites praecepta senesque paterni.

talia and *haec* are the merits and achievements of Crispinus' father, which he is himself too young to remember. '*comites paterni sunt comites patris*' says Markland; 'sed quinam sint *senes patris* non intelligo.' But to Mr Vollmer, whose fortitude enables him to reject Heinsius' *bibe* in u. 58 and retain the MS reading *tibi*, the phrase presents no difficulty: 'unter *senes paterni* ist wohl der vom Vater bestellte tutor oder paedagogus verstanden.'

Stattus wrote

haec iterent praecepta senes comitesque paterni.

A scribe passed from *-es* to *-es* and wrote *praecepta senesque paterni*, omitting *comites*: this word he then added in the margin. The next copyist saw that it must be inserted somewhere, but he did not see that *senes* and *que* must be wrenched apart and *comites* thrust between them: he placed it before *praecepta*, mending the metre and the grammar and not much concerned about the sense.

V 3 47-50.

atque utinam fortuna mihi, dare manibus aras,
par templis opus, aeriamque educere molem
Cyclopum scopulos ultra atque audacia saxa
Pyramidum, et magno tumulum praetexere
luco.

When I first read Mr Vollmer's note, '*Cycl. scopulos* Plin. n. h. iii 89 *scopuli tres Cyclopyum* bei Sicilien,' I did him the injustice of supposing that no one else could have mistaken the sense of the words. But when I turned to other editions I found none in which the phrase was explained aright. Is it then so hard to see that when *Cyclopyum scopuli* are set beside *saxa Pyramidum* they must signify the architecture of Tyrys and Argos and Mycenae? Eur. Tro. 1087 sqq. Ἄργος, ἵνα τε τείχη λάνα Κυκλώπι' οἰράνια νέμονται, Sen. H.f. 996 sqq. 'maius mihi | bellum Mycenis restat, ut Cyclopi | euersa manibus saxa nostris concidant,' Thy. 407 sq. 'Cyclopyum sacras |

turres, labore maius humano decus,' Stat. Theb. iv 151 'Cyclopum ductas sudoribus arces.' *scopulos* is just the word for the huge polygonal blocks of the Mycenaean masonry.

V 3 264-270.

quae lamenta tuli! ueniam concedite,
manes,
fas dixisse, pater: non tu mihi plura
dedisses. 265
felix ille patrem uacuis circumdedit
ulnis
uellet et Elysia quamuis in sede locatum
abripere et Danaas iterum portare per
umbras
temptantem et uiuos molitum in Tartara
gressus
detulit infernae uates longaeua Dianae. 270

Whether 266-70 are punctuated thus, or whether with the old editors a colon is placed at the end of 268, the sentence has no meaning.¹ Aeneas, patrem post amplexus asportare temptantem (et, ut hoc addam, uiuum Tartara ingressum), detulit Sibylla! Everything, from the undefined *ille* of 266 to the serried absurdities of 269 sq., points in one direction: a verse has been lost after 268.

¹ 'Construere: *felix ille* (Aeneas) *patrem uacuis circumdedit ulnis* (vgl. Verg. A. vi 700 ff.) *et, quamuis uellet in El. sede locatum abripere et iterum per Danaas* (vergleichend wie einst in Ilion *per Danaos*) *umbras portare, temptantem* (scil. abripere et portare) *et uiuos gressus in T. molitum detulit Sibylla*' Vollmer.

felix ille patrem uacuis circumdedit ulnis
uellet et, Elysia quamuis in sede locatum,
abripere et Danaas iterum portare per
umbras,
<quem proli uentura suae praenosceret
fata>
temptantem et uiuos molitum in Tartara
gressus
detulit infernae uates longaeua Dianae.

I have borrowed the contents of my verse from iv 3 131 sqq., where the Sibyl says 'me duce praescios Auerni | Aeneas auide futura quaerens | lucos et penetrauit et reliquit.' All is now in order: *felix* patrem amplexus est et, si liceret, abripere uellet ille, quem detulit Sibylla. Another verse, as Dr Postgate has perceived and as Heinsius once conjectured (at Ouid. fast. i 287), is missing between 273 and 274: for example

si Thessalicis Admetus in oris
<coniuge ab infernis potuit gaudere re-
ducta>,
si lux una retro Phylaceida rettulit umbram.

Another again, as Markland detected, has been lost after 129.

Mr G. A. Davies has already brought back the sentence to its proper form by introducing the relative pronoun; but he alters the *temptantem* of 269 into *quem tandem*, removing an apt word and creating a coordination which is not apt, 'tandem et . . . molitum.'

A. E. HOUSMAN.

QUINTILIAN'S QUOTATIONS FROM THE LATIN POETS.

THE question of the textual accuracy of the quotations in Quintilian is an important one in such a case as Hor. C. i. 12. 41, where all the MSS. of Horace give *incomptis capillis*, while Quintilian reads *intonsis capillis*. The editors of Horace do not agree in their estimates of the value of this indirect testimony—indirect in the sense that Quintilian's discussion is not concerned with this particular word—but none of them seems to have made a thorough test of the matter. This has been done, however, by Professor Morgan in the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, vol. xii, pp. 234 ff., but only with reference to the quotations from Horace. The present paper has been prepared in the belief that a wider range of evidence, obtained in a search for all the dis-

crepancies between Quintilian and the poets from whom he quotes, throws new light upon the question. The references have all been drawn from the index of quotations in Meister's edition of Quintilian, vol. ii, pp. 339 ff. This list, while perhaps not absolutely complete, is at least nearly enough so to serve the present purpose. Authors of whom only fragments remain are not considered.

CATULLUS.

Six references to Catullus are recorded, but two of them are not quotations. One (i. 5. 20) is only an allusion to a poem, without reproduction of any part of it. The other (i. 5. 8) merely mentions the fact that Catullus uses the barbarous word *plexenum*.

A third (xi. 1. 38) is probably to be regarded as a paraphrase rather than a real attempt at quotation. Quintilian says: *Negat se magni facere aliquis poetarum utrum Caesar ater an albus homo sit*. This obviously refers to Catullus's familiar couplet (93):

*Nil nimium studeo, Caesar, tibi velle
placere
Nec scire utrum sis albus an ater homo.*

In such a case the inversion of *albus* and *ater* is not a matter of importance.

The three real quotations follow:

(1) In ix. 4. 141 the quotation of Cat. 29. 1 and 2 agrees exactly with the traditional text.

(2) Cat. 62. 45 reads thus:

dum intacta manet, dum cara suis est.

For this there appears in Quintilian (ix. 3. 16), in a comment upon the use of *dum* in the passage:

dum innupta manet, dum cara suis est.

The text of the quotation differs, it will be observed, from that of the MSS. in giving for *intacta* the metrically equivalent *innupta*. But the text of the MSS. is strongly supported by the reappearance of the word in a parallel verse (56), which is evidently designed to repeat the earlier one as far as the thought will permit:

dum intacta manet, dum inculta senescit.

Innuptus is found in the poem in three places (vv. 6, 12, 36), but the genuineness of *intacta* in the verse under discussion seems never to have been questioned. It should be noted also that Quintilian's object in making the quotation is not affected by the choice of a word for this place.

(3) Cat. 86. 4 reads thus:

Nulla in tam magno est corpore mica salis.

In the quotation of this (vi. 3. 18) the words *tam magno* do not appear, and the order of *in* and *est* is reversed, thus:

Nulla est in corpore mica salis.

HORACE.

Of the twenty-eight citations of Horace recorded by Meister, three (x. 1. 24; 1. 56; 1. 61) are merely references to opinions expressed by Horace, without any semblance of quotation. Two more are duplicates, indicating a single allusion (i. 5. 57) to Horace's use in two places of the barbarous word *petorritum*. Still another (viii. 6. 17) is a

quotation of a line from *Furius Bibaculus*, of which there happens to be a parody in Horace. Of the twenty-two that remain, all but five agree with Horace's MSS., if we may pass over as unimportant such intentional changes, made to suit the context, as *acrem tibiam* (Quint. viii. 2. 9) for *acri tibia* (C. i. 12. 1) and *conrugare nares* (xi. 3. 80) for *conruget naris* (Ep. i. 5. 23). The five cases of discrepancy are these:

(1) C. i. 12. 41. Here all the MSS. of Horace, confirmed by Servius (on *Aen.* xii. 100) and Charisius (i. p. 104 K) give:

Hunc et incompitis Curium capillis.

For this we find in Quintilian, who quotes it to illustrate the figure *adiectio*, seen in the use of *Hunc*, the following (ix. 3. 18):

Hunc et intonsis Curium capillis.

The discrepancy between *incompitis* and *intonsis* is of exactly the same sort as that pointed out in the second quotation from Catullus. It does not affect the point Quintilian is making, and it reminds one of passages (e. g., *Epod.* 15. 9, *intonsos . . . capillos*; C. ii. 15. 11, *intonsi Catonis*) in which the word given in Quintilian's text is actually found in the MSS. of the poet.

(2) In *Sat.* i. 4. 11 all MSS. read:

Cum flueret lutulentus, erat quod tollere velles.

This Quintilian paraphrases thus (x. i. 94): *Ab Horatio dissentio, qui Lucilium fluere lutulentum et esse aliquid quod tollere possis putat*. Here it is evident from the very form of his sentence that Quintilian did not try to quote accurately the whole of the verse; but it is equally apparent that in the last part of it, where the rhythm of the original appears, he was attempting to give its exact words. The fact that it is just here that *possis* is found in place of *velles*, its metrical equivalent, is significant, in view of the similar cases that have been pointed out above.

(3) In *Sat.* ii. 6. 83 we read in Horace:

*neque ille
Sepositi ciceris nec longae invidit avenae.*

This is abridged, but not otherwise changed in Quintilian (ix. 3. 17):

nec ciceris nec longae invidit avenae.

(4) In *Ep.* i. 1. 73 f. the text of Horace reads:

*Olim quod vulpes aegroto cauta leoni
Respondit, referam.*

The quotation of this (v. 11. 20) omits *olim* and replaces *respondit* with *dixit*, thus :

Quod dixit vulpes aegroto cauta leoni.

In this way a verse is produced which is metrically correct, but which cannot possibly be fitted into Horace's text. It seems clear that exact quotation was intended. It is interesting to note also that here, for the first time, the substituted word is not a metrical equivalent of the one it replaces.

(5) The last case is not properly an instance of discrepancy. In *A. P.* 311, where the MSS. give both *sequuntur* and *sequuntur*, the text of Quintilian (i. 5. 2) agrees with the majority in reading *sequuntur*.

LUCRETIVS.

There are but two citations of Lucretius. One passage is a part of i. 926 (repeated at iv. i), correctly quoted in Quintilian, viii. 6. 45. The other is i. 936 ff. (repeated at iv. 11 ff.), but with *nam* for *sed*. It reads :

*Sed veluti pueris absinthia taetra medentes
Cum dare conantur, prius oras pocula
circum*

Contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore.

In the quotation by Quintilian (iii. 1. 4) *ac* is given for *sed* (but Nonius also, p. 413, gives *ac*), and *contingunt* is represented by *inspirant* (A) or *adspirant* (B), for which the editions usually give *inspergunt*, the conjecture of M. Haupt. No trace of *contingunt* appears in the MSS. of Quintilian. Here again, then, there may have been a case of inadvertent verbal substitution.

OVID.

There are eight references to the extant works of Ovid. Two of the passages are supposed to be indicated in ix. 4. 65, where there is a comment in general terms, without special mention of any author, upon the words *Apennino* and *armamentis* as the close of a hexameter. Of another (*Rem. Am.* 707 f.) the sense, but not the wording, is to be found in Quintilian, xii. 10. 75. Of the five passages remaining three (i. 5. 43 ; ix. 2. 64 ; 3. 48) accord perfectly with Ovid's MSS. The other two are :

(1) *Met.* i. 502 :

si qua latent, meliora putat.

The text in Quintilian (viii. 3. 47) is :

quaeque latent, meliora putat,

showing again a metrical equivalent for the reading of the original.

NO. CLXXIV. VOL. XX.

(2) *Met.* xiii. 5, 6 :

*agimus, pro Iuppiter, inquit,
Ante rates causam, et mecum confertur
Ulixes?*

Quintilian's quotation (v. 10. 41) takes this form : *Et Ajax apud Ovidium, ante rates, inquit, agimus causam, et mecum confertur Ulixes?* This is the version, given by A and B, which is generally adopted by the editors. It omits *pro Iuppiter*, transfers *inquit* from the quotation to the main clause, and reverses the order of *agimus* and *ante rates*. Inferior MSS., however, either reproduce exactly or approximate more closely Ovid's order of words, but all omit *pro Iuppiter*. In such a case there can be no confident decision upon the question of accuracy in the original quotation.

PERSIUS.

Five citations appear in the list. Three of them are real quotations, all in perfect agreement with the traditional text.

SENECA.

The sole reference to Seneca is an exact quotation of *Med.* 453 (ix. 2. 9).

TERENCE.

Of the nine passages cited from Terence only two show any change of text. *Nescibam* (ix. 2. 58) for *nescibam* (*Eun.* 155) is probably due to Quintilian's copyists. The same may be true of the omission (Quint. ix. 3. 18) of *hunc* from the text of *Eun.* 85 :

*Accede ad ignem hunc, iam calesces plus
satis.*

VERGIL.

One hundred and fifty-five references to Vergil are recorded. Nearly all of these are real quotations, and almost all show no discrepancy. There are, however, some interesting cases of divergence from the MSS. of Vergil. Such trivial variations as *haud* for *non*, *et* or *aut* for *ac*, etc. may be passed over without consideration, as well as the cases in which the probability of original disagreement is greatly lessened by failure on the part of the MSS. of one or the other author to agree among themselves. After deducting these there still remain :

(1) In *Ecl.* i. 2 Vergil has

Silvestrem tenui musam meditaris avena,
for which Quintilian's text shows (ix. 4. 85) :

Agrestem tenui musam,

evidently, as Halm suggests, from confusion with *Ecl.* vi. 8 :

Agrestem tenui meditabor harundine musam.

It is possible, of course, that this is the verse which Quintilian is really quoting—he is using *agrestem* to illustrate syllabic quantity—and that the two words are intentionally omitted from it. But it is at least equally likely, in view of what we have seen, that *agrestem* has crept into the place of *silvestrem* in the other verse.

(2) The second instance concerns *Ecl.* iv. 62 f. :

*cui non risere parentes
Nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata
cubili est.*

On this Quintilian says (ix. 3. 8) : *Est figura et in numero vel cum singulari pluralis subiungitur vel ex diverso ; cui non risere parentes, nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est ; ex illis enim qui non risere, hic quem non dignata.* This text, which is given by all the MSS. of Quintilian, agrees exactly, it will be observed, with that of Vergil. But from the context it is perfectly clear that Quintilian himself wrote *qui* for *cui*, and so his editors all have it. The change, a necessary one, involves another discrepancy, of a sort now becoming familiar, between the quotation and the MSS. of the author. It is also the first one to affect vitally the point for which the quotation is made.¹

(3) From *Georg.* i. 431

vento semper rubet aurea Phoebe.

The quotation (v. 9. 15) omits *semper*, without impairing the metrical quality of the line.

(4) In his quotation from *Aen.* i. 48 :

et quisquam numen Iunonis adorat ?

Quintilian (ix. 2. 10) reads, according to all his MSS. except Eckstein's excerpts from Par. 7530, *adoret* for *adorat*. On so small a point the MSS. might, of course, fail to represent Quintilian correctly, and as a matter of fact, the editors follow the excerpts. Still, the MSS. are unusually good just here (cf. Meister, *praef.*), while the excerpts, because of various additions and changes in the text, are open to the suspicion of having been compared in this and the preceding section with the traditional version of the quotations.

¹ For a different view of the significance of this discrepancy cf. Dr. Postgate, *C.R.* xvi. pp. 36 sq.

(5) In *Aen.* ii. 69 we read :

*Heu quae nunc tellus, inquit, quae me
aequora possunt
Accipere ?*

In the quotation (ix. 2. 9) *me* is given for *nunc* in all MSS. except Eckstein's excerpts, which are again followed by the editors.

(6) The most common type of discrepancy appears again in the quotation of *Aen.* ii. 307 f. :

*stupet inscius alto
Accipiens sonitum saxi de vertice pastor.*

In Quintilian's version (viii. 6. 10) we find *sedet* for *stupet*.

(7) Similarly for *Aen.* iii. 436 :

*Praedicam et repetens iterumque iterumque
monebo*

we find in the quotation (ii. 13. 8)

Praecipiam ac repetens, etc.

(8) From *Aen.* iii. 620 :

di talem terris avertite pestem

the word *terrīs* is omitted in the quotation (xi. 3. 70). The fragment remains metrical.

(9) A group of characteristic variations remains. The first is in *Aen.* v. 212, for the closing phrase of which :

pelago decurrit aperto,

the version in Quintilian (vii. 9. 10) is :

caelo decurrit aperto,

which may have been suggested by *Aen.* i. 155 :

caeloque invectus aperto.

(10) The second is in *Aen.* vii. 787 :

*Tam magis illa fremens et tristibus effera
flammis,*

where we find *tremens* in the quotation (ix. 3. 15) instead of *fremens*. The change is a very slight, but a very natural one.

(11) Another is found in *Aen.* xi. 384, from which the phrase *tot stragis acervos* becomes (ix. 2. 49) *tot caedis acervos*, perhaps from confusion with *Aen.* x. 245 :

Ingentis Rutulae spectabit caedis acervos,
or *Aen.* xi. 207, which ends with *ingentem caedis acervum*.

(12) The last concerns *Aen.* xi. 406 :

*Vel cum se pavidum contra mea iurgia
fingit,*

the quotation of which (ix. 3. 14) shows *iactat* for *fingit*.

In all the quotations from these eight poets there have come to light some twenty-one cases of discrepancy between Quintilian's text and that of the MSS. of the author concerned. Five of these consist in the omission of a word or two from the quoted verse, accompanied sometimes by transposition of other words in the line, but in most cases leaving the fragment still metrically correct. The other sixteen cases also fall into a single class, that, namely, in which a word or pair of words is replaced by another of similar sense and, with one exception, the same metrical value. Of these cases Catullus, Lucretius, and Ovid furnish one each; Horace has three, Vergil ten. In only one, the *cui risere* passage from Vergil, has the discrepancy any bearing on the purpose for which the passage was quoted. It is an interesting fact, though not an important

one, that four of the cases, including the disputed passage from Horace, are to be found within the compass of three of Meister's pages (vol. ii. pp. 119-121). So many instances of the same sort, occurring in quotations of several authors, are hardly to be accounted for either by variant texts of the author quoted, or by corruption of the MSS. of Quintilian. It seems only fair to conclude that Quintilian himself not infrequently quoted from memory, and that he was, in consequence, especially in unimportant details, rather liable to errors of the kinds that have been pointed out. Too much stress should not, therefore, be laid upon his evidence for the text of the verse in Horace with which we began.

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THE 'TRIBUTUM CAPITIS.'

'THE opinions of modern writers concerning this text,' says Marquardt (*St. V.* 2, p. 201; French Trans. x. p. 249), 'are very divergent.' The following are the chief passages in the ancient writers which concern it.

A.—FOR REPUBLICAN TIMES.

(1) Cic. *Att.* v. 16. 2, for *Cilicia*:

Audivimus nihil aliud nisi imperata
ἐπικεφάλια solvere non posse.

(2) Cic. *Fam.* iii. 8. 5, for *Cilicia*:

Atque hoc tamen te scire volo, me de isto sumptu legationum aut minuendo aut remittendo decrevisse nihil nisi quod principes civitatum a me postulassent, ne in venditionem tributorum et illam acerbissimam exactionem, quam tu non ignoras, capitum atque ostiorum inducerentur sumptus minimi necessarii.

(3) Caes. *B.C.* iii. 32, for *Asia*:

Acerbissime imperatae pecuniae tota provincia exigebantur . . . In capita singula servorum ac liberorum tributum imponebatur; columnaria, ostiaria, frumentum, milites, arma, remiges, tormenta, vecturae imperabantur; cuius modo rei nomen reperiri poterat, hoc satis esse ad cogendas

pecunias videbatur [of Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio in 49 B.C.].

Cf. Appian *Mithrid.* 83, for *Asia*:

ὁ Λεύκολλος . . . τέταρτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς καρποῖς, τέλη δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς θεράπουσιν καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις ὤριζεν.

(4) Appian, *Lib.* 135, for *Africa*:

ὤρισαν φόρον ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ ὁμοίως [of Scipio and his fellow-commissioners].

(5) *C.I.G.* 2336 for *Tenos* [date uncertain]:

One Satyrus gave 18500 denarii ἵνα ἐκ τοῦ τόκου αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων ἐλευθέρων Τηνίων κατ' ἔτος διδῶται τὸ ἐπικεφάλον.

B.—FOR IMPERIAL TIMES.

(6) Appian *Syr.* 50, for *Syria, Cilicia, Judaea*:

διὰ ταῦτα [viz. the frequent capture of Jerusalem] ἐστὶν Ἰουδαίοις ἀπασιν ὁ φόρος τῶν σωμάτων βαρύτερος τῆς ἄλλης περιουσίας· ἐστὶν δὲ καὶ Σύροις καὶ Κίλιξιν ἐτήσιος, ἑκατοστὴ τοῦ πῆματος ἐκάστω. [Time of Hadrian.]

(7) Dio Cass. 62. 3, for *Britain*:

Boudicca is made to complain οὐ τῶν σωμάτων αὐτῶν δασμὸν ἐτήσιον φέρομεν;

(8) Ulpian, ap. Dig. 50. 15, frag. 8, for *Syria* :

Divus Vespasianus Caesarienses colonos fecit non adjecto ut et juris Italici essent, sed tributum his remisit capitis.

Cf. *ib.* frag. 3

Aetatem in censendo significari necesse est, quia quibusdam aetas tribuit ne tributo onerentur: veluti in Syriis quatuordecim annis masculi, a duodecim feminae ad sexagensimum quintum annum tributo capitis obligantur.

(9) For *Egypt* we may quote the evidence of the Ostraka :

'All inhabitants of Egypt between the ages of fourteen and sixty, with the exception of certain privileged classes, were liable to pay a poll-tax. Numerous receipts for payments of this tax exist on ostraka, dating from the first and second centuries: these show it to have risen from sixteen drachmae for each person under Nero to seventeen about the first year of Trajan, and further to twenty soon after the accession of Antoninus Pius'. (J. G. Milne, *Egypt under Roman Rule*, pp. 121-122, who refers to Kenyon, *Catalogue of Greek Papyri*, ii. pp. 17, 20, 43, 53; Wilcken, *Hermes*, xxviii. p. 230; S. Birch, *Proceedings of Soc. Bibl. Arch.* v. pp. 84, 124, 158; *Papyri in British Museum*, 170, 340.)

Two questions arise concerning this *Tributum Capitis* :—

I. Was it universally imposed on all provinces?

II. Was it simply a Poll-Tax, or a tax on personal property, or sometimes one and sometimes the other?

I. Certainly we have not evidence for the existence of the tax in all or anything like all the provinces; and save for Africa (4) and Britain (7) all the provinces in which it is found are in the Eastern half of the Empire. But the argument from silence may easily be pushed too far. For example, as against Rodbert's view (ap. Marquardt, *loc. cit.*) that this was the sole form of personal taxation for the provincials, Marquardt treats it as somewhat exceptional and always levied under special circumstances. Marquardt bases his argument on the following facts: that all personal

taxation must always be considered as a mark of slavery (he quotes Tertullian's 'notae captivitas,' *Apol.* 13); that in Egypt and Judaea the tax had existed from time immemorial; that in Africa and Britain it was imposed only after wars of conquest; that in Asia it was an extraordinary war-tax; that in Cilicia Cicero seems to have regarded it as an extraordinary impost; and finally that Tenos was so small that it could provide no other form of taxation. From these facts Marquardt concludes that this tax was only levied by the Romans *either* where they found it already in existence from time immemorial, *or* where no other system of taxation already existed, and when in this case it was the only convenient form of taxation.

Such a view of the circumstances under which the tax could be levied, always more or less extraordinary, is surely very limited and forced. Not only does it necessitate a different explanation for each particular case, but in many instances Marquardt's explanation is very questionable. For instance, it seems now agreed by the best authorities that there is no evidence at all for the poll-tax in Egypt existing under the Ptolemies or at any time before Augustus (cf. Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* ii. p. 210; Mahaffy, *Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 96). Again, Cicero's words do not justify the statement that he regarded the tax as exceptional in Cilicia, and the smallness of Tenos seems hardly to render a poll-tax the only tax possible. But, more important still, there is no *positive* evidence that it was not levied in other provinces than those cited above: our knowledge even of these instances is accidental, and there is nothing to prove that other provinces were exempt from it.

The truth seems to be as follows. In each province a certain sum of money had to be raised, and this was one recognised way of raising it. The poll-tax would be employed if under all the circumstances it was the most convenient way of getting the money; otherwise taxes might be imposed upon doors, slaves, etc. We cannot prove it universal; but there is therefore no reason to say that it was an exceptional impost confined to certain provinces and to those for special reasons.

II. Was the *Tributum Capitis* a poll-tax or rather a property-tax? Marquardt argues that though sometimes purely a poll-tax (as seems clear from many of the passages), yet sometimes it was a property or income-tax.

His grounds are two: (1) That the name *ἐπικεφάλαιον* is used by Aristotle (*Oecon.* 2, 1, 3) for a tax levied on all sources of wealth other than land, mines, commerce, markets, or cattle; and the equivalent term there used, viz. *χειρωναξίον*, suggests a tax on Industry. That it was this, e.g. in Syria, is proved, Marquardt argues, by the passages from the Digest (8 *supr.*), since there it is imposed only on persons of an age capable of work. (2) That the phrase in Appian *Syr.* 50 (6 *supr.*) proves the tax to have been one per cent. *τοῦ τιμήματος*, i.e. levied on estimated capital, in Syria and Cilicia under Hadrian. So Hirschfeld in his recently published second edition of *Die Kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten* (1905) accepts simply Marquardt's view that the *Tributum Capitis* 'has to a certain extent the character of a property-tax' (p. 53).

I would suggest that we may make a distinction between two periods, that of the Republic and that of the Empire. Wherever we find the tax imposed under the Republic, in Cilicia, Asia, Africa, from the language used we cannot believe that it was other than a poll-tax. For example, Caesar distinguishes the tax 'on every head, free and slave alike,' from taxes on houses and personal property; so in Africa in 146 B.C. we have *φόρον ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ ὁμοίως*. The name *ἐπικεφάλαιον* is no difficulty: however Aristotle used it, it is the obvious translation of 'tributum capitis.' And indeed the term 'tributum capitis' could hardly have arisen for anything but a poll-tax. But when we come to the Empire, the evidence makes it seem probable that the term acquired an extension of meaning, and became a genuine term applicable to all direct taxes imposed on provincials with the exception of the land-tax. Not that Marquardt's first argument is of any value; for Aristotle's use of *χειρωναξίον* proves nothing, and the passages from Ulpian can be interpreted much more easily as proof of a poll-tax than of an industry-tax: boys and old men would naturally be exempt from a poll-tax, and why should a girl be supposed to begin to trade two years earlier than a boy? 12 and 14 are the ages of puberty, when the girl and the boy were respectively recognised by the law as persons, and so were liable to the poll-tax. But Marquardt's second argument has more force, and the passage from Appian does seem to prove

that the *φόρος τῶν σωμάτων* was in Syria and Cilicia an income-tax. Prof. J. S. Reid, who was so kind as to look through this paper and make several valuable suggestions, thinks that in so loose a writer as Appian the subject of *ἔστιν ἐτήσιος κ.τ.λ.* may be *ὁ φόρος* only and not *ὁ φόρος τῶν σωμάτων*. In this case we could say that there is no evidence all through Roman history for the *tributum capitis* being anything but a poll-tax. But it is hard to interpret Appian thus; it seems almost impossible to believe that he did not mean that the *φόρος τῶν σωμάτων* was the income-tax. Further, Marquardt's objection holds good that a personal tax was regarded as a mark of slavery; and, we may add, Vespasian's favour to Caesarea was a small one if he did not exempt it also from all forms of personal taxation.

Thus we may say that under the Empire the 'tributum capitis' is found as an income or property-tax. It is true that it also appears in this period as a poll-tax, e.g. in Britain, Egypt, and possibly in Tenos. We may indeed ascribe the Tenos inscription to the republican age, and regard the words of Dio (as is not unlikely) as a rhetorical exaggeration, the equivalent of the words that Tacitus (*Agr.* 31) puts into Boudicca's mouth, 'bona fortunaeque in tributum . . . conteruntur.' We could then advance a theory tempting in its definiteness, that under the Republic this tax was always a poll-tax, under the Empire (except in the case of Egypt) always a property-tax. But the evidence will not justify so precise a view. What it does justify is the view here put forward, that while under the Republic it was always a poll-tax, under the Empire it tended to become, except in Egypt, always a property-tax. The change may naturally be ascribed to Augustus, and would be designed to make the provincials content with the imperial rule. But the alteration would not be sudden or universal. 'The great characteristic,' remarks Prof. Reid, 'of taxation in the early Empire was its variability according to the circumstances of the different provinces.' Convenience and the similarity of other forms of direct taxation to the poll-tax account for the continuance of the name 'tributum capitis.'

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REVIEWS.

REINACH'S GREEK AND DEMOTIC PAPYRI.

Papyrus grecs et démotiques, recueillis en Égypte et publiés par THÉODORE REINACH, avec le concours de MM. SPIEGELBERG et S. DE RICCI. Paris: Leroux, 1905. Pp. 243; 17 Plates. Fr. 16.

THERE is no department of learning which has been so happily free from jealousies, personal or international, as that which is concerned with Greek papyri. Consequently all students of the subject will be prepared to welcome a volume which reclaims for France the honourable position which she formerly held in this field of scholarship. Among the pioneers in this subject no name is more conspicuous than that of Letronne; the edition of the papyri in the Louvre by Brunet de Presle, though not the first, was for many years the largest collection of such texts; and the atlas of facsimiles which accompanied it was by far the best thing of the kind before the days of photography. But since 1865 France has (with the single exception of the oration of Hyperides against Athenogenes, published by Revillout) done little to maintain her position. Few papyri have been acquired by museums or collectors, and no important publication has been given to the world. It is therefore with special pleasure that we welcome the reappearance of French enterprise in the present volume by M. Théodore Reinach, almost simultaneously with the similar resuscitation of Italy in the person of Prof. Vitelli.

The nucleus of M. Reinach's volume is formed by a group of Ptolemaic papyri from Tehneh, a village to the north of Eshmunein (Hermopolis). Thirty-four of these are Greek and seven demotic. With these are associated an ostrakon, containing a fragment of a mime or duologue, which has already been published once by M. Reinach in the *Mélanges Perrot*, and re-edited by Crusius in the last edition of his *Herondas*; six very small and unimportant literary fragments (one Homer, the rest unknown); and eighteen documents of the Roman and Byzantine periods. The texts are printed without accents, but with stops, and are accompanied by translations and brief notes. A full introduction is prefixed to the Ptolemaic group; the indices are on the usual complete scale; and there are seven plates of photographs,

containing reproductions of the ostrakon, all the literary and demotic texts, and seven of the documents.

With regard to the literary texts, the only remark which need be made is that it is misleading to say that Sir E. Maunde Thompson still assigns the large round uncial hand (*e.g.* of the Bodleian Homer) to the fifth century. He did so when there was no extant evidence to justify an earlier date; but he has since fully accepted the date (second century) which has been established by recent discoveries (see *Encycl. Brit.*, xxxi. 446).

The Ptolemaic documents, which give the volume most of its real importance, are a group relating to the affairs of a certain Dionysius, son of Cephalas, a tenant of Crown land in the village of Tenis (Tehneh), also called Akoris (but always in the genitive, Ἀκώρεως). One was written as early as 142 B.C., but the rest lie between the years 113 and 103 B.C. Nearly all are loans of wheat, and their interest lies in the formulas in which these are transacted, and the economical data provided by them. It so happens that we already possess a large number of contracts of precisely the same period, executed in the neighbouring district of Pathyris, near Thebes; and it is curious to find that each place has its own set of formulas, to which it regularly adheres. There was no uniformity in legal contracts throughout Egypt, nor even in the Thebaid; the only uniformity was that of the head office of the nome or toparchy. Even in regard to the lists of royal priesthoods which appear in the formulas of dates there are divergences, the Tenis documents naming three priesthoods (all at Alexandria) which do not appear in the Pathyris texts, and saying nothing about the priesthoods of Ptolemais. The three additional priesthoods are the στεφανηφόρος, the φωσφόρος, and the ἱέρεια of Queen Cleopatra, who in each case has the style, βασιλίσσης Κλ. θεᾶς Φιλομήτορος Σωτείρας Δικαιοσύνης Νικηφόρου.

M. Reinach classifies his contracts under three heads, according to their formulas: (1) 'chirographes,' which are in the form of a letter, beginning ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνα χαίρειν ὁμολογῶ κ.τ.λ., and ending with the date and formula of registration; (2) 'syngraphés sous

seing privé enregistrées,' which begin with the date, and proceed with the statement that A.B. has lent so much corn to X.Y., and conclude with the list of witnesses (always six in number), the name of the *συγγραφοφύλαξ* (usually the first witness) who takes charge of the deed, the autograph confirmation by the borrower, the autograph receipt of the *συγγραφοφύλαξ*, and the formula of official registration; at the head of the document is a docket of its contents, separately sealed, with the names of the parties and witnesses on the back; (3) 'syngraphé authentique,' which in substance is the same as the 'syngraphé enregistrée,' but omits the long formula of the date, the list of witnesses, and other appendages; this type M. Reinach identifies with the contracts executed at the office of the *ἀγορανόμος* of the nome (or toparchy), to which there are frequent allusions, and of which there are specimens among the Pathyris papyri. It is to be observed, however, that not all the Pathyris contracts which were executed at the office of the *agoranomos* have the shortened formula of date. The nomenclature of M. Reinach's classes may be intelligible and serviceable in France, but is hardly suitable for international use.

With regard to the substance of the contracts, it may be observed that the interest is regularly fifty per cent. In case of default, no *ἐπίτιμον* or *βλάβος* is charged, as in the Pathyris contracts, but the debt is converted into a money charge, in which the artaba is reckoned at a much higher price (3,000 or 2,000 drachmas) than the market value. The artaba employed is one of thirty-six choenices: it is measured *μέτρῳ τῷ πρὸς τὸ χαλκοῦν* and *σκυτάλῃ δικαίᾳ*. In the one instance where silver is converted into copper it is at the rate of 1:423, which agrees sufficiently well with the data derived from the Tebtunis papyri of the same period. The corn is habitually described as *πυρὸς στερεός* (presumably meaning sound, solid grain), a phrase which I think has hitherto been known only from a single Oxyrhynchus papyrus (836).

A few notes on details may be added. In No. 8, 6 *προωφείλων* seems a more probable reading than *προσωφείλων*. The phrase *καὶ μηθὲν ἦσσαν*, which occurs commonly in the penalty clause of papyri of this class, and which has generally been taken with the words that follow ('let A.B. pay so much penalty, and none the less let the contract hold good'), is regarded by M. Reinach as belonging to the preceding clause ('let him pay so much and no less'), on the ground

that it appears frequently in the form *ἀποτείστω . . . ὄραχμᾶς ἑκατὸν καὶ μηθὲν ἦσσαν*: ἢ δὲ πρᾶξις ἔστω τῷ δέυνᾳ κ.τ.λ. A comparison, however, of Oxyrhynchus Papp. 492, 10 and 504, 32 with 494, 29 and 495, 17 shows, I think, decisively that in such cases *καὶ μηθὲν ἦσσαν* is merely an elliptical representation of the full formula, *καὶ μηθὲν ἦσσαν μένειν κύρια τὰ διωμολογημένα*. Several new descriptions are given of the military settlers who are the parties to most of these contracts. We have corps of Persians, Libyans, and Macedonians; but that the names are no more indicative of nationality than those, for instance, of our Highland regiments appears from the fact that, of two brothers, one is classed as a Persian and the other as a Libyan. The names of the corps are often specified; e.g. *Πέρσης τῆς Ἀρτεμιδώρου ἡγεμονίας*, *Π. τῶν φερομένων ἐν Κλεοπάτρα κατοίκων ἱππέων μισθοφόρων*, κ.τ.λ. One individual, in place of the epithet of nationality (*Πέρσης*, *Λίβυς*, κ.τ.λ.), is described as *χαριστήριος*, the meaning of which is not clear. The mutilated word in 17, 17 can hardly be anything but *ἀντελημένος*. The formula of No. 22 is noteworthy for giving the regnal year of Ptolemy Alexander alone, without the addition of that of the queen-mother, Cleopatra. The lacuna of about ten letters in 25, 5 might be filled with *τη γυναίκα*. No. 30 is not a loan of corn, but a payment of its price in advance.

The papyri of the Roman period are not particularly important. In the case of the longest of them (No. 49, a census-return at Antinoöpolis in A.D. 215-6) M. Reinach has not recognised the names of three of the demes of that town. The first lines should run, *Μάρκοις Αὐρηλίοις Ἀ— Ἀμμων[ίου], Καλλιτεκ[νί]ω, [καὶ] Σατορνίλῳ Ὁρ[ί]ων[ος] Δημ[ήτρι]ε[ϊ], καὶ Ἀπολ[ο]δώ[ω][ος] Θεο[μό]φο[ρο]ίω, τοῖς [γ φ]υλ[ῆ]ς Μ[ατιδία]ς*. The number of persons mentioned is consequently three, not six; and these three demes are in fact already known as belonging to the tribe Matidia (*Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, ii. 72). Similarly in l. 5 one should presumably read *Νερονιανίου [τοῦ] καὶ Γενε[αρχε]ίου*. Nos. 52-55 belong to the correspondence of Heroninus, now divided among many museums; from the specimens already published by Vitelli the date of it is now known to be in the reign of Gallienus. In No. 52 *bis* it is interesting to find *ναύβια* reappearing as a measure of cubic content, as in Ptolemaic papyri. Prof. Smyly, in his monumental supplementary volume of the Petrie papyri, has recently made it probable that a *ναύβιον* is the cube of three cubits. In l. 10 of the

same papyrus the symbol appears to be that for 3,000 drachmas; and that which stands at the ends of ll. 14 and 20 represents four obols, not three.

The demotic texts, which belong to the same group as the Ptolemaic Greek texts, have been edited by Prof. Spiegelberg, whose commentary (as is very natural in the present state of demotic studies) is mainly linguistic.

This I am not qualified to criticise; but with regard to the rest of the volume one may be allowed to congratulate M. Reinach on a very workmanlike contribution to the study of 'papyrology,' and to thank him for the additions which he has made to our knowledge of the subject.

F. G. KENYON.

BONNER'S EVIDENCE IN ATHENIAN COURTS.

Evidence in Athenian Courts. By ROBERT J. BONNER, Ph.D., Assistant in Greek and Latin, University of Chicago. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1905. Pp. 98. 75 cents net.

DR. BONNER'S aim in this little treatise is 'to deal with the whole subject of evidence from the standpoint of English law, which, though it differs so widely at every point from the Athenian system, is yet admirably suited for the purpose, as it is the most perfectly rational system of rules ever devised for ascertaining the truth about matters in dispute' (p. 1). The results of the comparison remind me of Dobree's *not* on Mitford's *History of Greece*: *the author has discovered that the Greeks were totally unacquainted with the British Constitution.* The conclusion of the whole matter is that at Athens 'the rules of evidence were comparatively few in number and simple in form' (p. 12). Further, it is clearly shown in the course of the enquiry that no effective machinery existed for enforcing the few and simple rules which the law prescribed. Thus, though a person was not allowed to produce his slaves as witnesses, he could tell the judges what he had learned from them. The speaker of Lys. i. who is charged with murder, rests part of his defence on the alleged confessions of his maidservant, whom however he does not offer to the other side to be examined under torture. A woman could not appear in court as a witness, but nothing was easier than to incorporate in a speech statements attributed to a woman and protest to the judges that she was in a position to know the truth. Men having been produced to testify to a fact, the knowledge of which was in possession of their wives, Isaeus makes a litigant say that, if the evidence had been false, the wives would never have allowed their husbands to come

forward (xi, 5). The defendant in Dem. 55 seeks to fortify such hearsay evidence by an imprecation on his own head: λέγω μὲν ἅπερ ἤκουσα τῆς μητρός, οὕτω μοι πολλὰ κάγαθὰ γένοιτο, εἰ δὲ ψεύδομαι, τάναντία τούτων (§ 24). Hearsay evidence was expressly forbidden by law, unless the original witness was dead ([Dem.] 46, 8 *ἴστω ἀκοὴν εἶναι μαρτυρεῖν τεθνεώτος*), but to exclude it was impossible. 'When improper evidence was once produced in court, the only means of attacking it was to make a vigorous objection in the hope of prejudicing the jury against the whole case' (p. 20). A litigant had no power to stop his opponent's speech, and the mischief was done before the objection could be raised. In view of these facts, emphasised by Dr. Bonner himself, I confess that, though not prejudiced in favour of the 'furred cats,' I am surprised at the statement with which his book begins: 'The experience of Athens has shown that law may be administered satisfactorily without a professional class either of judges or of lawyers' (p. 11).

The Athenian speechwriters would be both gratified and amused, could they know how successful they have been with modern scholars. It is the common and perhaps inevitable fate of expositors of Attic law to fall into traps set by artful speakers for ignorant and inattentive judges. Dr. Bonner is not to be ranked with the innocent professors who extend to *λογογράφοι* the consideration claimed by respectable Christian gentlemen organised in a very powerful and dignified profession. He is not only a Ph.D. but was 'formerly of the Ontario Bar,' and probably knows from experience what a 'smart' advocate will dare to say in the presence of a trained judge, when 'up against a tough proposition that takes the tuck out of a man.' But sometimes Dr. Bonner is bitten. Commenting on the absence of any cross-examination of Athenian

witnesses he remarks that 'a passage in Isaeus (vi, 53) shows how effectively this method would have exposed the pretensions of the witness, if he had been obliged to answer the question which Isaeus suggests' (p. 87). This is the passage: νῦν δὲ πῶς ἂν περιφανέστερον ἐξελεγχθείη τὰ ψευδῆ μεμαρτυρηκῶς ἢ εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἔροιο 'Ἀνδρόκλεις, πῶς οἶσθα Φιλοκτήμονα ὅτι οὔτε διέθετο οὔτε ἰὸν Χαιρέστρατον ἐποιήσατο;' But Androcles was a defendant, charged with bearing false witness, and under Athenian law ([Dem.] 46, 10) the speaker had a right to call up his opponent and insist on an answer to questions. Why then did Isaeus forgo this legal privilege? One reason was that he was afraid. He knew that Androcles might have replied 'I believe Philoctemon's will, which the prosecutor's friends now produce, to be a forgery, because they did not produce it ten years ago, when Philoctemon died.' The question is bluster, and what the passage proves is that the methods of Mr Serjeant Buzfuz are classical. 'Why is Mrs Bardell so earnestly entreated not to agitate herself about this warming pan?' Again on p. 74 Dr. Bonner writes 'A rather curious effect of slave evidence, according to Isaeus and Demosthenes, was that it would protect a witness who gave similar testimony from a prosecution for perjury.' Any one who will diligently examine the references appended (Dem. 29, 21, [Dem.] 47, 5, Lyc. 28, Isae. viii, 10) and the speeches which contain them, will make two discoveries, (i) that the assertion of the speakers is only that the testimony of freemen and citizens will carry more weight if confirmed by confessions wrung from tortured slaves, (ii) that this sufficiently 'curious' proposition proceeds in each case from a man contending against opponents who flatly deny it and decline to stake their interests on statements made by slaves on the rack. In Massachusetts Colony a white man's oath was deemed sufficient answer to the accusation of an Indian (p. 74). 'That juries did believe the unsupported statements contained in a speech is clear (says Dr. Bonner) from a case in Demosthenes' (p. 30). Let me copy out the passage: ταῦτα δὲ πάντ' ἀδελῶς ἔλεγεν ὁ Θεόπομπος, μάρτυρα μὲν οὐδένα παρασχόμενος, ὅστις ἐμελλεν ὑπεύθυνος ἡμῖν ἔσεσθαι, συνομολογούντας δ' ἑαυτῷ ἔχων τοὺς κοινωνοὺς, οἳ ἦσαν ἀλλήλοις συναγωνισταὶ καὶ ἅπαντα ἐπαρττον κοινῇ, ὅπως ἀφέλονται τὴν γυναικᾶ . . . τὸν κλῆρον ([Dem.] 43, 30). The saving clause, ὅστις ἐμελλεν κ.τ.λ., is a danger signal. Its meaning is revealed by the complaint of Theopompus in Isae. xi, 45

κάμοι μὲν ὁ κλῆρος . . . οὕτω βέβαιός ἐστι· δίκαι γὰρ ἐνεστήκασιν ψευδομαρτυρίων, κελεύει δ' ὁ νόμος, εἰν ἄλῳ τις τῶν ψευδομαρτυρίων, πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἶναι περὶ αὐτῶν τὰς λήξεις. The quotation from Pseudo-Demosthenes shows that the attacks on Theopompus' witnesses failed.

Dr. Bonner's survey of the subject is the best in existence, and should be read by all who are interested in Greek law. If I proceed to criticise certain of his conclusions, it is not from any desire to depreciate his work, which I have found very useful, but because I am convinced that the difficulties besetting inferences from the Attic Orators are not generally realised. 'Indeed, sir, there are cozeners abroad; therefore it behoves men to be wary.' Not even the most smoke-dried of *Stubengelehrte* really supposes that Athenian litigants addressing their judges always spoke the whole truth and nothing but the truth. At the same time in practice the systematisers and compilers in their eagerness to present a *corpus* of Attic law are prone to forget that a catena of extracts from forensic orations may be rotten rhetoric from a *Speaker's Handbook*, and that it is prudent to scrutinise closely each speech as a whole and endeavour to discover the exigencies of the orator's situation. In Greece mendacity was not confined to Crete, and it should be borne in mind that in the employment of the venerable artifices of *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi* Athenian speechwriters display at least as much adroitness and literary skill as the anonymous bravos of modern journalism. The Englishman is a clumsy liar, and the enterprise of his halfpenny newspapers is not directed to the pursuit of subtlety.

Dr. Bonner expresses doubt as to the possibility of compelling relatives of either of the parties in a suit to testify (p. 45). Two cases are cited to uphold the view that they were not compellable witnesses. 'The relatives of Timotheus successfully refused, on the ground of relationship, to testify against him' ([Dem.] 49, 38). Apollodorus, who, be it remembered, was a shameless rascal, is arguing that certain timber brought from Macedonia was the property of Timotheus, not of Philondas the shipper. His only evidence is an admission made by Timotheus before the arbitrator that the wood was taken up from the harbour to his house in the Peiraeus. Consequently he is obliged to fall back on τεκμήρια—always a sign of weakness. One of his arguments is this: πολλοὶ καὶ χρηστοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οἰκείοι ὄντες τοῦτω (Τιμοθέω) ἐπεμέλοντο τῶν τούτων,

ἀποδημοῦντος παρὰ βασιλεῖ Τιμοθέου· ὧν οὐδεὶς τετόλμηκε μαρτυρεῖν τούτῳ . . . ἡγούνται γὰρ περὶ πλείονος αὐτοῖς εἶναι καλοὶ κάγαθοι δοκεῖν εἶναι, μᾶλλον ἢ Τιμοθέῳ χάρισασθαι τὰ ψευδῆ μαρτυροῦντες. οὐ μὲντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτον γ' ἔφασαν καταμαρτυρῆσαι ἂν τάληθῇ· οἰκεῖον γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἶναι. Now, in the first place, the word οἰκεῖον here may include friends as well as relations; see § 40. In the second place, it was Apollodorus' business to show that the wood belonged to Timotheus. He is trying to shift the *onus probandi* by asserting that Timotheus' friends were too honourable to testify that the wood was not his, and on the other hand out of friendship refused to testify that the wood was his. In the third place, Apollodorus' reputation is not so immaculate that we are constrained to believe his uncorroborated assertion that Timotheus' friends said that they would not give evidence in the case because Timotheus was their friend. Finally, observe that Apollodorus does not state in plain terms that the law provided him no means of overcoming their reluctance. Dr. Bonner's second case comes from a speech of Isaeus (ii, 33), 'in which the speaker promised to produce the arbitrators themselves to prove their own award, if they were willing to give evidence. The proviso was added because they were related to the defendants' (Dr. Bonner should have written 'prosecutors'). Isaeus' words are τοὺς γνόντας αὐτοὺς ἑμὴν παρέξομαι μάρτυρας, ἐὰν ἐθέλωσιν ἀναβαίνειν—εἰσὶ γὰρ τούτων οἰκεῖοι—εἰ δὲ μή, τοὺς παραγενομένους. Who were these arbitrators? In § 29 the speaker says ἔδουξεν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψαι τῷ τε κηδεστῇ τῷ τούτου καὶ τοῖς φίλοις. 'Friends' should in all probability be interpreted to mean 'common friends,' for to entrust an important dispute to the decision of relatives of the adversary was an act of magnanimity not common at Athens. But, after all, is it not conceivable that the orator's motive for not calling the arbitrators was an apprehension that they might not confirm his story in all its details? Thirdly, we have another argument of the slippery Apollodorus (Dem. 45, 53-56), which Dr. Bonner grants to be inconclusive. On the other side is an incident in Aphobus v. Planus (Dem. 29). 'Aphobus, it is alleged by the speaker, had been forced in a previous case to give evidence against a relative.' I will quote the passage: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐξήτει με τὸν ἄνθρωπον ταῦθ' ὁμολογηκὸς ἂ μεμαρτύρηται, βουλόμενος καὶ τότ' αὐτὸν ἐξελέγξει τεχνάζοντα τί ποιῶ; προκαλοῦμαι κατὰ Δήμονος εἰς μαρτυρίαν, ὅτος αὐτῷ θεῖον καὶ κοινωνοῦ τῶν ἀδικημάτων, καὶ συγγράφας ταῦτ' ἐκέλευον μαρτυρεῖν ἂ νῦν διώκει

τῶν ψευδομαρτυρίων. οὗτος δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπηναισχύνεται, τοῦ δὲ διαιτητοῦ κελεύοντος μαρτυρεῖν ἢ ἑξομνέειν ἐμαρτύρησε πάνν μόγις (§§ 19, 20). Here Dr. Bonner becomes critical and sceptical. 'This is an *ex parte* statement, and in the absence of an explanation of the circumstance from the standpoint of Aphobus, it is not wise to base any conclusion on this case, particularly when there are several instances in which a litigant claimed that he could not secure the testimony of certain witnesses because of their relationship to his opponent.' Are not all the statements of litigants *ex parte*? The 'several instances' seem to be those examined above. Dr. Bonner does not quote the case of Hierocles in Isae. ix, 18 *sqq.* Hierocles was related by marriage both to the speaker and his opponent. Notwithstanding he is compelled to take the oath of disclaimer (ἐξωμοσία). This however proves nothing, because Hierocles is mixed up in the family quarrel and is also a witness for the speaker's opponent. A better instance occurs in Dem. 29, 15 εἰ τοῖνυν ταύτην τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐμαρτύρησεν ἀδελφὸς ὁ τούτου Αἴσιος, ὅς νῦν μὲν ἕξαρνός ἐστι τούτῳ συναγωνιζόμενος, τότε δ' ἐμαρτύρησε ταῦτα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, οὗτ' ἐπιорκεῖν οὔτ' εἰθίς παραχρήμα δίκην ὀφλισκάνειν βουλόμενος. The last words of this extract certainly suggest that Aphobus' brother was a compellable witness, and would have been liable to penalties, if he had refused either to give evidence or take the oath of disclaimer (ἐξομνέειν). In fighting his guardians Demosthenes was not over-scrupulous, but it is hard to see what he hoped to gain in this case by misrepresenting the law. On the evidence shown my verdict is against Dr. Bonner and in favour of the opinion (which seems also in accordance with common sense), that relations of the parties in a suit could be constrained by legal process either to give evidence or to swear that they had no knowledge (ἐξομνέειν μὴ εἰδέναι).

Among inferences which seem to me insecure I have noted the following. 'Witnesses (present at the making of a will) might find it impossible even to identify the will' (p. 40). 'The evidence of the deposittee alone was deemed sufficient to prove the authenticity of the will produced' (p. 61). 'We may assume that the guardian could not be compelled (by a ward) to produce a will' (p. 64). 'It would seem too that a witness was not required to give evidence that would necessitate the breaking of an oath' (p. 44). 'Even in civil cases third persons might freely denounce and prosecute witnesses'

(p. 89). These propositions are not all on the same footing, but they have one thing in common: they surprise a plain man. Of course the apparent unreasonableness of a rule does not prove that it was not good law. There would be nothing more to say if an Athenian Blackstone had formulated these principles and shown that they were integral parts of the ancient fabric of the constitution. But this is not so. The questions are, What is the evidence? And is it satisfactory? For my part I do not find it convincing. *Indicent peritiores.*

It is only fair to Dr. Bonner to notice a controversy in which he shows commendable discretion. Meier and Schoemann (*Der Attische Process*, ed. Lipsius, p. 875) lay down that a slave could never appear as a witness except against a man accused of murder, the statements of slaves in all other cases being taken under torture, and cite as proof Ant. 5, 48 *εἴπερ γὰρ καὶ μαρτυρεῖν ἔξεστι δούλῳ κατὰ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου τὸν φόνον*. In a slave-holding community this is a startling exception. Dr. Bonner reminds us that in the southern states of the American Union no negro or mulatto, bond or free, could appear for or against a white man in any case whatsoever. If a slave was to be a witness at all, why should he not give evidence in behalf of a man charged with murder as well against him? Now Plato did permit slaves to appear as witnesses in murder cases, but with a qualification: *δούλῳ δὲ καὶ δούλῳ καὶ παιδὶ φόνου μόνον ἐξέστω μαρτυρεῖν καὶ συνηγορεῖν, εἰ δὲ ἐγγυητὴν ἀξιόχρεον ἢ μὴν μενεῖν καταστήσῃ μέχρι δίκης, εἰ δὲ ἐπισκεψθῇ τὰ ψευδῇ μαρτυρῆσαι* (*Laws* 937 B). Was this regulation derived from Attic law? Probably not, for at Athens 'a master could not be compelled to give up his slave to be examined under torture in cases where his interests could in no way be prejudiced either by the injuries suffered by the slave or by the disclosures he might make' (p. 37), whereas Plato has a special provision for removing obstacles in the way of a slave's attendance in court: *εἰάν τις τινα δίκη παραγενέσθαι κωλύσῃ βία, εἴτε αὐτὸν εἴτε μάρτυρας, εἰάν μιν δοῦλον εἴτε αὐτοῦ εἴτε ἀλλότριον, ἀτελῇ καὶ ἄκυρον γίγνεσθαι τὴν δίκην κ.τ.λ.* (*Laws* 954E). In any case Plato does not agree with Meier and Schoemann in limiting the testimony of a slave to evidence directed against a freeman accused of murder. It remains then to examine the context of the isolated dictum which is the sole foundation of their doctrine. The speaker, who is charged with murdering Herodes, is criticising the conduct of the prosecution. The prosecutors rely,

among other things, on the confession of a slave, who said under torture that he had helped the defendant to kill Herodes. The defendant replies, first, that the slave said this to escape the agony of the rack, his tale before and after torture being quite different. Secondly, he complains that the prosecutors purchased the slave—it is not said who was his owner—and privately on their own authority (*ἰδία ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν* § 47) put him to death: *τὸν μηνυτὴν ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ διετείναντο αὐτὸν μὴ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς ὑμᾶς, μηδ' ἐμοὶ ἐγγενέσθαι παρόντι ἄξει* (*sic MSS.*) *τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ βασανίσαι αὐτόν* (§ 46). Their action, he contends, was utterly illegal. They ought either to have kept the slave in bonds, or bailed him out to the defendant's friends (*τοῖς φίλοις τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐξεγγυῆσαι*), or handed him over to the magistrates for trial (*τοῖς ἄρχουσι τοῖς ὑμετέροις παραδοῦναι καὶ ψῆφον περὶ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι* § 47). Even slaves who kill their masters, when caught red-handed, are not put to death by the relatives on their own authority (*ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν προσηκόντων* § 48), but are handed over to the magistrates 'in accordance with ancient laws of Athens' (*κατὰ νόμους ὑμετέρους πατρίους*; cp. Plato, *Laws* 872 B *ὁ τῆς πόλεως κοινὸς δῆμος ἄγων* (*malim ἀγαγὼν*) *πρὸς τὸ μῆμα τοῦ ἀποθανόντος, ὅθεν ἂν ὄρᾳ τὸν τύμβον, μαστιγώσας ὅπως ἂν ὁ ἔλων προστάτῃ, εἰάνπερ βιωπαίμενος ὁ φονεὺς, θανατωσάτω*). Now comes the sentence on which Meier and Schoemann build: *εἴπερ γὰρ καὶ μαρτυρεῖν ἔξεστι δούλῳ κατὰ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου τὸν φόνον, καὶ τῷ δεσπότῃ, ἂν δοκῇ, ἐπεξελθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δούλου* (*sc. τὸν φόνον*), *καὶ ἡ ψῆφος ἴσον δύναται τῷ δοῦλον ἀποκτείναντι καὶ τῷ ἐλευθέρῳ, εἰκὸς τοι καὶ ψῆφον γενέσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἦν, καὶ μὴ ἄκριτον ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ὑφ' ὑμῶν. ὥστε πολλῷ ἂν ὑμεῖς δικαιότερον κρίνοισθε ἢ ἐγὼ νῦν φεύγω ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀδίκως* (§ 48). The first point to be noticed is literary: Antiphon, like other orators, sometimes uses the words *μαρτυρία* and *μαρτυρεῖν* in a sense which is not technical and does not imply a formal deposition in a court of law. In the second place, the argument of the speaker is in no wise weakened, if we understand him to say 'a slave may charge a freeman with murder.' At this point however I part company with Dr. Bonner. He thinks that Antiphon had in view informations laid by slaves (*μηνύσεις*), 'which of necessity could never be in favour of a man except indirectly' (p. 36), and that he selected murder as the subject in respect to which a slave could lay an information, 'because it enabled him to put his objection to the murder of the slave with more telling effect' (*ib.*). I believe

that what was in the mind of the speaker was his own hard case, *i.e.* the 'evidence' of the tortured slave which the prosecutors brought up against him. But I am in entire agreement with Dr. Bonner's closing

remarks, that 'only confusion can result from calling a slave a witness when the chief essentials of regular testimony are lacking' (p. 38).

W. WYSE.

WAY'S ODYSSEY.

The Odyssey of Homer in English Verse.

By ARTHUR S. WAY, M.A. Third Edition.
London: Macmillan and Co.; New York:
The Macmillan Company. 1904. Pp.
viii + 323. 6s. net.

THE problem of discovering a metre in the English language into which to translate Homer is one which comes near suspicion of insolubility. Ever since Arnold demonstrated by precept the incapacity of blank verse, Popish couplets, and what not, to perform this office, and with still greater success demonstrated by example the similar incapacity of English hexameters, a feeling of despair has reigned in the British bosom. But meanwhile a new metre has risen into considerable prominence, the six-footed mixture of accentual iambics and anapaests (with 'accidental' trochees now and then thrown in) which was used by Tennyson for comedy in the *Northern Farmer* and for more serious purpose in *Maud*, polished by Swinburne in *Poems and Ballads*, and adopted by Morris in his *Sigurd the Volsung*. It is traced back by a learned and perhaps unkind critic to *Mrs. Harris' Petition*, in which certainly the germ at least of the measure may be found. It may be guessed that Morris was the spiritual father of Mr. Way; be this so or not, it was at least amusing to observe that, after Mr. Way had published his first edition of the *Odyssey* in this metre, the master himself came along and did the same thing over again. Not that Mr. Way has much to fear in the comparison. Let us take a specimen of both, the famous lines which so deeply and so justly moved the late Frederick Myers (xi. 196); this is Mr. Way:

For not in my halls did far-seeing Artemis
come with her bow,
And softly chill me to death with arrows
like falling snow:
No sickness was it that came upon me to
steal away
The life from the tortured limbs by the
wasting of long decay.

Ah no, my beloved, my son! 'twas the
aching of yearning for thee,
For thy counsels and sweet lovingkindness,
that broke the heart of me!

And this is Morris:

For neither on me in the homestead fell the
Shaft-glad Eager-of-aim,
Nor with her kindly arrows my body did she
slay;
Nor came the sickness upon me to drive
the soul away
From the limbs that erst it quickened, with
woeful waste and pine;
But the longing for thee, Odysseus, and
those glorious reds of thine,
And the longing for thy kindness reft the
sweet life from me.

'And what a language!' cries Myers, 'which has written as it were of itself those last two words for the poet' (ἐὺσκοπος ἰοχέαιρα). What a Morris, one may well echo, who turns those two words into 'Shaft-glad Eager-of-aim'! Why didn't he stick to wall-papers? 'At least they sell.' But this comes of keeping company with *Beowulf* and Thule; for my own part I prefer Mrs. Harris.

There is one point, however, in which Morris has the advantage. He sticks to his couplets at any rate, and consequently when you read him you know at least what to expect. But Mr. Way treats his verse in a freer manner and often with a disconcerting effect, as at x. 307:

Thus having spoken to me, to Olympus was
Hermes gone
O'er the forest-clad isle of the sea; and I to
the palace went on,
While the dark thoughts surged in my
breast like the sea in its wild unrest.
And I stood at the gate of the hall of the
Goddess of beautiful hair,
And I lifted my voice to call, and the God-
dess heard me there.

Still a great deal of the translation runs very well; a great deal, but by no means all.

Mr. Way indeed assures us that he has 'given special attention to the technique of the rhythm, recasting all such lines as did not seem to "read themselves"' since the publication of his second edition. But we have only to open the book anywhere to find such lines as :

Of the self-same age as the mighty-hearted
Telemachus (iii. 363).

And wailing and shuddering we raised hands
unto Zeus in prayer (ix. 295).

And answered and spake to the hero Eury-
machus alone (xxii. 44).

And throughout the verse fails in one of Arnold's requisites, nobility. It may be doubted whether such a metre is capable of it. In its extreme slackness it approximates too nearly to prose ; see how Tennyson rises out of it into more regular and perfect metres in *Maud*, and again lets us down into the prose world at the end by returning into it. Swinburne indeed has polished it into something less rugged and prosaic in rhythm :

I have lived long enough having seen one
thing that love hath an end ;
Goddess and maiden and queen, be near me
now and befriend.
Thou art more than the day and the morrow,
the seasons that laugh or that weep,
For these bring joy and sorrow, but thou,
Proserpina, sleep.

But then he regularly inserts a rhyme at the caesura ; and anyhow, could such verse adequately represent Homer ? None can, is the obvious retort, and that is just what makes it so difficult to know what to say about all these verse translations.

Perhaps it is more profitable to descend to some details. In places the constraint of verse leads Mr. Way to insert matter which is not in Homer nor like him. The 'arrows like falling snow' of our first extract above is one of these ; but what are we to say to the statement that the companions of Odysseus at xii. 414, 'sank, weighted with vengeance, to hell' ? The same phrase is repeated at xiv. 310. Things like this

should be amended. Actual mistranslations are rare, but are to be found ; to confine myself to xiii., ἀμύμονα in 42 does not mean *unstained*, nor δῖος in 63 (and a hundred other places) *godlike* ; ὄφελον in 204 is translated as first person singular instead of third plural, to the ruin of the sense. No doubt the English reader does not care what δῖος means, but Mr. Way aims at fidelity and eschews the paraphrase theory of translation. A comical mistranslation of ζῶμα at xiv. 482 makes Odysseus go out on a night expedition at Troy 'with only my shield and my girdle glittering-gay' ; no wonder he was cold. We might also enquire where Mr. Way found the names Phaeacia and Thrinacia in Homer, and why he calls χαλκός *brass*. But these are mostly the mint and cummin of criticism, and the translation as a whole is as faithful as a verse translation can expect to be.

Mr. Way adheres to the vulgate tradition almost entirely throughout, even when the result is unintelligible, as at iv. 513 *seqq.*, where Nitzsch restored the sense by a simple transposition of two couplets ; xiii. 347, 348, which two lines must be ejected ; ix. 239, where if he refuse to accept Rumpf's ἐντοβει, he ought at least to translate ἐκτοβει αὐλῆς *outside in the court*. As he omits the senseless ix. 483, there could surely be no objection on the score of principle to mending the other blemishes in the tradition. The position of Telemachus in the battle with the suitors is unintelligible because of the false reading κεκορυθμένος for κεκορυθμένον at xxi. 434, but it is no wonder if Mr. Way was unacquainted with the correction of Protodikos.

I will not conceal the melancholy truth that if I had to read the *Odyssey* in English at all I would read it in prose. But a vast number of people who are innocent of Greek will not agree with me, and if they must have a literal translation in verse I do not know that they can do better than take Mr. Way's. If he should ever print a fourth edition, I hope that this 'pecking like a domestic fowl' on my part may be of some service to him.

ARTHUR PLATT.

BURGHCLERE'S AND CROMER'S CLASSICAL TRANSLATIONS.

The Georgics of Virgil. Translated into English Verse by LORD BURGHCLERE. London: Murray, 1904. Sq. 8vo. Pp. 195. 10s. 6d.

Paraphrases and Translations from the Greek. By the EARL OF CROMER. London: Macmillan, 1905. 8vo. Pp. 215. 5s.

THESE books will give pleasure to many readers and more than pleasure to those who still maintain, in the teeth of a perverse generation, that the proper function of education is to fit a man for the rational use of his leisure hours. For his working-time he is responsible to the master who pays: but for his leisure he is responsible only to himself, and there lies the danger, not only to the individual but to the nation. Those who work best find their best recreation in a change of work. Lord Burghclere, who was President of the Board of Agriculture from 1892 to 1895, has very appropriately found relaxation in translating Virgil's *Georgics*. Lord Cromer, when the latter-day Egyptians ceased from troubling, has turned to the Alexandrian school of poetry and translated several idylls and paraphrased many epigrams of the anthology. The books, if they were done less well than they are, would deserve a grateful compliment for the example that they set: but in fact they are done well enough to win praise for their intrinsic merits.

Lord Burghclere is doubtless the better scholar. His translation is pretty accurate, though sometimes a little diffuse: his vocabulary is ample, and his verse is easy reading. I will give, as typical specimens, his renderings of two short familiar passages of different kinds. The first is *Georg.* ii. 126-135:

'Media, again, bears citron sour of juice
With clinging savour, blessed antidote
To purge the deadly poison from our bones
Whene'er fell stepdames brew the baleful
cup,
Mingling their simples with unholy charm.
In truth a stately tree, and for its form
Most like a bay; yea, truly did it shed
The selfsame scent abroad a bay 'twould be.
Its leaf defies all tempest, and its flower
Clings close beyond compare; wherewith
the Medes
Heal noisome rheums and old men's lack of
breath.'

The other is *Georg.* iv. 460-467.

'Then from her comrade choir of woodland
nymphs
A wail went up and filled the topmost peaks,
A sound of weeping swept the Thracian
hills,
Pangaea's height and Rhesus' warlike realm:
Grief fell on Hebrus, and the Getan steppes,
And Attic Orithyia mourned aloud,
Whilst the lone Orpheus, by the empty
shore,
To the sad music of his hollow shell,
Soothed his distempered love with songs of
thee,
Thee, sweetest wife! when first the daylight
dawned,
Thee, sweetest wife! when daylight passed
away.'

I imagine that Akenside, if he had translated the *Georgics*, would have written something like this.

Lord Cromer's contributions to history are magnificent; to poetry, not so important. Euterpe rewards him with a smile, but Clio will give him immortality. He tells us that he did not learn Greek at school, but acquired a fair knowledge of modern Greek in Corfu, where he was stationed in 1858 as a subaltern of the Royal Artillery. He makes no pretension to exact scholarship, but it is evident that he reads classical Greek literature with love and appreciation. His little volume contains verse-translations of three idylls of Theocritus (nos. 2, 3, and 15) and two of Moschus (nos. 1 and 3), and paraphrases in verse of about 150 of the epigrams contained in Mr. Mackail's *Selection from the Greek Anthology*. It is not to be expected from a man of Lord Cromer's character and occupations that he should bring to his literary work that 'labour of the file' without which perfection is impossible. It is surprising and delightful that he should do these things at all, and one is proud to know that he does them pretty well. Detailed criticism would be out of place, and I will make only one general observation. Lord Cromer's mind is essentially masculine and he succeeds best in those pieces which involve a manly wit. Here is his paraphrase of *Anth. Pal.* xi. 133 (Mackail, p. 171):

Eutychides is gone below.
Fly, shades! 'Tis well that ye should know
He brings some twenty chests of verse,
And lyres twelve. They'll prove a curse

Where can poor mortals rest in peace
 Whene'er their earthly labours cease,
 Now that Eutychides pervades
 With song and lyre the very shades?

Here is another (*Anth. Pal.* ix. 269: Mackail, p. 219):

Two sailors, when the vessel sank,
 Clung to one plank their lives to save.
 Tom foully struck Jack off the plank,
 And doomed him to a watery grave.
 Avenging Justice eyed the strife,
 And punished quick. The sequel mark.

Jack swam ashore and saved his life,
 Whilst Tom was swallowed by a shark.

This is from *Anth. Pal.* ix. 161 (Mackail, p. 92):

As over Hesiod's page I pore,
 Comes tripping in my lovely Katie.
 I fling the book upon the floor
 And cry 'Old Hesiod, how I hate ye!'

In trifles like these great nicety is not required: they are the better for seeming impromptu.

J. Gow.

MARX'S *LUCILIUS* (SECOND NOTICE).

C. Lucilii Carminum Reliquiae. Recensuit, enarravit FRIDERICUS MARX. Volumen posterius: Commentarius. Leipzig: Teubner, 1905. Pp. xxii + 437. M. 14.

IN reviewing the first volume of this edition (*C.R.* xix, 271), and in particular the Prolegomena with their biography of Lucilius and history of his Satires, I said that Prof. Marx had won for himself the title of *sospitator Lucilii*. To this second volume, with its full discussion of each difficulty in the text, its wealth of illustration, its convincing arguments, I would apply the Lucilian line (v. 739):

sospitat, salute inperitit plurima et plenissima.

To appreciate how much has been done for the Satires, we have only to compare the meagre notes in the previous Teubner edition (by Lucian Mueller, Leipzig, 1872) with the rich stores provided in this second volume.

So large an undertaking must of necessity lay itself open to criticism here and there; but, although I am glad to have the opportunity of pointing out some details in which I venture to differ from the editor, I hope that no remark of mine will obscure my feeling of admiration for this really magnificent work.

It has been a work of many years, and was ready for the press as far back as 1902. Here, no doubt, is the explanation why Marx has not made full use of the late Mr. Onions' collation of the Nonius MSS., which forms the foundation of the recent Teubner edition of the *Compendiosa Doctrina*. Since the great majority of Lucilius fragments come from this Dictionary of Nonius, this is, in

my opinion, a real defect; although it is true that the MSS. of Leyden (L) and Wolfenbuettel (G), to which Marx confines himself, provide a fairly satisfactory apparatus criticus. In the note on v. 480 the remark on the 'codicis Leidensis praestantia' sounds strangely, now that we know that other two families of MSS. offer the same reading, *versi* (for *versib.*, i.e. *versibus*) *ficta*. And the utility of what Marx calls the 'codices deteriores' is clear, for example, in v. 872, where they alone preserve the true number, xxix. In v. 745 too, I prefer their xxix (cf. G) to the xxviii of L. In the note on v. 1005, there is no mention of the reading of the Geneva MS. *cantustotidum*, which seems to give the key to the emendation of the line; for Nonius' lemma is: *Induci est aliquibus fallaciis decipi*:

quid quaerimus acre (-ri)
 inductum cantu stolidum?

Marx accepts the reading of G, *inductum cantu custoditum*, which looks like a mediaeval corrector's 'doctoring' of L's *cantustotidum*. Similarly at v. 385 the consensus of the Geneva and Leyden MSS. proves that what stood in the archetype was merely *lib.* (i.e. *liber*). *The *liber* X of G is therefore a wilful alteration, so that the fragment belongs, not to Lucilius, but to Pacuvius. Since it is not cited by Nonius from his own copy of Pacuvius, but from a marginal scholium in his copy of Turpilius, its somewhat awkward metre may be due to misquotation. A collation of the Geneva MS., so useful in Book IV of the *Compendiosa Doctrina*, was published by Meylan in 1886.

But Marx seems to have made up his mind at an early period of his studies of Lucilius that L and G were the only MSS. worthy of notice, and to have allowed himself to be influenced by no counter-arguments. From his remarks in the Preface to this second volume I gather that he still adheres to this opinion. And yet, how can he safely ignore in his treatment of v. 1038 the marginal *adequites* (for *al. equites*?) of the Geneva codex?

What surprises me most is his disregard for Onions' convincing proof that the Harleian MS. in Books I-III is a direct copy of the Laurentian (F). It is amazing to find in the note on v. 752 a reference to the 'codex Harleianus,' without a hint that this codex is, in this part, a mere transcript of which the actual original is extant. Surely Marx must stand alone in his scepticism. I can assure him that, if he will take the trouble of procuring photographs of any couple of pages in the two MSS., his doubts will be removed. He is not alone in his doubts of the value of the F³ readings. But I would ask him and those who share his distrust to read the article on this subject in vol. x (p. 16) of this journal. An emendation like *multinummus* for *multum nummus* in Varro's line (ap. Non. 216, 9):

nec multinummus piscis ex salo captus,

or *miserinus* for *miserrimus* in a line of Lucilius (v. 733), is not the kind of emendation that a mediaeval scribe or corrector would be likely to make on his own initiative.

I am sorry to find that I have failed to convince him by my arguments (*C.R.* xix, 272; *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 1904, p. 3088) against his theory of Nonius' method of excerpting Nonius. He reiterates it in the preface to this second volume. This volume contains a new contribution to the question, a most interesting collection of Lucilius quotations, which have been taken by Nonius, not from his own copy of the Satires, but from the writings of grammarians or commentators. But the collection is not complete; for Marx's suggestion that no Lucilius citations from Sat. i-xxi with the reference 'Lucilius Sat. lib.' come from grammarians cannot stand. Indeed he seems to make this concession in the Prolegomena to vol. i (p. lxxxv), but has changed his mind in vol. II after noticing that a Lucilius quotation (v. 519), which Nonius may have taken from Gellius (*N.A.* IV i. 3) is ascribed in our MSS. of Gellius to 'Lucilius in Satyrarum xvi' (*sic*) and in our MSS. of Nonius to 'Lucilius lib. xvii' (*sic*). From this he draws the sweeping deduction:

itaque Nonii operae in talibus excerptis genetivum omittebant.

Another point in which I find myself at disagreement with him is the estimate of the two classes of Lucilius citations in Nonius, (1) those taken from Nonius' own copy of the Satires, (2) those found by Nonius in grammatical works or marginal scholia. In previous article (*C.R.* xvi, 48) I argued that the former were more likely to be accurate than the latter. Marx holds the contrary view. Another warning in the same article (p. 50 n.) has also gone unheeded; for he supposes the word *foret* to have been discarded by Nonius in the citation of v. 911:

ut, si id, quod concupisset, non aptus
<foret>.

But why should Nonius discard an ending necessary to the sense of the sentence? The probability is that the line ended in some other way and that Nonius did not care to make the quotation lengthy enough to include the finite verb, which may have stood in the following line. And what likelihood is there that Nonius would include in his citations of vv. 236, 1086 an *et* which stood at the end of the preceding line? This is not Nonius' fashion.

This edition makes a decided advance in our knowledge of Lucilius' Metre and Prosody. Havet's theory that anapaestic lines occur in the fragments must be abandoned, now that the metres used in each book of the Satires are definitely established. As regards Prosody, an interesting field of enquiry is opened up, the relation of Lucilius' scansion to those of the Comedians, especially of Terence. We cannot but connect the *fūrsti*, *malūsti*, *cōdem*, *cuius* (monosyll.) of Lucilius with the Comedians' Prosody; but that some line of demarcation must be drawn is obvious. Where are we to draw it? Marx seems inclined to restrict the licences of Dramatic Poetry to Lucilius' Iambic and Trochaic lines, although he sanctions the four just quoted in Hexameters too. So he disallows in Dactylic Metre *sitūst* (so strongly attested by the MSS. of Martial, who quotes the line) in v. 580, *abēst* in v. 377. On the other hand he seems to think that a single parallel (or supposed parallel) in Plautus or Terence is enough to justify a prosodic licence in the Dramatic Metres of Lucilius (e.g. *miserrimus* in a Trochaic Septenarius, v. 733). I doubt several of the scansions,¹ above all *v'* for *is*, e.g. vv. 474, 191:

¹ His *tironō* (v. 802) from *tirōnēus* (like *ultroneus*) is probably a mere case of forgetfulness.

Luciū', narce, saeva i' febris, senium, vomitum, pus.

Sed nunc sol i' mihi in magno maerore
<datorque>.

Skutsch's brilliant demonstration of the suppression of final *ē* in *ille*, *unde*, *inde*, *nempe*, etc., before an initial consonant in Dramatic Verse has not prevailed with Marx, who adheres to the scansion *ille* (p. 258). Nor will he accept the express testimony of Consentius that Lucilius on one occasion scanned *ore corrupto* (v. 1242). Of Cicero's affirmation of Hiatus in Early Latin Poetry he is equally sceptical (p. 8).

His formula for dealing with the traditional text is enunciated on p. 1: in interpretatione eam legem sumus secuti, ut verba salva et sana esse statueremus, si numeri versuum erant salvi. This seems ultra-conservative; for it would force us to follow the MSS. (i.e. one mediaeval archetype) of Nonius (402, 13) in this version of Lucretius ii. 2:

Et terrae magnum alterius spectare laborem.

Formulas like these are good servants, but bad masters. Still the great and wonderful improvement which Marx has effected in the text of Lucilius is all in the same direction, of adherence to the traditional reading. His edition of Lucilius, like Vahlen's of Ennius, brings home to us once more the lesson which we are all so ready to forget, that the besetting sin of editors is over-contempt, not over-respect, for tradition. Take the notes on vv. 221, 794, 840 for a specimen of his felicitous conservatism.

No doubt, a certain amount of his setting of the lines will be altered for the better in the course of time. Prof. Stowasser has already suggested some emendations that claim attention. But, on the whole, we have at last got a text of Lucilius in which we can feel confidence, and we have a commentary so full and exhaustive as to supply us with abundant reason for the faith that is in us. Our heartiest thanks are due to the editor for his great achievement.

W. M. LINDSAY.

CLARK'S ORATIONS OF CICERO.

(1) *The Vetus Cluniacensis of Cicero, being a contribution to the textual criticism of Cicero pro Sex. Roscio, pro Cluentio, pro Murena, pro Caelio, and pro Milone.* By ALBERT C. CLARK, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. With two facsimiles. Pp. lxix + 57. 4to. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1905. 8s. 6d.

(2) *M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes pro Sex. Roscio, de imperio Cn. Pompei, pro Cluentio, in Catilinam, pro Murena, pro Caelio, recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit ALBERTUS CURTIS CLARK.* Oxonii: e Typographeo Clarendoniano. Pp. xiv + circa 352. Date of Preface Sept. 1905. 3s.

(1) MR. CLARK's contribution to the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* has a two-fold interest, in connexion primarily with the textual criticism of the speeches of Cicero, and secondarily with the history of the revival of learning. It has long been known that, during an excursion in France at the time of the Council of Constance (1414-8), an ancient manuscript of Cicero's speeches was discovered by Poggio at Cluni, and that this manuscript included the speeches *pro Sexto*

Roscio and *pro Murena*. The MS. has long been lost, but Mr. Clark has identified it with the one entered in the old catalogue of Cluni as No. 496, and there described as including the *pro Milone* and *pro Cluentio*, as well as the *pro Murena*. He has also identified a Paris MS. formerly at the monastery of Saint Victor as a transcript of the Cluni MS., made before Poggio carried the original off to Italy, and he has examined several of the Italian transcripts of the original as well as the excerpts from it. The discoverer himself did not remember all its contents, and was compelled to write to his friend Niccoli to ask him what it included besides the speeches *pro Cluentio* and *Sexto Roscio* and *Murena*, but Mr. Clark is able to tell us, as the result of a series of interesting researches, that it also contained the *pro Milone* and the *pro Caelio*.

The date of Poggio's discovery is mainly determined by the fact that Leonardo Bruni describes the discovery as recent in a letter dated January 2, '1415,' which (as has been noticed by Sabbadini) is in accordance with the Florentine style of reckoning, the true date being 1416. Hence the MS. was

really discovered in 1415, and not in 1414. I may add that the date 1415 is confirmed by the fact that the papal see was not vacant until May 1415, and that before that date Poggio as a papal secretary would not have been free to leave the post of duty and take an excursion in quest of manuscripts at Cluni.¹

The second group of speeches discovered by Poggio consisted of the *pro Caecina*, the three speeches *de lege agraria*, the two entitled *pro Rabirio*, the *pro Roscio Comoedo*, and the speech in *Pisonem*. Of these eight speeches (as Mr. Clark insists) the only one definitely stated to have been found *in silvis Lingonum* (i.e. at Langres) is the speech *pro Caecina*. The rest were found in unnamed monasteries of France or Germany.

In the course of some sixty pages, Mr. Clark carefully investigates the history of the transcripts of the MS. found by Poggio at Cluni. His own summary of his results is to the following effect. Early in the eleventh century the Abbey of Cluni possessed an ancient MS. of Cicero containing the speeches in defence of Milo, Cluentius, Murena, Sextus Roscius, and Caelius. The extant evidence as to its spelling and writing shows that it was written before the orthographical reforms of the age of Charles the Great (890), and those who transcribed it early in the fifteenth century found it very illegible. In that century it was copied first in France in a MS. of the Abbey of St. Victor, now in the Paris Library, the otherwise unknown speeches *pro Sexto Roscio* and *pro Murena* being there transcribed in full, and the rest in part alone. The Wolfenbüttel MS., hitherto used by the editors of these speeches, is only a careless copy of a copy of the St. Victor MS., while the Munich MS(S) is highly composite and is tainted by conjecture.

The Cluni MS. of these speeches was carried off by Poggio to Florence, and copied early in 1416 by the calligrapher, John of Arezzo, and by the unnamed transcriber of the two new speeches *pro Murena* and *pro Sex. Roscio*, in the MS. now at Perugia. In all future editions of the five speeches included in the lost Cluni MS., the foremost place must be assigned to the St. Victor MS. and to other evidence of the readings of the Cluni MS. preserved in the margins of certain French and Italian MSS.

In the Appendix we have details as to

¹ Cp. *Harvard Lectures on the Revival of Learning*, pp. 32 f.

the relations between the St. Victor and the Wolfenbüttel MSS., and as to the contents and the readings of the excerpts from the Cluni MS. made by Poggio's friend Bartolommeo da Montepulciano.

One of the minor Italian MSS. examined by Mr. Clark once belonged to Giorgio Antonio Vespucci (p. li). As Mr. Clark's volume will certainly, in the Horatian phrase, 'cross the sea,' it might have been worth while to add that the owner of this MS. was the uncle of the explorer of the Atlantic, and was also the expert in Latin and Greek consulted by Ficino in preparing his Latin rendering of the whole of Plato. On pp. v-vi mention is twice made of *Iohannes Ioffridus de Luxorio* (Luxeuil). Luxorius is a minor light of Latin literature; the Latin name of the monastery founded by St. Columban in the heart of the Vosges is *Luxovium*. There is also a slight misprint in a passage quoted on p. xxxiii., *palmaris emendationes Bentleis Porsonisque dignas*.

The 'emendations' just mentioned came, as shown by Mr. Clark, from the St. Victor MS., which not only vindicates the correctness of certain passages previously regarded as interpolations, but also confirms not a few conjectures made by modern scholars. Six of these were made by Madvig. For example, in *pro Caelio*, § 45, Madvig proposed the following text: 'quicquid est quod nos facimus in dicendo, quoquo <modo facimus, non> modo agendo, verum etiam cogitando.' The very words inserted by Madvig are now found in the MS. Similarly, in § 43, *libet* for *liquet*, and in § 46, 'labor offendit homines,' for 'labore fiendi' or 'labor confitendi' of the ordinary MSS. '*Habes, lector, unde artis criticae obrectatores vanitatis convincas.*' The St. Victor MS. had been quoted on another passage by Guelmius, and this was all that Madvig ever knew of a MS. which, on the strength of that quotation, he described as *codex praestantissimus, qui utinam saepius commemoraretur*. The three passages above mentioned are all included in the *facsimile* of §§ 43-47 given at the beginning of the *Anecdoton*. At the end there is another *facsimile* from the same MS., which incidentally proves that the Wolfenbüttel MS. is derived from the St. Victor MS., as exactly one line of the latter has been omitted in the former.

Mr. Clark's treatise, as a whole, is a masterly piece of work, and an excellent model of critical method. It deserves to be widely studied not only by Latin scholars in general, but also by all students of textual criticism.

(2) The principles laid down by Mr. Clark in his *Anecdoton* are happily illustrated in his subsequent critical edition of the text of nine speeches: the *pro Sexto Roscio*, *Cluentio*, *Murena*, and *Caelio*, with the four in *Catilinam*, and the speech *De imperio Cn. Pompei*. This last is the only one of the nine that is in no way connected with Cluni. The first four were all included in Poggio's find at that place, while the four speeches in *Catilinam* were contained in another Cluni MS. (No. 498), which exists in a mutilated form in the MS. discovered by Dr. Peterson in Lord Leicester's library at Holkham,—a MS. which Mr. Clark is authorised to say (on p. xxvii of his *Anecdoton*) is now accepted by Professor Robinson Ellis as having really come from Cluni.¹ Mr. Clark has supplied an excellent critical text of the nine speeches included in this volume. In cases where a *lacuna* has to be filled, his suggestions are often sounder and more convincing than those that have been made by previous critics. For example, in *Pro Sex. Roscio* § 130, 'nemo est . . . qui nesciat . . . multa multos *partim improbante*, *partim imprudente* L. Sulla commississe,' *partim improbante* is much more likely to have dropped out before *partim imprudente*, than either *partim invito*, or *partim convivente*. Similarly, *De Imp. Cn. Pompei*, § 7, *omnis* is inserted after 'significatione,' and, *pro Cluentio*, § 130, *rem* before 'reprendisse,' and similarly also in § 103. Cp. *In Catilinam* ii 19, 'magnam concordiam <ordinum>'; *pro Caelio*, § 34, 'non avum, non proavum, non <abavum, non> atavum audieras consules fuisse'; and *pro Murena*, § 8, 'sic <existimo, labores quos in petitione> exceperis,' where certain MSS. have *si* (or *sic*) *exiceperis* (a confusion of

existimo and *exceperis*). In § 3, where the St. Victor MS. has 'a me . . . a,' and another MS. 'a me una' (for which Lambinus proposed 'a me uno' and Müller 'a me in manum'), Mr. Clark accepts (from Klotz) 'a me iam' *traditur sustinenda*. He may be interested to know that in Munro's copy of Baier and Halm's edition of the speeches, now in my possession, Munro has written in the margin the alternative suggestions, either '[a] mea manu,' or 'a me mea manu,' the only marginal note in the whole work.

There are some trifling misprints in the head-lines of *In Cat.* ii 7 and 17, and *pro Murena*, § 26, and, in the latter section, one would prefer a semicolon after *immo meus*, also in *Mur.* § 62 after *delictum est*, and *dixisti quippiam*; and a comma, *In Cat.* i 4, 18, 33, after *maioribus*, *abhorrent*, and *inixerunt* respectively. We find *scena* in *Cat.* ii 9, but *scaena* twice in *Mur.* § 40; and in § 34 and *Cluent.* § 113, there is something odd about the division of the words 'contemnendos' and 'conde-mnavit.' In *Mur.* § 60 it seems improbable that Cicero would, at the end of three successive clauses, have said *non possum* and *possim* and *possum*. This might be avoided by accepting Boot's supplement *nolo* in the first clause. These however are the merest trifles. The text, as a whole, is remarkably good, and it is printed with exemplary accuracy. It is an *editio omnibus numeris absoluta*; and in its pages due regard is paid to all who have in any way contributed to the improvement of the text, beginning with Andreas, Bishop of Aleria, the editor of the Roman *editio princeps*, and Andreas Naugerus, the accomplished editor of the first Aldine and the third Juntine, and ending with the unwearied explorer of the laws of Ciceronian *clausulae*—Thaddeus Zielinski.

J. E. SANDYS.

VESSEREAU'S *AETNA*.

VESSEREAU, J. *Aetna*, texte Latin, publié avec traduction et commentaire. Paris: Fontemoing, 1905. Fr. 4.

PROFESSOR VESSEREAU, whose *étude* on Rutilius Namatianus appeared in 1905, has in addition to this larger volume of 443 pages, published a smaller, but to many readers, perhaps more interesting edition of *Aetna*. The book contains besides li pages

of Preface, 104 of text and commentary. It is based mainly on the editions of Sudhaus and my own. The commentary deals with most of the difficulties or at least with the chief difficulties of the poem; a poem than which nothing has come down to us in a more disfigured or corrupt condition, although not much can be said for the text of most of the pseudo-Vergilian collection except the *Copa* and

Moretum. The taste for scientific poems seems to be decidedly on the increase, witness the new editions (e.g. C. Pascal's and Cyril Bailey's) of Lucretius and Manilius. M. Vessereau has felt the influence of this movement and he has produced a new text of *Aetna* which will hold its own. He rightly considers it to rank with the fragments of Lucilius and the *Silvae* of Statius in point of difficulty. Its subject indeed,—the various phenomena of the volcano, (especially the minute description of its lava-flood,) and the hypotheses as to their causes partly derived from Greek sources, partly drawn from the poet's own observation, are matters as hard to state in finished verse as the Loves of the plants or the Loves of the triangles. That its author is only partially successful in so intractable a material cannot be thought wonderful; nor is it more wonderful that the poem should have been attributed to a great variety of authors. M. Vessereau examines the several pretensions of each claimant and leans to believing that *Aetna* may after all be an early work of Vergil's, in this following Kruczkiewicz and returning to the tradition not only of the MSS. of the poem, but of the considerably earlier prosodial treatise of Mico the Deacon. This view appears to me to labour under insuperable objections; the ascription to Vergil in the MSS. goes for very little, since this assumption *Aetna* shares with *Culex*, *Copa*, *Ciris*, *Catalepta*, *Dirae*, none of which can be shown to have been a work of his. On the other hand the style and versification of *Aetna* more properly follow the lead set by Vergil than produce the effect of being Vergil's own; and in its 644 verses (a strangely close coincidence with the Ovidian *Ibis* containing 646) we find only a single passage—the Glorification of scientific Research—*Aetn.* 223–249—reaching an elevation comparable with the poet of the *Georgics* in his loftier moods. But then this one passage is grand, even sublime, in its enthusiasm. Reading it we feel how the resolve to set apart life's maturity for the investigation of nature, expressed so frequently in the poetry of the Romans, e.g. by Vergil, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid, could take the real form of minute exploration of actual phenomena, and work the results thus attained into a well-planned and generally interesting whole. That I am not going too far in so calling our poem seems proved by the ever-increasing attention which it has attracted since Scaliger edited and explained it in 1572 (3rd edition brought out after Scaliger's death by Lindenbruch

1595): by the care with which the great Dutch scholar, Nicolas Heinsius, sought for a missing Luccan codex which he believed to contain a purer text: by Le Clerc's two editions of 1703 and 1715: most of all perhaps by the care bestowed upon it by critics as distinguished as Haupt, Lachmann, and above all Munro, whose collation of the tenth century Cambridge MS. (C), and this in its entirety in 1867, for the first time supplied an adequate basis for a re-constitution of it from first to last.

Since Munro we have had two complete new editions and commentaries, those of Sudhaus and myself. And yet how much remains unsolved and perplexing! M. Vessereau (who is more than complimentary to both of us, and especially to me) seems to feel this more and more as his work advances, and the difficulties multiply. In truth so palpably is even C vitiated that no penetration can feel certain way; but I rejoice to find my distrust of the so-called Gyraldinian variants which most critics think authoritative, shared to the full by the new editor. A cautious scepticism, with a determination to keep in view the connexion of the argument as the poem advances from point to point, are conspicuous features in M. Vessereau's treatment: valuable qualities both of them, and in the present editor reinforced by prevailing sanity of judgment and general competence in grammatical or syntactical questions.

On one point I desiderate a surer touch: it is one which time and enlarged examination of MSS. will remove. I do not think that any expert in palaeography can doubt that C was itself copied from a very corrupt original; and that, while it is true that our only safe course is to keep C in constant view, it is not to be forgotten that its showings are very often blurred indistinct or wrong. My feeling here (and it is based on no slight or short examination of MSS. of different writers and periods) is, I acknowledge, very different from M. Vessereau's. Given an obscure subject, such as the inner workings of a volcano, it is natural that a poet who aims to describe them should at times be at fault in his diction, particularly if his training has been much in camp and warfare, as seems from his constant allusions to have been the case with this one. Such imperfect expression is easily misunderstood and readily vitiated in transcription. The error propagates itself, and quite early in its history the poem presents so to speak the initial stage of what carried farther eventuates deep-seated corruption. I

should fancy that in *Aetna* this began very soon, and that at the Carolingian revival of learning the copies of it which came to hand, some of them perhaps written in a difficult, e.g. Merovingian character, had already wandered far from the earlier stage, I will not say of correct transcription, but of only partial corruption. It is none the less true that between a tenth century MS. like *C* and one of the fourteenth or fifteenth the difference is enormous: still it would be wrong to estimate the former as invariably right, the latter (e.g. the Rehdiger MS. of *Aetna*) as certain to be wrong. The knowledge which a critic attains to by familiarity with MSS. studied as they actually are and with all the corrections, erasures, variants, and marginalia which so many of them exhibit; not as reported by others, nor even as merely reproduced by photography; this knowledge, I say, it is which, in an especial degree at the present point of classical criticism, is to be looked for and postulated as essential. But it cannot be grasped in a moment; hours of patient collating and even copying out whole works in *extenso* are called for; often the result is impalpable, and the palaeographer, confronted with a corrupt text, is after all helpless and cannot see his way.

It would be impertinent in me to criticize the new editor on a point where it is impossible to do more than surmise; yet the impression which his *Aetna* leaves upon me is that his training in this respect is short of his competence in the other qualifications of a classical critic. I will give one example. *Aetn.* 461 is thus written in *C*

Diffugit exemploque solum trahit ictaque ramis

Rehd. has *extemploque*, a correction which is confirmed by palaeography; the ninth century Vatican MS. of Val. Flaccus vi. 753 exhibits the same confusion. Vessereau retains *exemploque* translating 'elle s'échappe de toute part, entraîne derrière elle le sol qu'elle fend partout.' Is this possible? I would almost venture to say 'to a critic trained palaeographically, No.' But why? Not so much because there are other particular instances of the same interchange of words, as from the *general* inference drawn from a host of similar mistakes in MSS. of every age.

Coming to the difficult passages of the poem I mention amongst the numerous corrections which M. Vessereau has suggested the following: 63 stant *utrumque* tuens (for *utrimque* deus); 107 *sqq.* he writes thus

Ut crebro introrsus spatio uacat acta
Charybdis
Pendetque in sese, similis quoque terra
futura
In tenues laxata uias non omnis in unum
Nec stipata coit

for *Pendet* and *futurae* of *C*. On this view *ut* is 'as,' not 'that': 119 cum uidet ac se uno torrentes mergere hiatu for *torrens se*, very plausibly: 121 errantes arcessens undique uenas for *arcessant* (improbable); 129 Hospitium fluium, iam semita nulla profecto for *aut* of *C*: 142 Incomperta uia est: aer tantum effluit intra for *operum* of *C*, *aeri* of *Gyr.* 151, 2 urit quae proxima cedunt Obliquumque secat quae uisa tenerrima claustra for *qua, causa est*; 199 glomeratus for *glomeratur* of *C*; in 206 he retains the MS. reading in occulto tantum tremat 'tant il fait d'efforts dans sa demeure cachée' sc. Ditis: the view is bold, but worth considering: 214 per sest (with Wagler) for *pars est*; 229 *Sacrare ingenium* capitique attollere caelum for *sacra per ingentem* of *C*, but the last three words of the v. must be wrong; 253 Et quae nunc miranda tulit natura notare (so *C*), explaining *nunc* of a *contemporaneous* eruption of *Aetna*; 294 Nam ueluti sonat ora diu Tritone canoro for *duc* of *C*, in which *ora* is the bank of the sea or lake where the naumachia takes place; 313 se effundere (Baehrens) for *effundere* of *C*; 395 eliciantur for *eripiantur*; 422 perhaustus for *perhaustis*; 458 Haud equidem mirum. Facies quam cernimus, extra Si lenitur opus, restat; 463 undique rimans for *actaque rimas*; 468 truncasque ruinas for *truncaeqe ruinae*, perhaps rightly; 505, 6 ardentia saxa, Scintillas procul ecce uidet; procul ecce ruentes Incolumi ferveore cadunt for *esse—esse*; 533 Imposuere phrydas et iam omine significantur; 587 sedes uestras Philomela canoris Euocat in siluis, in which I do not comprehend the meaning of *Euocat*; 600 dubius terraque marique for *terra dubiusque marisque* of *C*.

These are some samples of an edition which must, I venture to think, attract the notice of any scholar who cares to follow the progress, already considerable, which the study of the scientific poetry of the Romans is yearly making. Much has still to be done for Lucretius, more perhaps for Manilius. Are we yet in a position to say that a more enlarged examination of the Lucretian MSS. (in particular) is unnecessary? I think good work may yet be done in that region.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

HENNINGS' *ODYSSEE*.

HERR T. W. ALLEN urteilt über meine *Odyssee* in dieser Zeitschrift Okt. 1905, p. 359 so, dass man sehen kann, er hat die ersten und letzten Seiten und p. 230 aufgeschnitten. Er nennt meinen kritischen Kommentar eine Sammlung der Meinungen meiner Landsleute über die Echtheit des Textes der *Odyssee*. Er scheint also nicht gesehen zu haben, dass ich den englischen Gelehrten Payne Knight und Grote Gerechtigkeit getan zu haben glaube, sowie dass ich, weit entfernt davon ein blosser Berichterstatter oder Sammler zu sein, neue und eigene Ansichten aufgestellt habe, namentlich über die sogenannte Kommission des Pistratus, über Buch α, die ganze

Telemachie, sowie über die schwierigen Bücher δ, ν und ω, und endlich über die Reihenfolge, in welcher die einzelnen Teile des Gedichtes entstanden sind. Übrigens dankt der Verfasser dem Herrn Allen für das Lob des Fleisses, den er angewandt habe.

Professor P. D. CH. HENNINGS.

Husum.

I regret that Professor Hennings' feelings have been wounded, but I am unable to qualify my review, which was based on a more extensive examination of his book than he supposes.

T. W. ALLEN.

LAW AND PICTORIAL ILLUSTRATION.

ARE not archaeologists becoming a little unreasonable in their demand for pictures? In the last number of the *Classical Review* (p. 460), Prof. Burrows censures me for an 'old fault,' because in a short article on Law in *A Companion to Greek Studies* I described the Athenian ψῆφοι and πινάκια δικαστικά without adding illustrations and directing attention to the archaeological evidence. He seems to suppose that the omission was caused by ignorance or contempt of archaeology. The true explanation is very simple. In the first place, I had no room; the plates alone would have driven out at least a quarter of a page of Law, in all probability more than this. In the second place, the figures, the

absence of which Prof. Burrows deploras, together with notes on the archaeological problem, may be found in Dr. Sandys' edition of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, whom I mentioned as my authority. My critic is apprehensive that readers of the *Companion* may 'receive a shock' when they inspect Case 171 in the Bronze Room of the National Museum at Athens. Surely it is not too much to hope that a well-known edition of a famous Greek book will be accessible and intelligible to persons who have the means and the leisure, which I have never enjoyed, to visit Athens and study its antiquarian treasures.

W. WYSE.

REPORTS.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—MICHAELMAS TERM, 1905.

ON October 27th Prof. ROBINSON ELLIS read a selection of emendations on the *Historia Augusta*. The paper is appearing in *Hermathena*.

ON November 3rd Mr. HADLOW read a paper entitled 'Aristotle's doctrine of καθάρσις—a suggestion.' A paper recently read before the Philo-

logical Society interpreted καθάρσις as entirely a process of expulsion, as though a man feeling overburdened with pity and terror should attend a tragedy to have these feelings appeased or diminished, and on this ground condemned the passage as unmeaning. Such a position seems to prove too

much. It is a matter of common experience that tragedy does not appease but stimulate the feelings,—there is abundant evidence that the Greeks were specially sensitive to this stimulus, and Aristotle could not have been unaware of this fact. Plato not infrequently uses the word *κάθαρσις* in the sense of liberating the soul, or its better part, from base and degrading elements (e.g. *Phaedo* 69 c: *Sophistes* 226 d-227 c: *Cratylus* 405: cf. *Phaedo* 69 c and *Phaedrus* 244 e); and if this is the sense in which the word is used here we have a doctrine which not only is valuable in itself but fits the phrase *μίσητος πράξεως σπουδαίας* and the rule of plot which follow immediately after. The office of tragedy would thus be to moralise the emotions by eliminating the wrong kinds of fear and pity (cf. *Ethics* III vi: *Rhetoric* II viii and ix) and leaving us with a 'cleansed' fear, i.e. of sin and shame alone; and a 'cleansed' pity, i.e. of undeserved suffering within the limits of ordinary human sympathy. The passage in *Politics* VIII vii, which raises the most obvious objection to this view, seems, in spite of the reference, to describe a different phenomenon—the physical effect of music on the bodily system—and to bear on tragedy only in so far as Greek tragedy was musical.

On November 10th Dr. FARNELL read a paper on the cult of the *θεῶν ἡγήτωρ* in the Mediterranean. The paper was a résumé of a chapter on the cult of the *θεῶν ἡγήτωρ* which will appear in the third volume of Dr. Farnell's *Cults of the Greek States*, now in the press.

On November 17th Mr. MYRES read a note on the List of Thalassocracies, with special reference

to Winckler, *Die Euphratländer u. das Mittelmeer* (1905), pp. 20-32. The list of Thalassocracies, as preserved in Eusebius' citation from Diodorus, bears traces of an ancient lacuna from the eighth to the eleventh thalassocracy, involving the numeral-column, and probably parts of the list of names. From the end of the list, as far back as the lacuna, the list accords with fifth-century tradition; it seems to be presupposed by Thucydides, but not by Herodotus, and may therefore be of Periklean origin. Winckler's attempt to correlate the thalassocracies, immediately above the lacuna, with the data of Assyrian history from 709 to 604 neglects Egyptian evidence, and fails to explain the political situation in Phoenicia; but an alternative correlation is possible, which covers all the evidence, and makes it probable that the list, though misused by Eusebius, really contains good tradition for Hellenic history as far back as 750.

On December 1st Mr. F. P. LONG read a paper on Caesar's Landing in Britain. After an explanation of the tidal currents of the channel and their relation to high water mark at various points of the coast, the evidence of each of the two expeditions was examined in turn. It was agreed that the Dover-Deal theory could no longer stand, and of the two remaining sites, Pevensey and Hythe, the latter was preferred by the reader. In the second voyage Mr. Long argued that the evidence strongly points to the ebb-tide and not to the flood, as having drifted the Roman fleet. Maps and admiralty charts were exhibited.

A. H. J. GREENIDGE.
Hon Sec.

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION [OF ENGLAND AND WALES].

THE third regular meeting of this Association since its foundation was held at KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON, on Friday, January 5, 1906, beginning at 3 P.M. and on Saturday, January 6, beginning at 10 A.M., Professor S. H. BUCHER in the chair. After the minutes of the last meeting had been read by Professor POSTGATE, the CHAIRMAN in an opening speech referred to the loss which the Association and the classical world had sustained by the death of Sir Richard C. Jebb. He said that hardly six or seven weeks ago the Council had welcomed with gratitude and satisfaction a letter from Sir Richard Jebb, in which he consented to be nominated at that meeting for the office of president. Now they all lamented his death. The grief felt by the Classical Association was shared by the whole world of letters and scholarship. Striking expression had already been given by many bodies to the profound sense of public loss, and their own outgoing president, the late Lord Chancellor, had written immediately to Lady Jebb conveying to her their deep sympathy and sorrow. Not a few of those present could claim to have been personal friends of Sir Richard Jebb, and what it was to have been the friend of a man so lovable and so beloved, he could not trust himself to say. Many of them in the old days at Cambridge attended his famous Sophocles lectures, and all of them had been in some sense his disciples. Even those who did not come within

the circle of actual friendship, would yet cherish his memory with personal affection, feeling that to him they owed a priceless debt of gratitude for opening up to them with new and rich delight various regions of Greek literature, and enlarging their whole conception of what classical learning could become. As an interpreter of Greek literature Sir Richard Jebb had a mind of exquisite delicacy and insight. As a critic of the text and a textual emendator he had a sort of instinct of divination; he had also a luminous power of literary exposition. Take his Sophocles or Bacchylides and work out with him any vexed problem of interpretation, and you had before you a candid and comprehensive survey of the best that could be said on this and that side of the question. No factor of importance was omitted: all entered into the account; his judgment was not warped by any love of special pleading or by a commentator's desire to commend unduly some pet theory of his own. He frankly noted points that told against him. If you dissented from his final summing up you did so with the utmost diffidence and misgiving, and probably felt that you were wrong after all. In any case it was Sir Richard Jebb himself who had furnished the well-ordered array of facts and arguments on which you could base your independent conclusion. He doubted whether any critic could be named who had combined such brilliancy and divining skill with so

large and sane and sympathetic a judgment. Sir Richard Jebb also possessed a unique gift of felicitous translation into Latin and Greek. The greater the difficulty of the task the more triumphant the ease with which he seemed to accomplish it. He gave you the very soul of the thing translated. His own manner was strictly classical and yet highly individual, and his flexibility of style adapted itself to the widest range of literary forms both in prose and in verse. In the whole history of scholarship he ventured to believe that in this field of beautiful composition Sir Richard Jebb would be found to stand without a rival. The splendour of some of his higher flights in Greek verse might almost incline them to forget the wonderful beauty of many of his Latin renderings. Yet who could fail to recall such lyrics—to take two instances that sprang to one's memory—as his version of Keats' poem 'In a drear-nighted December,' or of the canto of *In Memoriam*, 'Dost thou look back on what has been?' In its literary quality his mind was of the peculiarly Attic order. You saw it even in his writing of English. There was that air of high-born distinction and yet of simplicity. The instrument of language which he wielded was a fine blade, and he used it with temperate strength and a quiet reserve of power. It was a style clear-cut, restrained, and sometimes almost austere. The tone was never forced. Yet he could kindle into eloquent and glowing speech whenever the nature of the theme demanded such emotion. He was in the best sense an *anima naturaliter Graeca*. His writings would remain an abiding monument of a great scholar and a great humanist. In their harmonious completeness and perfection of form, in their critical exactness, and, above all, perhaps, in a certain penetrating quality of sympathetic interpretation they embodied the very spirit which was their ideal of classical culture, the spirit in which the members of the Classical Association hoped that the study of the classics, inspired by his example, might long continue to be pursued.

The Report of the Council was then read by Professor SONNENSCHN. It recorded with regret the deaths of Dr. D. B. MONRO, Provost of Oriel, and Professor Sir R. C. JEBB, M.P., and the retirement of the Rev. Dr. CHASE, President of Queen's College on his election to the see of Ely. Dr. MONRO's office had been temporarily filled by the co-optation of the Rev. Dr. C. GORE, Bishop of Birmingham. One hundred and fifty-three new members had joined the Association during the year and its numbers now stood at 1053. The proposals and reports of various Committees were to be submitted to the meeting. The Committee on Latin Pronunciation was not yet in a position to report; but since its appointment there had been a marked increase of interest in the subject and a recent conference at Oxford of classical teachers at both Universities had materially advanced the solution of its problems. A new departure in the operations of the Council was the appointment of Local Correspondents to represent the Association and make known its aims in various places within and without the United Kingdom. More than twenty such correspondents had now been appointed. A second local branch (Manchester having been the first) had been founded at Birmingham. The members of Council retiring under rule 11 were Prof. CONWAY, the Rev. Dr. GOW, the Rev. Dr. NAIRN, Mrs. STRONG and Mr. WARREN, President of Magdalen. Attention was drawn to the consider-

able inconvenience and expense involved by the collection of annual subscriptions in arrears. Members were reminded that they could remit four subscriptions to the Treasurer by a single payment of £1, and that they could also pay the annual subscription by means of a standing order to their bankers, forms for this purpose being obtainable from the Treasurer (Dr. F. G. KENYON, West Hill Cottage, Harrow). Though the immediate urgency of a number of problems connected with the teaching of the Classics had of necessity given a predominantly educational character to the work of the Association during the year and to the programme submitted to the meeting, the Council had not lost sight of the fact that the aims of the Association covered a much wider field. But its range of activities was conditioned by the funds at its disposal and accordingly the Council urged upon members the desirability of making its existence and objects known to their friends. The report concluded with an acknowledgment of the services of Prof. POSTGATE, now retiring from the post of Secretary, and Prof. BUTCHER who had generously allowed the meetings of the Council and of the various Committees to be held at his house. The report was received and ordered to be entered on the minutes.

The report of the Finance Committee of the Council was submitted by the Hon. Treasurer, Dr. KENYON. It showed in round figures the receipts for 1905 to have been £230, and the expenditure £222, of which over £62 represented the cost of the volume of Proceedings. The Association also possessed, however, a balance of about £10 from 1904, £25 from entrance fees, and £415 in life-subscriptions and subscriptions paid in advance, the greater part of which had been invested. The Association, therefore, while perfectly solvent, required increased support, if it was to extend its range of influence either by the issue of more publications or by holding more frequent meetings. The report was adopted.

The following were then elected officers:

President.—LORD CURZON.

Vice-Presidents.—MR. ASQUITH, Sir R. H. COLLINS, Sir R. B. FINLAY, Sir A. GEIKIE, Mr. JUSTICE KENNEDY, Mr. JUSTICE PHILLIMORE, Sir E. J. POYNTER, Sir E. MAUNDE THOMPSON (all re-elected), and the BISHOP of BIRMINGHAM, Prof. R. ELLIS, the EARL of HALSBURY and Prof. J. P. POSTGATE.

New Members of Council.—The Rev. Canon G. C. BELL, Mr. C. COOKSON, The Rev. Dr. HEADLAM, Principal of King's College, Sir F. POLLOCK, Prof. RHYS ROBERTS, Mr. S. E. WINBOLT (elected for two years in the place of the Bishop of Ely).

Hon. Treasurer.—Dr. F. G. KENYON (re-elected).

Hon. Secretaries.—Prof. E. A. SONNENSCHN, re-elected, and Mr. ERNEST HARRISON, Trinity College, Cambridge.

The omission from the title of the Association of the words 'of England and Wales,' which the Council had already approved, was proposed by Prof. POSTGATE who explained that the reasons for the limitation adopted at the inaugural meeting no longer existed and that its retention was productive of misapprehension and inconvenience. The Association had members in all parts of the world and was generally known by the simple name of 'The Classical Association.' The motion was seconded by the Rev. Prof. BROWNE of the Royal University of Ireland who from the point of view of the teachers and friends of the Classics in Ireland

cordially welcomed the removal of the seeming restriction. In answer to a question the CHAIRMAN explained that the proposed change of title had been informally communicated to the *The Classical Association of Scotland* which raised no objection. The motion was carried unanimously.

It was proposed by Prof. R. S. CONWAY and seconded by the Rev. Dr. I. GREGORY SMITH that the Council be requested to prepare a memorial drawing attention to the injurious character of the present scheme of examinations for candidates for admission to the military colleges of Woolwich and Sandhurst.

An amendment was moved by Dr. T. RICE HOLMES to the effect that the memorial should recommend the restoration of Latin to its place in the schedule of examinations as an obligatory subject. This was seconded by Mr. BECKWITH, but lost on a division. The original resolution was then put and carried.

The meeting then adjourned to the Theatre, where Mr. D. G. HOGARTH delivered an address on 'The Nature Goddess in the Greek Lands,' which was illustrated by lantern slides.

Documents bearing on religion are the most interesting which the student of prehistoric civilisation has to do with, because more surely than others they reveal the mind of a past race. But they are peculiarly open to arbitrary interpretation and must be treated with peculiar caution. Such caution, he claimed, had been used conspicuously in the case of the Mycenaean or 'Aegean' cult documents found before the exploration of Crete. These while informing us of much, failed to show how the race personified its idea of Divinity in the iconic stage—the stage in which study of a prehistoric faith by the light of material documents must begin. He proceeded to sketch the general evolution of cult-ideas through the Natural Aniconic, the Artificial Aniconic, and Iconic stages, and to point out that these stages, though successive, were not mutually exclusive, much, especially in the usages of ritual, surviving from one into and through another.

Nature Cult and an Earth Goddess had long been suspected in the Early Aegean, but Knossos first gave us an indubitable representation of such a divinity,—the 'Mountain Mother,' shown amid surroundings which leave no question of her supernatural character. This was followed by several other pictorial and plastic representations of a Goddess, and by a much smaller number of representations of a young God. No other Divine form appeared. The early Cretans, therefore, in the iconic stage embodied their idea of Divinity primarily in the Feminine, *i.e.* in a Nature or Earth Goddess, whose cult, wherever found, is inspired by certain common ideas. The similarity of the cult-accompaniments of the Cretan Goddess to those associated with the Nature Goddesses or Divine Pairs of other Levantine lands was then dwelt upon. But though akin to Semitic divinities, the Cretan are not to be derived from Semitic sources.

It was shown to be probable, though evidence is meagre, that the same Divine Pair was acknowledged and even paramount in other parts of the Aegean,—a fact which, if proved, confirms the deduction already drawn from the evidence of art products, that there was great social homogeneity throughout the area.

The pre-existence of this paramount Goddess explains many puzzles and anomalies in classical Hellenic cults, and to a great extent dispenses with the need of appealing to the East for explana-

tions. It was shown how strongly the belief, already stated by Mr. Farnell and others, that she stands behind Artemis, is confirmed by recent discoveries. She is equally to be discerned behind Aphrodite: and in the case of the latter, as in that of Artemis, we must be chary of regarding the grosser features of the cult as less 'Hellenic' than the purer. Probably the mass of Greeks, the lower and peasant classes, always worshipped a great Mother in a practically monotheistic religion. The pantheism, with which we credit the Greeks, was partly the result of the Homeric cycle and always characteristic of a minority. Aristophanes, when he ridiculed the Olympians, was playing confidently to a gallery which had not begun to believe in them.

In certain parts of greater Greece no one will question the continued dominance of the Nature Goddess right through the pagan period down to Christian times. Traces of her survive still in the cult of the Panaghia among Greek peasants; and a curious instance of such local survival at Ephesus itself was quoted. There the 'House of the Virgin' is still an object of pilgrimage at the head of the glen of Ortygia, where Leto bore her child.

The Son in the Aegean cult was probably less important than the Mother. In the later Greek nature-cults, *e.g.* in Anatolia, he was certainly so. In Semitic cults he has always bulked larger, but Crete was no Semitic land. There the Son, who suffered and was constantly born anew, was in the same subordinate position to the Goddess, in which, among simple peoples, man is always held to stand to woman in regard to the most important function of life, reproduction.

In the evening a conversazione was held in King's College. The Rev. Dr. HEADLAM, Principal of the College, and Mrs. HEADLAM supported by Lord HALSBURY and the officers of the Association received the guests. The exhibitions included one of architectural models and drawings arranged by Prof. ELSEY SMITH and one of photographs and casts of gems lent by the *Hellenic Society* and arranged by Mr. BAKER-PENYOIRE. The leading Classical publishers exhibited their recent publications. Mr. E. MILLS gave two short recitals on the Chapel organ.

Prof. CLIFFORD ALBUTT delivered a short address on 'The Speaking of Latin.' He pointed out the strangeness of the notion (whose oddity was concealed by its familiarity) that a language could thrive as a dumb thing in a book. The silence of Latin was a new thing. The elder among them could remember that men conversed in Latin and quoted it freely. A musician's ability to obtain enjoyment from the mere reading of a score was derived from the practice of music for many a year. And the student's knowledge of a language that he had spoken was very different from that derived from the simulacrum of a book. The stability of results for any part of the brain was directly proportioned to the length of its pedigree and to the importance of its function as a means of survival. This was why the activities connected with the practice of speech had far more enduring vitality than those of its mere paper study which never brought the language home. Greek might always remain a scholar's language: but Latin was a tongue that could be spoken and, if it was to survive, it *must* be spoken.

Dr. A. W. VERRALL read a paper on The Conversion of the Furies in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* in which he deftly analysed the dramatic situation

which revealed a moral *impasse* and suggested that in lines 886-888

ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἄγρὸν ἐστὶ σοὶ Πειθοῦς σέβας
γλώσσης ἐμῆς μείλιγμα καὶ θελκτήριον,
οὐ δ' οὖν μένους ἂν κ.τ.ε.

the break and evident incoherence was due to a necessary aposiopesis by the poet and not to an accidental omission by a copyist. Dr. HEADLAM in a brief speech expressed the thanks of the meeting to the lecturers.

On Saturday the adoption of the report of the 'Investigations Committee' was moved by Prof. E. A. GARDNER seconded by Prof. R. M. BURROWS and carried unanimously. It recommended the publication of an Annual Account of the progress of Classical Studies in all branches confined to matters likely to be useful to classical teachers in schools. The volume, which should contain about 100 pages, should be issued in the early autumn, and record the progress of the year ending in the preceding June. The editor (who ought, if possible, to be a schoolmaster) and the contributors should receive a small honorarium.

The paper announced in the name of Mr. ALFRED AUSTIN, Poet Laureate, on The practical Utility of a Classical Education was not read, as the writer, owing to a domestic bereavement, was unable to attend.

The adoption of the report of the Committee upon the Spelling and Printing of Latin texts was moved by Prof. POSTGATE, seconded by Prof. CONWAY and carried unanimously. Its chief recommendations were:—

“1. That in texts of Latin authors intended for the use of beginners the quantity of long vowels be marked, except in syllables where they would be also ‘long by position.’

2. That when the sign of long quantity is used for the metrical length of a syllable, it be placed over the syllable and not over the vowel.

3. That *v* and *u* be continued in use to distinguish the two sounds of Latin *u* in books intended only for beginners, but that *j* be discontinued altogether.

4. That it is desirable that a hand list of the words in which the natural length of a vowel in a syllable where it would be ‘long by position’ is definitely established, should be prepared and issued by the Association for the use of teachers.

5. That a small pamphlet on Latin orthography be issued under the authority of the Association, containing a statement of the general principles which govern Latin orthography, together with alphabetical lists of words the spelling of which is fluctuating, and of words which are frequently misspelled in texts and editions of Latin authors.

6. The orthography recommended for adoption in school texts to be that of the epoch of Quintilian, in so far as the spellings of that epoch can be ascertained.”

It was proposed from the Chair and carried unanimously that the place and date of the next general meeting be left to the Council to determine.

The interim report of the *Curricula* Committee was then considered. It embodied two resolutions recommended for adoption by the Association: (1) That in the lower and middle forms of boys schools, whereas Latin should be taught with a view to the correct writing of the language, as well as to the intelligent reading of Latin authors, Greek should be taught only with a view to the intelligent reading of Greek authors.

(2) That the Association petitions the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge to take into consideration the abolition of the separate grammar paper at Responsions and the Previous Examination respectively, and the substitution for it of an easy paper in unprepared translation.

The first resolution was moved by Prof. SONNENSCHN. He explained that the Committee felt it desirable first to test the general feeling of the Association upon a fundamental point affecting the curricula. The resolution would not interfere with the practice of Greek composition by boys at the top of the school. The best boys would not lose in the long run by having shared with the average boys that kind of study of Greek which was directed to the reading rather than to the writing of the language. Many details of grammar which must be thoroughly known for writing Greek were unnecessary for reading it as the Greek writers gave them correctly. Canon LYTTELTON (Head Master of Eton) seconded the resolution. He thought, however, that there would be difficulties in carrying it out from the necessity of providing separate instruction for scholars and non-scholars among the boys. This would be specially felt in the smaller schools, in the larger ones there could be differentiation from the first. Mr. WRIGHT HENDERSON (Warden of Wadham) dwelt on the unsatisfactory results shown in Responsions and Moderations. Of 2000 undergraduates that he had examined, about a third had succeeded, a third escaped disaster, and a third failed entirely. He thought that the dropping of grammar as proposed in the second resolution would do much to disarm the opponents of Compulsory Greek at the Universities. Mr. T. E. PAGE did not think that the difficulty raised by Canon Lyttelton was so very serious and the Rev. W. C. COMPTON agreed with him. Prof. CONWAY proposed to amend the reference to Latin in the motion by making it run ‘with a view to the mastery of the language for its own sake by practice in writing it and by other means.’ This was seconded by Prof. F. GRANGER.

Amongst other speakers were Mr. POOLEY, Mr. T. H. WARREN (President of Magdalen College), Prof. P. GARDNER, Prof. POSTGATE, who emphasised the importance of the oral method in teaching Latin, Dr. ROUSE, who dwelt on its advantages and, from his own experience, its practicability, Miss J. E. HARRISON who described her experiences in teaching Greek to beginners and the interest which could be awakened in them by the reading of choruses of Greek tragedy. The CHAIRMAN expressed his warmest sympathy with the objects of the motion. It would be a great misfortune if Greek were entirely separated from the educated life of the community and became the sole property of specialists. The great moving force in literature which was still by no means exhausted was of Hellenic origin. The new spirit in which Greek was to be taught might mean deferring its study in school for a couple of years, but this would not be a disadvantage. Eventually on the motion of Dr. MACKAIL, seconded by Prof. POSTGATE, and accepted by Prof. Conway and Prof. Sonnenschein, the words relating to Latin were omitted from the resolution, which was then carried with two dissentient votes.

Mr. C. COOKSON proposed the second resolution. He thought that the operation of the reform should be postponed for about two years in order to allow pass men to come up who had been educated under the new system. Otherwise it would be necessary

to start with a very low standard in unprepared Greek translation. Mr. L. WHIMLEY seconded the resolution. He thought that Cambridge might meet the Association more than half way. Other speakers were Mr. R. T. ELLIOTT, who opposed the motion, the Rev. Dr. Gow, who supported it, not because he agreed with the criticisms that had been passed upon the educational value of grammar, but because he thought a knowledge of it was best tested by unprepared translation, and Mr. J. K.

FOTHERINGHAM. The motion was carried with one dissent.

It was agreed that subsequent reports of the Curricula committee should be made to the Association through the Council.

A vote of thanks to the authorities of King's College, including Prof. C. Flamstead Walters, Secretary of the Committee charged with making arrangements for the meeting, closed the proceedings.

VERSION.

THE DEATH-BED.

WE watched her breathing through the night,
Her breathing soft and low,
As in her breast the wave of life
Kept heaving to and fro.

So silently we seemed to speak,
So slowly moved about,
As we had lent her half our powers,
To eke her living out.

Our very hopes belied our fears,
Our fears our hopes belied—
We thought her dying while she slept,
And sleeping when she died.

For when the morn came dim and sad,
And chill with early showers,
Her quiet eyelids closed—she had
Another morn than ours.

HOOD.

Ἀσθματι τὴν πνεύουσαν ἀμυδρῶ τ' ἠπεδανῶ τε
παννύχιοι νεαρὴν παῖδ' ἐπεδερκόμεθα,
ἥσθ' ἑτερορρεπεί στέρν' ἡωρείτο μόγις περ
πληγμυρίδι ζωῆς ἡκα συλειούμενα·

φθογῆν δ' ἡμετέραν οὕτως ἔσβεσσε σιωπῇ,
βήματα δ' ὧδ' ἡμέων ἄψοφα πάντ' ἐπελεν,
ὥσειθ' ἡμῖσι δὴ ῥώμης μετεδώκαμεν αὐτῇ,
ὥς ταμειῶσι τοῖς λείψανα τοῦ βίουτον.

τῇ μὲν γρηθοσύνοισ ἡμῖν δέος ἐλπίς ἔκλεψε,
τῇ δὲ βαρυνομένοις ἐλπιδ' ἔκλεψε δέος·
θνήσκειν μὲν κείνην αἰσάμεθ' ὄφρα καθεύδε,
εὐκηλον δ' εὐδαι, εἰς τέλος ὄφρ' ἔθανεν·

ἡ γὰρ ὅτ' ὀρθρος ἐπῆλθ' ὄμβρους κρυεροῦς καὶ
ὀμίχλας
σκυθρωπὰς ἐπάγων ἡμῖν ὀδυρομένοις,
δήτοτε οἱ κλήισεν ὀπωπὰς Μοῖρα γαληνοῦς,
ἄλλον γ' ἢ ἡμῖν ὀρθρον ἀνισταμένου.

G. DUNN.

Edinburgh.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

THRANITE, ZUGITE, AND THALAMITE.

MR. A. B. COOK, in his recent article 'Triremes' in this *Review*, does not accept the old view which I have lately put forward¹ as to the meaning of the above terms, viz., thranites astern, zugites amidships, thalamites in the bows. I should like briefly to indicate how difficult it seems to me to be

¹ 'The Greek Warship,' *J.H.S.* vol. xxv. 1905, pp. 137 and 204. These remarks are supplemental to the analysis of the evidence there given, to which I refer once for all.

for anyone who accepts the reconstruction of Messrs. Cook and Richardson (which I for one greatly admire as a workable arrangement, whether it be an Athenian trireme or not) to adhere to the orthodox meaning attached to these terms. My view really does not 'presuppose that many of the most learned Greeks were wrong,' whatever some of their modern interpreters may be.²

² One must sift one's evidence reasonably; if two statements conflict, one must go. (A clear instance in *J.H.S.* vol. xxv. 1905, p. 145, note 22, where one has to choose between Appian and Hesychius.) Mr. Cook naturally does the same. For instance,

First, Pollux. After mentioning numerous sizes of warships, up to the *εικοστήρης* and so forth, he proceeds to treat of them as a whole, as warships; and when he says that there were three classes of rowers he refers to triremes generally and not merely to triremes. To refer this statement to triremes only, as has been done by so many writers, is a curious example of the false perspective induced by too much Thucydides. The trireme was (speaking roughly) the 'ship of the line' for about a century and a half (Salamis to Alexander); the quinquereme and the larger galleys for about three centuries (Alexander to Actium). That the latter period is half a blank to us is immaterial; it was not a blank to Pollux; looking back, Pollux would see the trireme somewhat as we see Drake's ships, the quinquereme somewhat as we see Nelson's. I do not abandon Pollux: I rely strongly on him.

Pollux 1, 87 *θάλαμος οὗ οἱ θαλάμιοι ἐρέτουναι*. The thalamites sat then in some particular part of the ship. Mr. Cook's 'thalamites' do not.

Polyaen. 5, 22, 4. Diotimus, having landed part of his crews, made the remainder work now the thalamite, now the zugite, now the thranite oars,¹ to deceive the enemy on shore. If the thranites, etc., were *squads*, as I think, the enemy could easily see which set of oars moved. If the thranite oars, etc., were superposed banks of a substantial interval (orthodox theory), then (leaving out of account the practical difficulties of the manœuvre) the enemy might still see which bank was moving. But if the thranite, zugite, and thalamite oars were respectively merely every third oar of a level row (to an observer *from outside* the oars of Mr. Cook's model would appear to leave the ship in a level row, particularly if she were a cataphract), the enemy could never distinguish for a minute which set was being used (again omitting the practical difficulties).

App. b. c. 5, 107. Agrippa rams Pappias' flagship² *κατὰ τὴν ἐπιπρωτὶδα*, 'forward of the

Eustathius says the thalamites are *under* (ὕπὸ) the thranites: Mr. Cook discards this as directly as I do; see his model. (Is it possible that *ὕπὸ* should mean 'forward of,' comparing Polyb. 16, 3, *ὕπὸ τὸν θρανίτην σκαλμόν*, where 'forward of' would make far better sense than 'under'?) As a fact, I have discarded extremely little.

¹ *ἂν μέρους ὅτε μὲν τὰς θαλαμίας, ὅτε δὲ τὰς ζυγίας, ὅτε δὲ τὰς θρανιτίδας κόπας ἀναφέρειν.*

² Of course not a trireme, at that date. It is worth noting that, even if this ship were only a quadrireme (as was, e.g., the Roman flagship at Side), the passage would be quite inconsistent with Dr. Assmann's arrangement, which would make the top bank of a quadrireme also 'thalamites.'

end of the outrigger,' and tears her open; the men in the towers are thrown out, the sea rushes in, and of the rowers the thalamites are all killed (*πάντες ἀπελήφθησαν*), but the rest (*οἱ ἑτεροὶ*) burst the deck and swim out (*ἐξενήχοντο*). If the thalamites sat forward, and the ship plunged, they would be the first to drown (so Weber). If they sat well below the others, they might still drown while the rest escaped, supposing the ship not to plunge but to settle (orthodox view). But there is no possible way in which a ship resembling Mr. Cook's could sink without the outside row (his 'thalamites') having at least as good a chance of escape as the others.

C.I.A. vol. 2, part 2, 791, l. 56.³ There is a simpler explanation of this than the one I suggested. I doubt now if it refers to shortening at all. Of a number of (discarded) thranite oars 'the dokimastes passes 10 as zugite': that is, they were weak, too weak for the stern oars. I do not think it has anything to do with the question of the supposed greater length of the thranite oars.

Arist. *Mech.* 4 (as I have shewn at length) can only be made to support the orthodox view on the assumption that the tholes were not arranged (as from stern to bow) in a straight line (or lines), but in a curved line (or lines) following the curve of the ship's side. Quite apart from proof of the existence of an 'outrigger,' I think that any practical man would decline to consider such an assumption; it is so obvious that equality of leverage throughout was a prime necessity in a Greek galley as much as in a mediaeval one.

Supposing then that I am absolutely wrong as to the meaning of *ἄνω* and *κάτω* (and any one who thinks this ought, I submit, to be prepared with some alternative explanation of Arr. *Anab.* 6, 5, 2, which one can treat seriously), there is still quite sufficient evidence to overrule the much-quoted statement in the scholion to *Frogs* 1074 (on which Mr. Cook relies), on any canon of sound criticism.⁴ Personally, of course, I believe this scholion to be quite correct: what I believe to be incorrect is the interpretation put on it by those who hold the orthodox theory.

I should like to add a word as to the five Pollux 1, 87 anyhow clearly forbids Dr. Assmann's arrangement.

³ *θρανιτίδων τούτων ἀποφαίνει δὲ δοκιμαστὴς ζυγίας Δ.*

⁴ There is an alternative, viz., to say that the writers of the second century A.D. did not know what they were talking about. But anyone saying this must never cite scholia.

points recently stated by Mr. Torr in this *Review* (vol. xix. p. 466); for two of them (Nos. 3 and 5) are not well founded. The Athenian lists do not shew that the Athenian triremes had 62 thranite, 54 zugite, and 54 thalamite oars. They perhaps shew that, during the few years they cover, no trireme had *more* oars of each class; they do not shew that no trireme had less, or that all were in use at once. And the Acropolis relief and the Trajan's column relief do *not* shew an arrangement in *quincuncem*, as anyone can see by looking at them. The quincunx is Mr. Torr's own idea of what these reliefs ought to shew; and no evidence for it exists, so far as I knew; for the monuments shewing ships of two rows are no more evidence for the existence of a ship of three rows than are men with two hands evidence for the existence of men with three. I have gone fully into the details of these monuments elsewhere; but I should like to add one point as to the 'trireme' of Trajan's column. I take it to be an axiom that we cannot say arbitrarily of a given monument that it is right on one point of fact and wrong on another, merely because it suits us to do so. Consequently, supposing this monument to have any bearing at all on the oarage of a trireme, it also shews a trireme to have been an open boat with eight rowers a side; which is absurd. It cannot therefore be evidence for anything connected with a trireme.

The fact is that the orthodox theory of three superposed tiers depends essentially, now as ever, on the one scholion, and on an interpretation of that scholion which (at best) cannot be shewn to be correct, and which, if it were correct, would merely render the scholion inconsistent with Pollux and other evidence; quite apart from the general question of the evidential value of these scholia, a value which now, I suppose, is at a greater discount than ever.

What an Athenian trireme precisely was will probably never be known; but as I have been very glad to find myself in substantial agreement with Mr. Cook as to the limits within which the arrangement of the oars must lie—limits which exclude the orthodox theory—I cannot help regretting that he has hampered himself with the orthodox view of the meaning of thranite, zugite, and thalamite, a view that appears to be a legacy from the time when some people thought that the trireme-problem could be solved as a thing by itself, without reference to the trireme's place in the evolution of the larger warships. Had the facts

as to the larger warships always been borne in mind, we might not have seen a theory that involves a mathematical miracle gain such wide acceptance.

W. W. TARN.

THE TEMPLES OF CASTOR AND OF CONCORD IN THE ROMAN FORUM.

THE present article embodies the results of investigations made in the Autumn of 1905. The final publication must be deferred until some further excavations have taken place and careful measurements and drawings of the two temples have been made.¹ I desire to record my obligation to Comm. Boni for assistance rendered in the investigation of the Castor Temple.

THE TEMPLE OF CASTOR.

The current view concerning this temple is stated briefly by Chr. Hülsen, *The Roman Forum*, Rome, 1906, pp. 151–154. There is a full treatment, with illustrations, by O. Richter, *Jahrbuch des Instituts* xiii. (1898), pp. 87–114, Pls. 6–9. The early *opus quadratum* is discussed by R. Delbrück, *Das Capitolum von Signia*, Rome, 1903, p. 22; *Der Apollotempel auf dem Marsfelde in Rom*, Rome, 1903, p. 14.—I have observed that the Augustan core contains not only the *opus quadratum* of *cappellaccio* discussed by Delbrück, but also considerable remains from two other periods; there seem to be adequate grounds for assigning the *cappellaccio opus quadratum* (period I.) to the original temple of 484 B.C., the remains of the next period (II.) to a restoration of perhaps two centuries later, and those of the third period (III.) to the restoration of 117 B.C.; and I consider it possible to restore the ground-plan of the temple in its various periods, as far as its main lines are concerned, with a reasonable approach to certainty.

The concrete core in its present form is generally acknowledged to date from the restoration of 6 A.D. Richter was inclined to assign the three marble columns and entablature to an assumed restoration under Hadrian; others have assumed a restoration under Domitian. There is, however, no cogent reason for assuming a restoration later than Augustus; there are not enough dated examples of marble architecture in

¹ I have already made a very brief preliminary statement in *Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift* for Jan. 27, 1906; since writing it, my views have changed in several particulars.

Rome to enable one to distinguish with confidence, on stylistic grounds, between Augustan and Hadrianic work; and the remains of mosaic pavement in the cella, at a lower level than the bases of the columns, are, I believe, earlier than the Augustan period.

I shall now describe and discuss the remains of the several periods, printing in *italics* the purely descriptive part, that the actual evidence may be readily distinguishable from my interpretation of it.

At point A, 2 or 3 courses are visible for a distance of 12 ft.²

5 ft. from the N. extremity rises a wall of 10 (visible) courses, to a height of 2.60 m.; one block is preserved in each course above course 3, except course 5, where 2 are preserved.—This I consider the foundation for the steps and the front row of columns. When Temple II. was built, the same steps were retained. It seems probable that when Temple III. was built, most of the

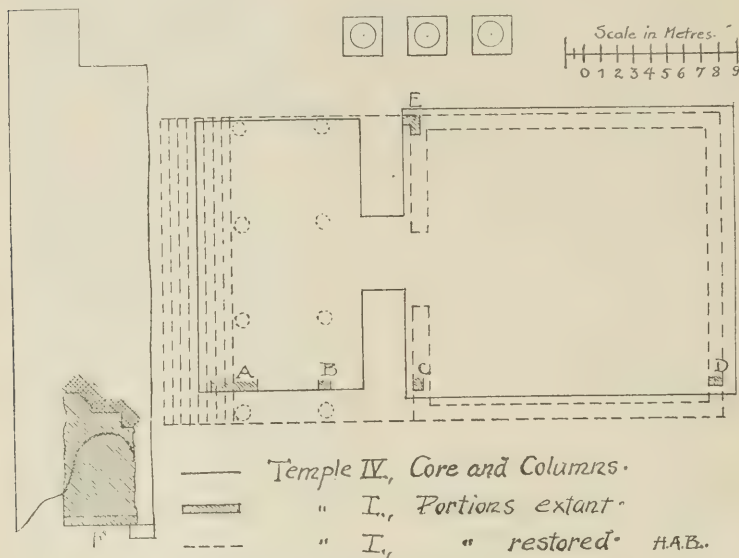


FIG. I.—THE TEMPLE OF CASTOR.

(See also Fig. IV.)

Temple I.—Foundation walls, of *opus quadratum* of the friable gray-green tufa known as *cappellaccio*; see Fig. I.¹

¹ The drawings accompanying this article were prepared under my direction by my friend Mr. Henry A. Boehm, of the American Academy in Rome; they are not based on actual measurements except in certain details, but in general give a correct idea of the relative size and position of the remains. The outlines of Castor IV. are traced from Tognetti's drawings in the *Jahrbuch* for 1898, Pls. 8, 9. In referring to these plans I follow the customary convention and speak of the Castor temple as if facing N., and the Concord temple as if facing E.

material was removed forward (some is visible at point F), to form part of the speaker's platform.

At point B, 5 courses are visible, of 2 blocks each, headers and stretchers, ending evenly on both sides.—I consider this the foundation for the inner row of columns of the pronaos. When Temple II. was built, the upper part of the wall apparently was broken down, to furnish material for the front wall of the cella of II.; the concrete

² These distances are approximate when given in feet, but exact when given in metres.

of II. was then laid on top of the remaining 5 courses.

At point C, *Comm. Boni* has exposed 5¹ courses, the upper 4 being on the same level as the 5 at point B; there seem to be portions of one or two more courses half-emerging from the concrete higher up.—I consider this the foundation for the front wall of the cella; the builders of II. apparently treated it in the same way as the foundation at point B; its other end is visible at point E (see below).

there seems to be a corner here; if so, it is formed by the foundation of the front wall of the cella meeting that of its E. wall, which being prolonged was the retaining-wall of the podium of the pronaos.

At point F, there is much of this work visible.—My (hypothetical) explanation is given above.

I have restored the ground-plan of Temple I. on plan I.; the only doubtful points (to my mind) are, (1) whether the cella extended so far back (see above), and (2) whether the

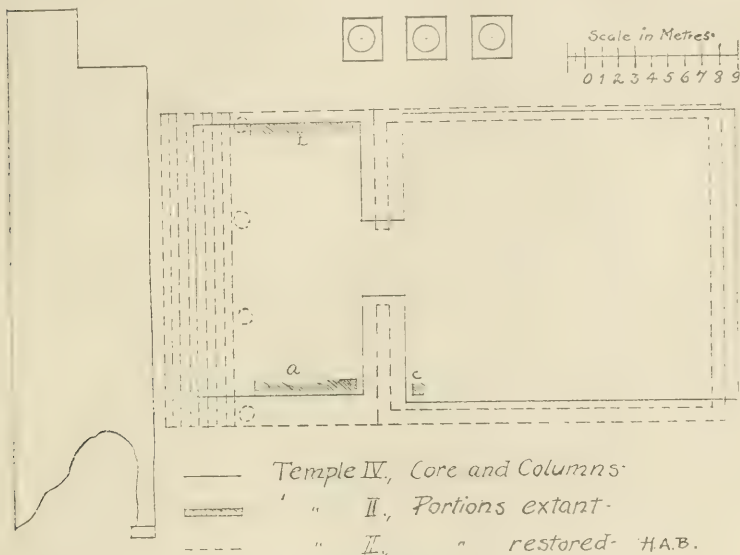


FIG. II.—THE TEMPLE OF CASTOR.

(See also Fig. IV.)

At point D three courses are visible through a hole in the Augustan concrete which *Comm. Boni* has enlarged at my request.—I consider this the foundation for the back wall of the cella of Temple I. If so, Temple I. had a cella of Greek, rather than Etruscan, proportions. The possibility is not excluded, however, that this wall belongs to Temple II., in which case the back wall of I. may be disclosed by investigations nearer the middle of the Augustan cella.

At point E, several blocks are visible.—So far as I have been able to observe,

¹ Possibly 6—they are in part still covered by the later concrete.

remains at point F do not perhaps after all date from before Temple III. The columns and entablature of the pronaos, with their wide intercolumniations, would have been of wood, and Etruscan rather than Greek in appearance.

Temple II.—Concrete core of chips of friable tufa, especially *cappellaccio*; no trace of red *pozzolana*,² travertine, marble, brick, or *selce*. The walls seem to have been similar to those of I., as in part the same walls did service for both temples. See Fig. II.

² Except where bits of the Augustan concrete seem to have adhered.

The concrete core is preserved at points *a* and *b*, for over two-thirds the entire length of both sides of the middle block of the Augustan core, and uniformly to the same height as the cappellaccio opus quadratum of I. at point *A* on plan I.¹—This was the core of the pronaos of Temple II. We know its height, as well as that of Temple I. There seems also to be some concrete of this period at point *c*. Temple II. had only one row of columns in the pronaos. I consider that the front wall of the cella (see above)

Temple III.—Concrete core of chips of durable brown tufa, with very rarely chips of travertine; practically no trace of marble or brick, and absolutely none of *selce*; none of *pozzolana*, except at point *γ*, where there is reason on other grounds to think that restorers of the time of Augustus have been at work; foundations for front columns, of a hard, light-brown, volcanic stone, with facing of travertine slabs; mosaic pavement of cella preserved at two points. See Fig. III.

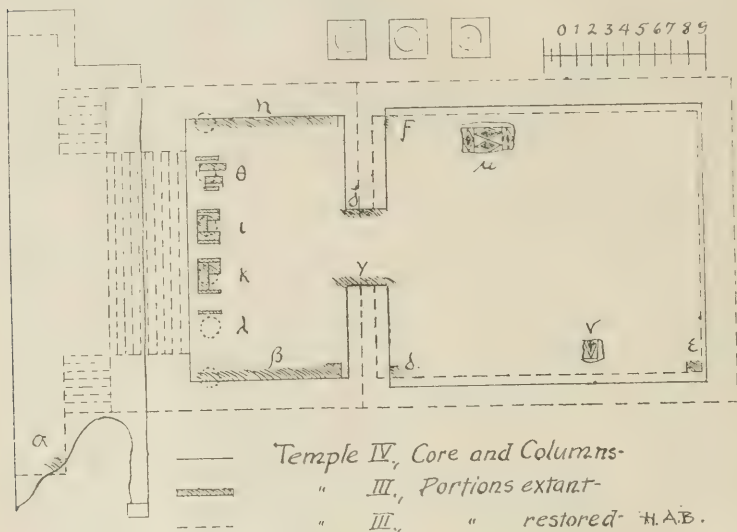


FIG. III.—THE TEMPLE OF CASTOR.

(See also Fig. IV.)

was in practically the same position as that of Temple III. and that of Temple IV., and that, where possible, the exterior walls of the podium, as well as the front steps, of Temple I. continued to be used in Temple II. The E. wall of II. was further out than that of I., since no remains of I. are visible on the E. side of the middle part of the Augustan core; that the wall of I. at point *E*, Fig. I., should have been preserved, while its continuation to the N. was destroyed, must have been due to special circumstances of which we have no knowledge.

¹ Except at the front, where it was broken down somewhat.

The concrete core described above is found at points *γ* and *ζ*. This was the filling under the door-way of the cella; the entrance to the cella must have been here; as the mosaic pavement at *μ* and *ν* is higher than the column-bases at *θ*, *ι*, *κ*, *λ*, one must assume a step or steps here. At points *δ* and *F*(?)²—the filling under the cella; and at points *β* and *η*—the filling under the pronaos. All this concrete at *β*, *δ*, *F*, and *η* is only 2½ ft. thick from the outside; it stops

² At *F* there is a mass of concrete quite distinct from the Augustan concrete, but with a larger proportion of travertine chips than elsewhere in III.

definitely at that distance. At the corners near γ , bits of a stucco facing of this core are preserved, against which was laid the concrete of Temple IV. Temple III., then, must have had corridors or chambers of some sort inside the podium, like the early (as well as the later) Temple of Concord (concerning which see below). At point ϵ , some concrete outside (S.) of the *cappellaccio opus quadratum* is visible; this apparently belongs to Temple III.

There is also some concrete apparently of this period at point α ; in one place, a bit of stucco facing is preserved against which later concrete was laid.—Further excavation in the Augustan core is required here, before one can come to a decisive opinion as to the arrangement of the steps and the existence of a speaker's platform.¹

At points θ , ι , κ , there are three rectangles,² and at λ part of the sheathing of a fourth; they are obviously the foundations

necessary to date it as early as 117 B.C., since the pavement may have been relaid between that year and 6 A.D. No traces of the walls of Temple III. are visible. On plan III., I have restored the ground-plan as prostyle hexastyle; if however future investigations should show that the steps extended as far as point α , we may be forced to consider Temple III. as peripteral octostyle—certainly not what one would have expected in the Rome of the second century B.C.

Temple IV.—This temple was fully described and illustrated by Richter, *ibid.*;³ since that time the back part has been excavated, and numerous architectural fragments of marble have been found. Between γ and δ (Fig. III.) is a rectangular mass, about 3 feet high, of concrete of this period, about 6 in. further E. than the concrete beneath; it shows that the floor-level was raised in the rebuilding, and also that the

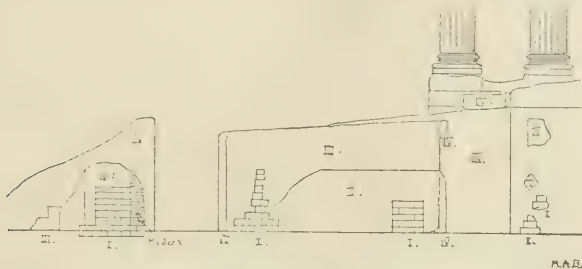


FIG. IV.—THE TEMPLE OF CASTOR.

The front part of the W. side; the periods of construction visible are indicated by numerals as belonging to Temple I., II., III., or IV.

for columns, and their construction is described above. They are placed symmetrically with reference to the long axis of Temple III.

At points μ and ν , there are portions of a mosaic pavement—cubes of palombino (a cream-coloured marble from Asia) well joined, patterns simple and large in black and white. This must have been the pavement of Temple III., as its height corresponds to the height of the core at other points, and to that of the column-bases of the pronaos, allowing for the greater height of the cella. The mosaic, on stylistic grounds, may well be pre-Augustan; of course it is not

entrance to the cella, and accordingly the long axis, of Temple IV. were a trifle further E. than in Temple III.

To sum up: we saw at the beginning that Temple IV. is Augustan; then Temple III. must be the temple of 117 B.C., and the material used in its construction accords with that date. Temple I., from its style of construction, is obviously very early and can hardly be other than the original structure of 484 B.C. Temple II., then, is a rebuilding between 484 and 117 B.C.

After the builders of Temple II. moved the front wall of the cella forward and discarded the second row of columns in the pronaos, no changes of importance were made in the plan of cella and pronaos. The

³ Travertine chips and red *pozzolana* are used very freely in the concrete.

¹ On the question of the platform, see Richter, *ibid.* pp. 107 ff.

² One of them measures 2.40 m. wide $\times$ 1.70 m. deep.

axis was shifted slightly to the E. in Temple II., and again in Temple IV.; whether the orientation also was slightly changed, it would be interesting to determine. Temple III. was perhaps peripteral¹, but more probably the row of columns all round the cella was an innovation of the Augustan builders. These latter, in preparation for the laying of their massive tufa foundations, cut away the outside of the core which already existed:

that they would have had no object in diminishing the size of the cella—in fact would have been prevented from so doing on religious grounds.

THE TEMPLE OF CONCORD.

The ancient writers and inscriptions inform us of four buildings here—(1) the original

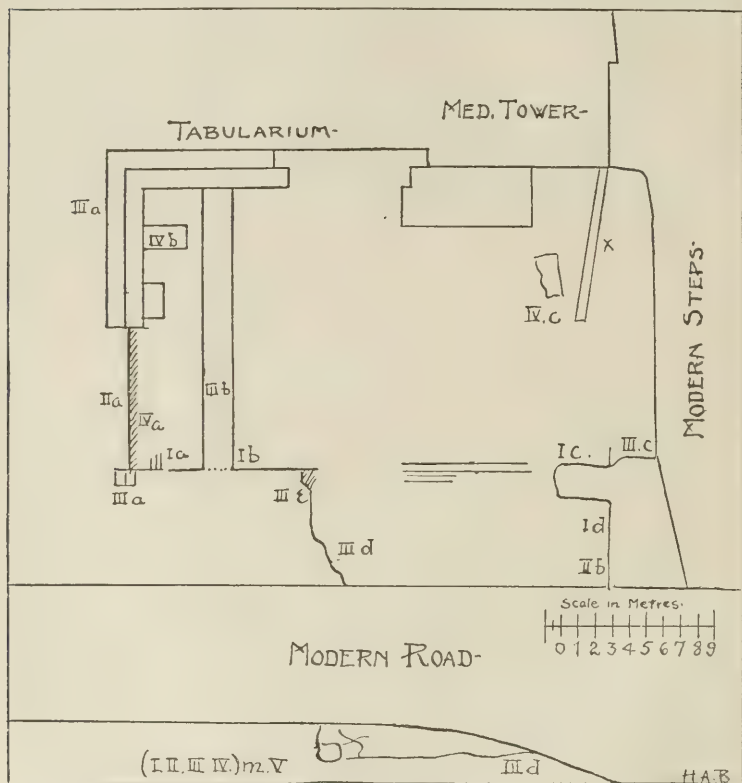


FIG. V.—THE TEMPLE OF CONCORD.

The remains of the various periods are indicated by I, II, III, and IV, as belonging to those respective periods; the letters a, b, c, etc., are added for the identification of the several points.

that they did not destroy much of it is rendered quite certain by the consideration

¹ It is rather hard to think of a platform in front, wider than the temple itself.

temple, 366 B.C.; (2) the restoration shortly after 121 B.C.; (3) that of 10 A.D.; and (4) a later imperial restoration (cf. *C.I.L.* vi. 89). I find four periods of construction

visible in the temple itself, the last three of which are to be identified with the last three attested buildings.

The present form of the foundations is in all essentials of the Augustan period (III.). It consists of the lower portions of the back (W.) part of the S. wall of the cella, and remains of the foundations of the rest of the S. wall, of part of the W. wall, and of part of the front wall of the cella—*excellent opus quadratum* of durable brown tufa, resembling in general the walls of the Augustan Castor temple; of two statue-bases inside the cella, built of tufa and travertine *opus quadratum*, with concrete also used for filling; and the concrete core of the cella and pronaos, consisting, except where work of earlier periods has been incorporated, of chips of travertine and of durable brown tufa (with a very few marble chips), and a mortar made largely of red pozzolana earth. The sides of the temple were extended a trifle outwards, and the floor raised about a foot, in this restoration (see below).

At a later period, the temple was restored, the restorers using a concrete made of chips of marble (freely used), bits of brick, etc., as well as tufa, and of red pozzolana earth. Work of this period is found in the filling at point IVa (Fig. V.), where the Augustan restorers had left a sort of corridor or chamber, covered over by Augustan concrete;¹ the upper part of this room was later filled in with concrete of period IV. The base at IVb. is late and presumably of the same restoration. It is itself built largely of bricks laid in red pozzolana mortar, is at present from 3 to 5 ft. high, is faced with fairly thick bricks and includes two blocks of travertine taken from some other structure; and its back lies against the marble veneering of the walls of III. The base at the point IVc also is late, and presumably of the same restoration. It is of concrete made of bits of durable brown tufa, and occasional brick-fragments, with red pozzolana earth freely used, and it is faced with rather thin bricks, with thick layers of mortar between them; it is at present 3½ ft. high. It rests on some marble slabs of the pavement of III.—The wall at x seems to be mediæval.

So much for the imperial restorations; we will now consider the remains of earlier periods incorporated in the temple of Tiberius.

Period II.—At point IIa, just back (N.) of the E. part of the S. wall of the

¹ There was apparently another similar corridor in the N. part of the cella.

Augustan cella, is visible, under the Augustan concrete filling, the lower part of a row of brown tufa blocks similar in size and shape to the sperone blocks of the Tabularium. This must have been the S. wall of the pre-Augustan cella, i.e. of the temple of Opimius. I consider that the concrete at IIb, W. of the modern road, was also restored at this period, as its material is distinctly different from that of period I.; the tufa chips are more durable, and the facing is of *opus incertum* of rather dark brown, not yellowish-brown tufa. No red pozzolana is used, no marble, travertine, etc. At point II^m. also this period is represented (see below).

Period I.—A large part of the concrete core of the cella is of this period, characterized by the use of chips of soft local tufa (cap-pellaccio, and yellowish and brown varieties), faced by an *opus incertum* of pyramids of yellowish tufa; no red pozzolana, no marble, no travertine, no brick or pottery fragments.

At point Ia is visible a portion of the base-moulding of the S. side of the cella podium; it rises in three steps and several curved surfaces, and in places seems to retain traces of a stucco facing. This was, I take it, near the corner of the cella in I. as in the later temple, and seems to have been somewhat remodelled at a period not far removed from that of the original construction.

Running in between Ia and Ib is a corridor faced with concrete of period I., and roofed with concrete of period III (IIIb).

Concrete of period I. is found also at points Ic (N.E. corner of cella I.), Id and E. of IIIe (podium of pronaos). It seems that when the wall at IIIe was to be laid, a hole for it was cut in the concrete of I.; probably the previous walls at this point had been, in I., of concrete, not needing a special stone foundation, and, in II., of stone, but narrower than in III.²

Period I. is represented also at point Im (see below).

The front of the concrete core of the temple (E. of the modern road) is entirely of period III., except at the S.E. corner, where five periods are visible. Three of them correspond to the periods I., II., and III. already observed. The two others are characterised

² I feel reasonably sure that the concrete is not laid against the tufa *opus quadratum* at this point, but that the latter was put in place in a hole cut for it in the concrete; this is in part quite evident now, and in part we must wait for further excavations to make the state of things perfectly clear.

respectively by (a) *travertine and marble fragments in red pozzolana mortar*, and (b) *durable brown tufa chips in red pozzolana mortar*. (a) is probably to be identified with period IV.; whether (b) is to be brought into connection with the mediaeval church of SS. Sergio e Bacco¹ I could not say.

To sum up: It will be seen that the ground-plan of the temple was not modified or enlarged in the successive rebuildings to such an extent as has generally been assumed. As the outside of the podium of Temple I. was not of stone but of concrete, with mouldings also of concrete, probably covered over with stucco, we must conclude that the upper parts of the structure were in keeping. One may think of wooden beams, and terra-cotta decorations also. The peculiar ground-plan—narrower pronaos and wider cella—seems due to the restorers of period II. The N. and S. walls of the cella of I. seem to be in line respectively with the point where the N.E. corner of the Tabularium must have been, and the point on its E. face where the smoothly-tooled surface ends.

As to the dating of the four periods of the Temple of Concord: Temple IV. is a fairly late imperial restoration,² and the inscription copied by the Pilgrim of Einsiedeln presumably was of the same period; Temple III. is Augustan; Temple II., judging from the materials of construction, the restoration of the close of the II. century B.C.; and as it is very hard to think of the free use of concrete as early as 366 B.C., one must consider that Temple I. is a restoration earlier than 121 B.C. not mentioned in our authorities.

A few words in conclusion:

I have not ventured a precise statement as to the dates of Castor II. and Concord I., as there is no external evidence available, and our knowledge of Roman methods of construction in the V. and VI. centuries of the City is too limited to be of much assistance. The fact that the builders of Castor II. apparently continued to use the *cappellaccio* steps, and some of the walls, of Castor I. creates perhaps a presumption that it was built at a date nearer 486 than 117 B.C.; if this were so, one might consider Concord I. the original temple of Camillus. But since this involves the recognition of the employment of concrete in Rome almost

two centuries earlier than any well-dated instance, I prefer to reason simply that Castor II. and Concord I. must have been built at least half a century before Castor III. and Concord II.; it seems probable that they were constructed in the period between 293 and 219 B.C. which was covered by the II. Decade of Livy, now lost. Even so, these two buildings are probably the earliest known instances of Roman concrete;³ they belong to a period of Rome's history of which the monumental remains are few.

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AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL
STUDIES IN ROME.
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WALDSTEIN'S *ARGIVE HERAEUM*.

The Argive Heraeum. By CHARLES WALDSTEIN, Ph.D., L.H.D., Litt.D., sometime Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Slade Professor of Fine Art, University Reader in Classical Archaeology, etc., with the co-operation of G. H. CHASE, H. F. DE COU, T. W. HEERMANCE, J. C. HOPPIN, A. M. LYTGOE, R. NORTON, R. B. RICHARDSON, E. L. TILTON, H. S. WASHINGTON, and J. R. WHEELER. Vol. II. *Terra Cotta Figurines, Terra Cotta Reliefs, Vases and Vase Fragments, Bronzes, Engraved Stones, Gems and Ivories, Coins, Egyptian or Greco-Egyptian objects*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin and Co. 1905. 103 plates. Pp. xxix + 389. \$15.

ARCHAEOLOGISTS will be glad to welcome the second volume of this important publication, and to congratulate Dr. Waldstein on the end of his arduous task. It is indeed a great achievement, which although in some respects it has not fulfilled expectations, has thrown unexpected light on many dark places. When this site was chosen for excavation, high hopes were entertained that some work might be found from the hand of the great sculptor who is associated with the temple in classical times. These hopes have not been fulfilled, or at least none of the sculptures which were found can be considered as on a level with the sculptor's reputation. I do not disparage the beautiful head of Hera, which has received admiration which it justly deserves; but it cannot be maintained that

¹ Cf. Hülsen, *Röm. Myth.* 1905, p. 28.

² Although the bases IVb and IVc are not necessarily of the same period.

³ Cf. R. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, pp. 44, 45.

this or any other of the finds is of the same interest as the Hermes of Praxiteles for example. The terra-cotta remains, however, are not only interesting in themselves, but lying as they did in an unbroken series which goes back to primitive times, they afford valuable criteria for criticizing other such finds, and imply a continuity of worship on this site which cannot be paralleled elsewhere. In attempting to give an account of this volume I feel that an apology is needed. No one probably, and certainly not the writer, can claim to be an expert on all the topics treated of in this volume. It is possible, however, for one who is not an expert to estimate the cogency of reasoning, and to examine the value of any deductions which may be drawn from the facts: and that is all I shall try to do, beyond describing briefly in what these finds consist.

Terra-cotta figurines occupy the first section of the book; and these include both human (or divine) and animal shapes. It is first noteworthy that those which belong to the eighth century and later are comparatively few. Even those of an advanced archaic type are few; and the great mass belongs to prehistoric times. None were found beneath the platform of the old temple. Those of the archaic and later periods were nearly all found near the second temple, and no prehistoric specimens within the large West Stoa: showing that the mass of the specimens belong to the pre-archaic period. Only selected specimens of the innumerable finds could be described in this book; but they have all been classified, and typical examples taken. The human figures are classified by form: we give the editor's titles. I. 'Primitive Argive' (122 specimens): lumps of clay, very rudely modelled, or rather pinched into shapes distantly recalling life. II. 'Tirynthian Argive' (1961): seated figures, supported on two stumpy legs, or a rude chair, still with birdlike face, as at Tegea and Tiryns. III. 'Mycenaean' types, few in number (63), made of fine clay and differently ornamented. This class has little influence on succeeding types, and has the look of an intrusion into the series. They are always found with Mycenaean vases, and appear to be the work of men who were primarily vase-makers. IV. Two figures showing the 'Geometric' style; also apparently an intrusion. V. 'Advanced Argive' (409): the bird-face gives place to a human head, and is made in a mould. Nearly all these are seated; the ornamentation is elaborate, and there are traces of the potter's wheel. VI. 'Figures under Oriental

Influence' (15): heraldic pairs of lions, winged female figures, Bes and the Sphinx. VII. 'Early Archaic' (249) conventionalized figures, mould-made and hand-made, the series showing a gradual development of artistic skill. VIII. 'Advanced Archaic' (42), and IX. 'Figures of Free Style' (2). Animal figures number 715, and there are 433 miscellaneous objects. The name 'Argive' is given to certain of the above classes, because more than eighty-five per cent. of the figures belong to them; and although found elsewhere, they are elsewhere neither so numerous nor so continuous in their development. A peculiar ornament of the shoulder, once fancifully explained as flower-poses, now appears to represent the pin or brooch which fastened the Doric chiton. A development may be traced in these, as in the treatment of the hair and headdress. The interpretation of these figures is a difficult question, because the attributes are never distinctive in these early times. The same types of seated figure have been found here, at Tegea dedicated to Demeter, and at Athens to Athena. But it seems to be reasonable to hold that most of them represent the goddess, whilst some are clearly human and probably therefore represent the worshipper. I have already argued (*Greek Votive Offerings*, p. 283) that the figures of the devotee are not meant for portraits, but rather as embodiments of some ritual act, or of some human act which has been prospered and for which thanksgiving is due; and I see no reason to change this opinion. Instances which come under this head are the pregnant women, nursing mothers, musicians, and such like, and the woman kneading bread (No. 24): beyond question the mounted warrior (sixty-six found here) cannot represent the goddess, and may well represent thanksgiving for success or safety in war. It will be noted that here, as elsewhere, the goddess is not a specialist: she is prayed to and thanked for any service which her various worshippers may desire. I should regard also figures which hold a bird or a fruit as memorials of an offering of the object represented, not as being meant for Aphrodite or another divinity; for the dedication of the figure of one divinity to another is only found very late, unless the figure be dedicated for its intrinsic value, as a first fruit, or the like. The editor does not follow this canon of interpretation strictly, but here he follows a loose traditional method, and he would probably allow that he has not considered the matter in all its bearings, but mainly from the artistic

point of view. The animals are of all sorts, including not only domestic animals and birds, but centaur, serpent, tortoise, and monkey. These I have also discussed in the book quoted above. Nothing here found invalidates the explanations which I have suggested, but nothing clears up the difficulties which have not been explained. Models of plates with cakes, models of beds or chairs, and loom-weights are amongst the miscellaneous objects. Several terra-cotta reliefs show winged (divine?) figures, a lion, and men in chariots. They are of doubtful use and meaning.

We now come to the vases, the most considerable class of all the finds (filling 150 baskets, computed to contain parts of no less than 50,000 vases), and in some respects the most important. Mr. Hoppin, who has charge of this section, explains with regret that he has not the space to describe the whole of the material, but only a selection; and in all selections there is great risk; it is indeed almost inevitable that any editor will pass by a good deal which other enquirers may look for. It is to be hoped that other students will be able at a later date to make an exhaustive study of the vases; thus an independent judgment may be brought to bear on them. The vase fragments were hopelessly mixed up. No layers could be discerned, and often fragments of the same vase were found far apart. The vases cover the whole period of Greek ceramic art, some 2,000 years. About nine-tenths of them are held to be home-made, and they belong to the following types: Prehistoric, Mycenaean, Geometric, Argive, and 'local' types 'which have no prototypes.' The rest are of foreign make—Attic, Corinthian, Cyrenaean, Megarean, Roman. Mr. Hoppin, it will be seen, differs from the lines of classification laid down by Prof. Waldstein in the general introduction; but agrees in the view that the 'proto-Corinthian' style is of several kinds, and probably Argive in origin. In themselves, the Heraean vases are not interesting: their interest lies in their relation to the whole excavations, as for example, indicating a connexion between Argos and Aegina in the eighth century, where Phidon is placed, and later. Primitive pottery is rare: possibly because these are not the débris of a population which used them, but dedications at the shrine: this class is assigned to B.C. 2500–2000 approximately. The Mycenaean vases suggest a modification of the classification usually followed; and the absence of a class of pottery, at the same time when it is

found at Mycenae, suggests that the vases found here were of local make. Quantities of Geometric fragments were found, of the same monotonous type as elsewhere, but no light is thrown on the origin of this style. Mr. Hoppin however holds to the theory that the Dorians overthrew the Mycenaean civilization and introduced this style. We need not linger over the analysis of the decoration of these two styles, but pass to the most characteristic class, called by Mr. Hoppin 'Argive' in preference to 'proto-Corinthian.' The development traceable on this site, coupled with the fact that it is only found elsewhere in large quantities at Orchomenus and in Sicily, whence it is unlikely to have been imported under the circumstances, points to a local origin. The main principle of its ornamentation is linear. Very few inscriptions are found on the vases: they are mostly dedicatory, but we find also [κα]τέδωκε and ἐπέδωκε τῷ Μίκω.

The bronzes were found for the most part in the earlier strata, but the exact sources of the finds have not been recorded. They are classified according to subjects, since there is not enough evidence available to group them generally by their dates. The following classes are made: Statuettes; Animals; Ornament or Toilet; Vessels; Implements, Utensils, Structural Pieces; and Materials. Very few of the first class remain. The animals are exceedingly numerous, and include all the common kinds—horse, deer, sheep, kine, with lion, mouse, serpent, and frog, aquatic and land birds, chiefly cocks. Perhaps archaeologists will now begin to realize that cocks were not only offered to Asclepius. There are immense numbers of pins in many patterns, some with Geometric decorations, rings, and discs, of tripods, cauldrons, and other vases, some small wheels (about 0.15 or 0.14 m.), cymbals, knives, and other small things. Perhaps the most characteristic finds are the spits or rods, which meet us in hundreds, and of all sizes, from tiny ones to huge things the size of a mountain gun. The editor has already reminded us of King Phidon's dedication of rods after the invention of coins; and if his veritable offering be not here, at least it is fair to assume that these represent the ancient medium of exchange. A similar explanation has been suggested for the wheels and other objects of use, but Argos gives no further light on this question. A certain number of bronzes bear inscriptions, mostly dedications; but one, of eleven lines, denounces a curse and confiscation against

offenders. It presents great difficulties, but as it has already been published and criticized there is no need to say more of it here (*A.J.A.* 1901, p. 159, *Insc. Arg.* 506).

The engraved stones are nearly all steatite, and they have little of interest to offer. Mr. Norton, who edits them, believes them to be of local make. The few coins which were found are described by Mr. de Cou. The Egyptian objects all belong to the twenty-sixth and following dynasties, when Naukratis flourished.

If we were called to sum up the results of this excavation, we should probably not be far wrong in laying greatest stress on the pottery. The continuous series of styles, from the dark ages before history begins to the classical period, when completely studied and analyzed, will afford evidence for the dating of pottery which is of the highest value. Hardly less important is the proof hereby given of the continuity of worship on this old site. Of the origin of Hera, and her first aspect, we know perhaps no more than we did; but we now have unmistakable proof that one at least of the most ancient worships on Greek soil was given to a female divinity. A similar conclusion seems to be forced upon us by the discoveries in Crete. What the connexion may be of these goddesses with the matriarchy I do not pretend to say; it is a fair assumption, at least, that there was a connexion. I would not cast doubt on the antiquity of Pan and Poseidon, or the Old Man of the Sea; Pelasgian Zeus at Dodona has a respectable pedigree also. But the more is learnt of ancient religion, the more importance is assumed by the goddesses.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

WALTERS' ANCIENT POTTERY.

History of Ancient Pottery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman. By H. B. WALTERS, M.A., F.S.A. Based on the work of SAMUEL BIRCH. London: John Murray, 1905. Two Vols. Pp. xxxvi and 504+588. 300 Illustrations, including 8 Coloured Plates. £3 3s. net.

MR. WALTERS' *History of Ancient Pottery* has been for long sorely needed, if not perhaps 'eagerly looked for.' The second and last edition of Dr. Birch's work appeared in 1873. Since then there has been an immense access of material, resulting, as will later appear, in

a complete change in outlook and method. There has been also a vast output in special monographs, but, save for Rayet and Collignon's pleasant semi-popular book—now necessarily out of date—no complete and ordered restatement. Hence to keep abreast with the subject has been difficult enough for the professed archaeologist, for the ordinary scholar simply impossible. He has been dimly and uncomfortably aware that Greek vase-paintings were being used not merely as beautiful (and sometimes exceedingly ugly and quite irrelevant) illustrations of classical literature, but also as documents affecting, by way of 'Mycenaean' and 'Minoan' controversy, even the 'Homeric question.' For any compact and trustworthy statement in English of the character and chronology of these documents he knew not where to turn. He knows now, and any further neglect is at his own peril.

It is of the first importance that each department of a study should hand over to the other departments in intelligible form the last results of its own specialism. For this service—a service in the main admirably rendered—we thank Mr. Walters. But he will pardon us if at the outset we, in asking a question, state a grievance. Why did he, by what persuasion of publisher or by what generous though mistaken loyalty, consent to pour his new wine into bottles even more obsolete than old? Why did he re-edit Dr. Birch's admirable old pioneer book instead of making, as he was so well qualified to do, a new one of his own?—a new one in which all the facts, technical, geographical, mythological, should be arranged in the only way it is worth arranging them, in historical sequence. Those who want the gossip of the subject—the *iotroia* as Herodotus would have understood it—all the lore of the dealer, the prices paid, the thefts of natives, the preposterous theories of Ialynski and Christie, could find it in Dr. Birch or his predecessors.

Our appreciation of Mr. Walters' historical section—where alone he allows himself a free hand—is so cordial that our criticism of the obsolete method he preserves is reluctant. On the main issue, the division of his book into sections—geographical, technical, historical, mythological—he himself, in the preface, anticipates and deprecates criticism. 'A certain amount of repetition in the various sections will, it is hoped, be pardoned on the ground that it was desirable to make each section as far as possible complete.' But it is the very existence of these sections to which we take objection. It is not so much the repetition that is to be regretted, though

that in a book so costly and so bulky is serious, but rather the fundamental defect in method which results in the severance of material which is only significant when seen in relation. The only sound basis for the study of vase-paintings is the historical method. Until historical order was established it was permissible, even useful, to group facts under such headings as geographical distribution, mythology, technique, and the like; now it is simply confusing. We do not know where to look for what. To take one instance. In reading the book we noted with something like horror that in the discussion of Boeotian vases (p. 288) no instance was given of the wonderful Boeotian stamped *pithei* of the Athens and Louvre Museums. A couple of hundred pages later (p. 496, Plate XLVII.) we find them, *incredibile dictu*, in a chapter headed *White ground and later fabrics*!

It is mythology that suffers worst in this traditional divorce from history. Again we say it most reluctantly, for the cause is in part a mistaken loyalty and modesty, the mythological section is almost wholly obsolete. The day is past for headings of this kind: 'The Olympian Deities,' 'Dionysos and Miscellaneous Deities.' Who and what are 'miscellaneous deities,' and why is Dionysos grouped with them? The mere headings of the chapters and the way in which the sentences *more* Dr. Birch are strung together is heartbreaking to the serious mythologist. 'Nor must we omit to mention the Amazons.' 'We may conclude this section with an account of the monstrous creatures'; and worse and worse: 'the chthonian character of Dionysos brings us *by a natural transition* to the deities of the underworld.' This is all part of the strange old tradition—dead, indeed, but, alas! not buried—of linking mythology into a connected chronological story, as though the vase-painters were 'illustrating' the well authenticated 'lives' of gods and heroes.

Take *e.g.* Eros on vase-paintings. Does anyone want nowadays a list of legends 'in which Love plays a part,' or the inventory of those objects which he carries about in his unoccupied moments? If he does want such facts, are they not written in the official catalogues of museums? And all the time there are serious mythological problems forced on us by vase-paintings waiting to be answered, nay even waiting to be asked. Why does Eros, absent in black-figured vase-paintings, appear on early red-figured vases? Why does the *horse-shaped* Medusa appear on the stamped Boeotian amphorae and nowhere else? Why in the light of evidence

of pillar cults from Crete does Odysseus appear on an Eretrian *lekkythos*, bound to a pillar in place of the mast of his ship? Why on 'Ionian' vases do Satyrs appear as horse-hoofed, elsewhere as human-footed? Why does the popularity of Herakles even at Athens precede that of Theseus? All these facts and questions Mr. Walters knows and sometimes notes, but he buries them in a running catalogue of the insignificant.

Of actual errors or omissions—which in the vast literature of the subject may and must occur to anyone—we may note a few. Mr. Walters repeats (vol. ii. p. 69) the old traditional statement that the representation of 'Charon in his bark is confined to Attic white-*lekkythoi*.' Since the publication by Prof. Furtwängler of the lovely black-figured *eschara* with Charon and his boat, the little *eschara* bending perforce on his oars, and the flight of piteous rejected souls, this statement no longer holds good. In discussing the *Cyrene* vase with the supposed 'Prometheus' mention might at least have been made of Dr. Rossbach's suggestion that the 'beardless Prometheus' is really Otus. Otus means 'long-eared owl' as well as 'booby,' and on the pillar of the punishment of *Otus* is perched an 'Otus.' Otus was the typical young giant-booby of antiquity. We miss also any reference in the discussion of 'Cae-retan Hydrae' to the significant analogy, noted by Mr. Six, between the altar of Busiris on the Herakles vase and the actual altar of Apollo at Didymoi.

No one can be interested in all things, and obviously Mr. Walters cares little for mythology. We turn gladly to where his real strength lies, the section on the History of Greek Vase-Painting. This is the new wine, wonderfully new, still in inspiring ferment. The tale, a complex and difficult one, is well told; and as space and the impossibility of being intelligible without illustrations forbids detailed criticism, we may say at once that as to main issues we are in hearty agreement. We often wish that Mr. Walters were a shade less cautious, would tell us more of what his own personal view is instead of those of M. Pottier and Dr. Böhlau; but they are excellent authorities, and the atmosphere of a great museum begets, and no doubt rightly, a cautious spirit.

Briefly the story, a fascinating one, set before us is this. In Dr. Birch's days we had for consideration black-figured and red-figured pottery, with a few 'primitive' vases considered almost negligible because not understood. Once the 'Etruscan' fallacy

demolished, the black- and red-figured ware were seen to be mainly Athenian and Corinthian, and all efforts were focussed on their classification, chronology and interpretation, and their relation and non-relation to literature and the major arts. The interest was wholly *classical*. Chronology was in the main settled by the excavations on the Athenian Acropolis, its minuter details fixed in relation to signed vases. It was the period of such 'epoch-making' books as Robert's *Bild und Lied*, Klein's *Meistersignaturen*, Hartwig's *Vasen mit Meistersignaturen*, to say nothing of a host of monographs.

The period of 'classical' interest was overlapped and succeeded by the great wave of 'prehistoric' discovery. When Troy and Mycenae came to light the neglected 'primitive' pottery was instantly seen to be analogous to 'Mycenaean' pottery. Furtwängler and Loeschke in their *Mykenische Thongefässe* (1879) established for Mycenaean pottery a rough classification and chronology (15th-10th centuries B.C.) which has stood the test of time, but they regarded Argolis as the seat of its main factory.

For about a couple of decades 'Mycenaean' pottery remained unrelated to the earliest black-figured pottery of classical times. All efforts in those days were directed towards relating 'Mycenaean' civilization to Homer, himself then a floating island in a prehistoric sea. At this point there seemed a real danger that prehistoric research, specially in ceramics, would be sundered from classical studies. The gulf between the two seemed to widen. Moreover, 'Mycenaean' vase fragments as then known were not of remarkable beauty, and lovers of beauty tended to look back regretfully in ceramics to the old classical days.

The next and signal advance was the revelation of a period known currently, if not quite happily, as 'Minoan.'¹ Dr. Arthur Evans has shown that in Crete, and Crete only, 'Mycenaean' pottery could establish an unbroken pedigree reaching back through the beautiful 'palace' and polychrome 'Kamare' ware to neolithic days. The familiar 'Mycenaean' pottery begins in the second and reached its apex in the third 'Minoan' period. Relations are thus established backwards: can they be established forwards?

¹ I feel to the full the force of Prof. Dörpfeld's protest against the use of the term 'Minoan.' The name of a person is not a good label for a period that covered many generations. But his suggestion that for 'Minoan' we should substitute 'Karian' opens up questions too wide for discussion here; see his 'Kretische, Mykenische und Homerische Paläste,' *Ath. Mitt.* 1905, p. 295.

Is the Greece of classical days in any way heir to 'Mycenaean' and 'Minoan' civilization? to a civilization suddenly seen to be not primitive or barbarous, but accomplished, splendid, even beautiful?

We said advisedly the 'beautiful' palace and polychrome 'Kamare' ware. The potters who made the delicate 'Kamare,' who drew the lovely naturalistic crocuses and myrtle wreaths, and sea-weed and shells and rocks of the 'palace' ware, or the tangled sea-beasts of the Rhodian cylices, were artistic ancestors well worth tracing. The links, all clearly set forth by Mr. Walters, are after this fashion.

That primitive civilization whose later manifestations we all call 'Mycenaean,' whose earlier phases Dr. Evans calls 'Minoan,' Prof. Ridgeway 'Pelasgian,' Herodotus, Thucydides, Dr. Köhler, Prof. Dörpfeld 'Karian,' was conquered probably, consolidated certainly, under Minos. He stands for island supremacy. His kingdom and cult and all the 'Minoan' and Mycenaean elements it embodied were shattered in Crete not earlier than 1500 B.C. It lived on dispersedly in many lands. In the west it suffered eclipse under invasions from the north. Its real refuge was on the coast of Asia Minor. Thus we have no break: 'Mycenaean' civilization lived on, ready at the contact of western colonization to become the thing we call 'Ionian.' This 'Mycenaean' survival is clearly seen for art in the Clazomenae sarcophagi, in the pottery of Naukratis, of Daphnae, in 'Samian' or 'Fikellura' wares. The aquatic plants and animals with which King Alyattes decorates the silver cauldron he sends to Delphi are 'Mycenaean'; they are the direct descendants of the Cretan crocuses and sea-beasts. That this 'Ionian,' *i.e.* mixed Mycenaean and Oriental influence, reached Athens, we know from the evidence of 'proto-Attic' and 'Tyrrhenian' pottery. The Athens of Solon and the tyrants was a melting-pot of influences out of which rose the severities of the black- and red-figured styles. It was not all gain. In the severe exclusive humanism of Attic fine-figured ware a whole wealth of decorative motive, of lovely naturalism from sea and land, has perished; we see the weakness as well as the strength of 'the best period.'

To every scholar who cares to know how the Athens to which he gives and owes his life was made, what of 'Mycenaean' and Oriental elements she chose, and what she to her great loss refused, we recommend Vol. I. Part III. pp. 234-464, as a basis of study in ceramics. For the rest, will not Mr. Walters

give us, and give us soon, a shortened edition in one volume, at a quarter the price, keeping the essential, illustrating somewhat more freely from recent sources; above all, shedding the obsolete? If time fails him, we must look for a compact scientific history of Greek vase-painting from another hand.

JANE E. HARRISON.

THE HUNTERIAN COIN CATALOGUE.

(SEE *C.R.* XVI. 236 F.)

Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow. Vol. III. By GEORGE MACDONALD, M.A., LL.D. Maclehose: Glasgow, 1905. 4to. Pp. vi + 799; 40 colotype plates. £3 3s.

THE third and concluding volume of this great work is, to specialists, the most interesting of the three. It covers the whole of the ground to which, according to the current geographical arrangement, the Greek numismatist proceeds after he has finished with Asia Minor. More than 100 pages are devoted to the series of Seleucid Kings, in which Hunter's cabinet is so rich; 160 to the comparatively tedious but still important issues of the mint of Alexandria. Contrary to the usual practice, but in accordance with a system that was recently proposed by a foreign numismatist, the coinages of Spain, Gaul, and Britain are placed at the end instead of at the beginning of the whole series. This has the advantage of bringing Spain into juxtaposition with Northern Africa, with which it is numismatically in close connexion. It hardly however improves the position of Gaul and Britain, which ought to be connected with Macedon and Thrace *via* the Rhine and Danube valleys.

We have said that this volume is likely to be more interesting to specialists than its predecessors, because the experience which the author has been gathering throughout the preparation of the whole work here finds full expression. Most of the ground which he covered in Vols. I and II had been well worked over; here he deals with some of the most difficult series and, thanks to the richness of the material at his command, is able to throw new light on a good many unsolved problems. An unassuming but valuable contribution to knowledge is the step forward which he has taken in the classification of the bronze coinage of the Seleucidae.

With certain points relating to the early Antiochi, he dealt at length in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, and his conclusions are embodied in this catalogue. Whether they are to be accepted or not, he has left things more advanced than they were before. In the case of the Ptolemies, on the other hand, he has been content to follow the arrangement recently proposed by Svoronos. We do not blame him; for the mass of material brought together by the learned Greek is so enormous that we doubt if any one will have the courage to test his conclusions. The chronological plan adopted for the classification of the Alexandrian coinage serves to show that certain curious variations in the inscriptions, hitherto apparently meaningless, are at any rate intentional. A remarkable feature in the catalogue is the entire lack of any Bactrian coins. The North West Frontier at the end of the XVIIIth century was not yet a happy hunting-ground for the coin-dealer and the military amateur. For a similar reason the Glasgow Cabinet does not possess a single Persian gold daric.

The future of Greek numismatics from the point of view of chronological classification now depends on the minute comparison of similar specimens with a view to tracing the identity of dies. Old collectors weeded out 'duplicates'; now museums should make a point of at least noting and procuring casts of them. Mr. Macdonald has been among the first in this country not merely to see the importance of this factor in the study, but to face boldly the tedious labour which it involves. Another small technical point which is being worked out with somewhat gratifying results is the relative position of the dies to each other in the process of striking. If this relative position is always the same, it shows that the dies were hinged together. Some mints employed hinged dies while others used them loose. Mr. Macdonald has found this test of service in classifying certain Cyrenaic and Carthaginian coins. It is going to be of some value in chronological classification, for when at any given mint, such as Aradus, the date of the introduction of hinged dies can be fixed within a few years it becomes a *point d'appui* for the dating of the whole series of that mint.

The plates which illustrate this volume show increasing efficiency on the part of the colotype workman. To the student of Greek art in the Hellenistic period, the fine series of Seleucid portraits will be of service. We must close our notice of this excellent piece of work with hearty congratulations to

everyone concerned in its production. It is sad that our congratulations must be tempered with regret for two things. Mr. James Stevenson, by whose liberality the work was made possible, has not lived to see its completion. And Mr. Macdonald, thanks to the sense of his value as a Civil Servant recently shown by the Scotch Education Office, will not be able to catalogue the Roman and British series, although we are glad to know that he remains honorary curator of the collection, and will by no means desert his numismatic studies. It is to be hoped that the University of Glasgow will find means and a man to continue his work in a way worthy of its inception.

G. F. HILL.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREECE.

Delos.—In the course of excavations in 1905 a marble stèle was found in the Portico of Philip. It records the last part of a law regulating the importation and sale of wood and charcoal at a time when the island was still independent. A base found near the Portico supported, as is shown by the inscription, an *ex voto* dedicated to the gods of the island by the proconsul L. Cornelius Sulla. Another inscription comes from a monument erected by Antigonos Doston in commemoration of the battle of Sellasia. It seems to show that Antigonos had assumed lordship over the Cyclades. Important finds of Athenian tetradrachms, drachms, and hemidrachms have been made. All bear the names of archons ranging in date from 230–180 B.C. In process of clearing some ancient houses north of the theatre six statues of under life-size were discovered. They are in very bad condition, but appear to be of about the second or first century B.C., and may represent Apollo, Artemis, and Muses.¹

ASIA MINOR.

Alabanda in Caria.—Excavations have recently been carried out on behalf of the Turkish Government. The boundary wall of the town is well preserved in places and can still be followed in its general course. The remains of several buildings are visible. On the north, within the wall, is a rectangular structure with four entrances at the front and one on either side. The façade recalls that of the Odeon of Termessus.

At the foot of the east hill lies the theatre, a building probably of Hellenistic date, but reconstructed in Roman times. It bears a resemblance to the theatre at Magnesia on the Maeander. Upon a terrace on a hill to the west stands a hexastyle peripteral temple. Excavation shows that it is built of granite covered with stucco. A base of a statue found here is inscribed.:

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣΙΑΤΡΟΚΛΕΙΟΥΣΤΟΥ-
ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩ
ΡΟΥΕΥΦΡΑΝΤΙΔΑΜΥΟΣΕΤΗΝΜΗΤΕΡΑ

Coins bearing the head of Apollo on the obverse and a lyre with the legend ΑΑΑ-ΒΑΝΔΕΩΝ have come to light. Their date is about 280–260 B.C. The temple was perhaps dedicated to Apollo. To the south-west a fragment of a frieze has been discovered, representing a combat of Greeks and Amazons. It apparently belongs to a building of considerable extent.¹

FRANCE.

Marseilles.—Fragments of painted pottery of Ibero-Mycenaean type have recently been found in the neighbourhood.

F. H. MARSHALL.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARIES.

Journal of Hellenic Studies. xxv. Part 2. 1905.

1. J. Wells: Some points as to the Chronology of the reign of Cleomenes I.
2. W. W. Tarn: The Greek Warship. II. (One cut.) [With Appendix by Cecil Torr.]
3. C. C. Edgar: On the Dating of the Fayum Portraits. (Plate and cut.)
4. P. Gardner: The Apoxyomenos of Lysippus. (Nine cuts.)
5. E. S. Forster: A Fragment of the *Edictum Diocletiani*.
6. E. N. Gardiner: Wrestling. II. (Two plates, twenty-six cuts.)
7. L. Dyer: Olympian Treasures and Treasures in general. (One cut.)
8. H. R. Hall: The Two Labyrinths. (Plate, three cuts.)
9. F. W. G. Foat: Tsade and Sampi. Notices of Books. Rules, Proceedings, etc.

American Journal of Archaeology. ix. Part 3. 1905.

1. A. Fossum: The Theatre at Sikyon. (Two plates, three cuts.)

Further excavations in 1898 brought to light remains of the *paraskenia* and the double gateway of the west ramp and parodos, which necessitate alterations in the published plan. The date of the theatre must be not later than

¹ *Académie des Inscr.* July–August, 1905.

the middle of the fourth century, and there are remarkable resemblances to Epidaurous.

2. H. R. Hastings: A Bronze Age 'Pocket' from Aygo, Crete. (Plate, six cuts.)

In 1903 a find was made of small objects, mostly bronze, including knives, tweezers, hooks, and rings; also beads, engraved gems, and seal-stones, one with a cult-scene, and so-called 'Palladia,' all of the early part of the strictly 'Mycenaean' period.

3. O. S. Tonks: A new Kalos-artist: Phrynos. (Five cuts.)

Publishes fragments of a B.-F. Kylix at Boston signed by Phrynos, with female bust in outline. Similar fragments in the Brit. Mus. with *Στροίβος καλός* must also be by this artist. [Why does the author speak of Phrynos as 'a new artist'? A cup by him was previously known. The article referred to in *J.H.S.* vol. xii. was by Munro and Tubbs, not by W. Wroth, as here stated.]

4. D. M. Robinson: Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Sinope and Environs.

Publishes nearly eighty new ones, noted in 1903, with notes on others already published.

5. Archaeological News (ed. H. N. Fowler).

Jahrbuch des archäologischen Instituts. xx. 1905. Heft 3.

1. E. Pfuhl: Subsidiary ornamentation of sepulchral reliefs from Asia Minor. (Nine cuts.)

Pfuhl continues his study of these reliefs, in particular of those with background of an

architectural character. He maintains that in all cases the architectural details are copied from actual arrangements of cemeteries; thus an ornamental cornice signifies a shrine, a continuous wall the wall of the cemetery. As most of the reliefs discussed have the Sepulchral Banquet as their subject, it follows that this meal took place within the cemetery precincts.

2. J. Six: Pausias. (Seven cuts.)

Maintains that the painting on one of the *lacunaria* of the Nereid Monument in the Brit. Mus. recalls in style and subject what we know of Pausias' paintings on ceilings; his date is uncertain but seems to be about 377-365; this accords with the date 374-362 to which the writer assigns the Nereid Monument.

Anzeiger.—

- (1) Notes from old Greek sites (F. Koepf).
- (2) New discoveries in Northern Asia Minor (R. Leonhardt).
- (3) Exhibition of Locks and Keys.
- (4) Berlin Archaeological Society.
- (5) Proceedings of Anthropological Society.
- (6) Miscellaneous.
- (7) Bibliography.

N. B.—With this part is distributed a copy of the Report on the progress of Romano-German investigation in 1904, which contains some valuable articles, especially one by Dragendorff on Roman pottery.

H. B. W.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1905.

1 Nov. *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur*, herausg. von A. Furtwängler und H. L. Ulrichs. 2 Aufl. (E. v. Mach), very favourable. H. Roscher, *Die einneadischen und heblomatidischen Fristen und Wochen der ältesten Griechen und Die Sieben- und Neunzahl im Kultus und Mythos der Griechen* (W. Kroll). 'Both works are of lasting value.' R. Pohl, *De Graecorum medicis publicis* (J. Pagel), favourable. T. Sinko, *De Romanorum viro bono* (Fr. Cauer), favourable. N. G. Politis, *Μελέται περί τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ* (A. Thumb).

8 Nov. A. Taccone, *Sophoclis Tragoediarum locos melicos descripsit, de antistrophica responsione disseruit* (H. G.), unfavourable. *Bellum Africanum*, herausg. von R. Schneider (Fr. Fröhlich), very favourable. Ch. Lécirvain, *Études sur l'histoire Auguste* (A. Stein), favourable. F. Stähelin, *Der Eintritt der Germanen in die Geschichte* (Fr. Matthias).

15 Nov. H. Uhle, *Bemerkungen zur Anakoluthie bei griechischen Schriftstellern, besonders bei Sophokles* (H. G.), rather unfavourable. H. Francotte, *Loi et Décret dans le droit public des Grecs* (Fr. Cauer), favourable. M. W. Helbig, *Sur les attributs des Sabins* (K. Regling), favourable. W. S. Gordis, *The estimates of moral values expressed in Cicero's letters* (W. Sternkopf). 'Shows great familiarity with the contents.' A. W. Ahlberg, *Studia de accentu latino* (H. Draheim), favourable.

22 Nov. H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forsch-*

ungen. 3. Reihe, Band II., Heft 2 (O. Meusel). O. Körner, *Wesen und Wert der Homerischen Heilkunde* (R. Fuchs), favourable. C. Josephy, *Elektra von Sophokles. Eine Nachdichtung* (H. Morsch). H. Schefczyk, *Der logische Aufbau der ersten philippischen Rede des Demosthenes* (H. D.), favourable. M. Rostowzew, *Römische Bleitesserae: ein Beitrag zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit* (K. Regling). 'A model performance.' H. Grégoire, *Saints Jumeaux et Dieux Cavaliers* (J. Dräseke).

29 Nov. H. Michael, *Die Heimat des Odysseus* (W. Dörpfeld). I. J. Mansion, *Les Gutturales Grecques* (Bartholomae), favourable. Xenophon, *De re equestri*, rec. V. Tommasini (E. Pollack), favourable. A. G. Amatucci, *L'eloquenza giudiziaria a Roma prima di Catone* (J. Tolkiehn), inconclusive. R. S. Radford, *The traditional word-order and the Latin accent—On the recession of the Latin accent—Studies in Latin accent and metric*, (H. Draheim), favourable. A. Rainfurt, *Zur Quellenkritik von Galens Protreptikos* (G. Helmreich), favourable.

6 Dec. *Atti del Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche*. II. *Storia antica e filologia classica* (J. Tolkiehn). H. Michael, *Die Heimat des Odysseus* (W. Dörpfeld). II. Does not accept Dörpfeld's view. Cicero, *Rede für den Dichter Archias*, herausg. von H. Nohl. 3. Aufl. (H. Deiter). *Tibulli carmina*, ed. G. Némethy. *Accedunt Sulpiciae elegidia* (K. P. Schulze). Imitates Dissen too much.

13 Dec. Chr. Harder, *Homer, Ein Wegweiser zur ersten Einführung in die Ilias und Odyssee* (J. Sitzler), favourable. G. D. Zekides, *Διορθώσεις*

εις "Ελληνας συγγραφεῖς. Τόμος α', τεύχος α' (β). M. Wisén, *De scholiis rhetorices ad Herennium codice Holmiensi traditis. Accedunt annotationes in Ciceronis de inventione libros criticae codicis Corbeiensis notae collatione quae adiecta est* (Ed. Strübel). Th. Gollnisch, *Quaestiones elegiacae* (K. P. Schulze). 'A valuable contribution.' *Der römische Limes in Österreich.* Heft V. and VI. (M. Ihm). *Bericht des Vereins Caruntum in Wien für 1902/03* (M. Ihm).

20 Dec. E. Sacchi, *Brevi appunti sulla formazione dei poemi omerici* (Chr. Harder), unfavourable. K. Hude, *De formanti Modsigelser mellem Herodot og Thukydid* (Chr. Harder), favourable. W. Nietzold, *Die Überlieferung der Diadochengeschichte bis zur Schlacht von Ipsos* (Fr. Reuss), favourable. *Ciceronis Tusculanarum disputationum libri V.* by T. W. Dougan. Vol. I. Books I., II. (O. Weissenfels). 'An edition of the most solid learning.' *Tacitus*, erkl. von K. Nipperdey. I. *Ann. I.-VI.* 10. Aufl. von G. Andresen (Th. Opitz). N. Vulić, *Antike Denkmäler in Serbien* (M. I.). L. Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Stämme bis zum Ausgang der Völkerwanderung* (M. Manitius), very favourable. B. Hussey, *A handbook of Latin homonyms* (H. Draheim), favourable.

27 Dec. R. Agahd, *Ergänzung des Elementarbuches aus Homer und Attische Grammatik* with reference to the previous book (J. Sitzler). The first is mentioned favourably but not the second. R. Menge, *Troju und die Troas nach eigener Anschauungsgeschildert.* 2. Aufl. (Chr. Harder). 'Much improved and to be recommended.' E. Richter, *Xenophon in der römischen Literatur* (W. Gemoll), favourable. *Thesaurus linguae latinae epigraphicae*, A dictionary of the Latin inscriptions by G. N. Olcott. I. 2 (M. I.). J. E. Sandys, *Harvard Lectures of the Revival of Learning* (O. Weissenfels). 'Both thorough and interesting.'

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc. xv. 9. 1905.

J. Gefken, *Die altchristliche Apologetik.* Its forerunners and progress, with constant reference to the views it had to meet. The works of the older Greek writers (e.g. Justin, Athenagoras) are treated with some detail, as also the position of Origenes' opponent Celsus. Stress laid on the debt the genus owed to Oriental literary propaganda and the attack of Greek philosophers on existing views as to the gods, etc. A. Baldamus, *Der Ursprung des Deutsch-französischen Krieges nach einer Darstellung Bismarcks. Anzeigen und Mitteilungen:* W. Schulze's *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* is highly praised by W. Otto, who in a very full abstract gives from it a selection of interesting observations, such as, e.g., the fact that the names from Primus to Quartius, common in Gaul, are not, like those from Quintus to Decimus, genuinely Italic. The custom of beginning to number sons from the birth of the fifth onwards is illustrated by the series Quintilis—December.

Mnemosyne. xxxiii. 4. 1905.

J. J. Hartman, *De Ovidio poeta commentatio* (from part 2). Emendations, etc., of *Met.* 5-13. C. G. Vollgraff, *Ad Antonini Liberalis c. 31.* 4. Read $\pi\alpha\nu\ \upsilon\sigma\omicron\nu$ (for $\pi\alpha\nu\ \upsilon\sigma\omicron\nu\ \eta$) $\pi\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$. Idem, $\Delta\text{IONY}\Sigma\text{O}\Sigma\ \text{BPAITHE}$. In the Delphic hymn-inscription (*Bull. de corr. hell.* 1895, 16-17) the letter before $\alpha\tau\alpha$ seems to be χ rather than β . Read then $\kappa\iota\omicron\sigma\sigma\chi\alpha\iota\tau\alpha$, and get rid of Weil's mysterious $\beta\pi\alpha\iota\tau\acute{\alpha}$. J. C. Naber, *Observationumculae de iure Romano* (from vol. xxxii). 92. Ad interdictum

quorum bonorum. M. L. Earle, *De Livii praef.* 3. Read *meo-me* for *me-me*. P. H. Damsté, *Ad Velleium Paterculum.* Emendations, etc., with frequent reference to Ellis' ed. J. v. L., $\Sigma\eta\mu\iota\omicron\nu\ \alpha\lambda\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\omega\delta\epsilon\varsigma$. The symbol on p. 1 of the cod. Ven. Marc. of Aristophanes denotes its price (Ν Ν Ε' , $\nu\omicron\mu\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon$). I. C. Vollgraff, *Thucydidea* (from part 1). Emendations, etc., of Bk. 6. 1-89. J. J. Hartman, *De Aeneidis loco illo ubi Aeneas Helenae mortem minatur.* II. 567 sqq. Vergilian. M. L. Earle, *Ad Herodotum.* Emendation of the preface.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. lx. 4. 1905.

H. Usener, *Sol invictus.* Coins shew the pre-eminent position of this god from the time of Aurelian to that of Constantine. Under the latter a gradual change takes place—the turning point about 323. A resemblance between the old heathen god and the new one was suggested by such passages as Malachi 4. 2, and Sol's 'birthday,' Dec. 25, was adopted by the people as that of Christ. Official recognition began about 336, though no festival was connected with it till after 354 (and perhaps before 361). F. Solmsen, *Die metrischen Wirkungen anlautender Consonanten-gruppen bei Homer und Hesiod.* A short vowel at the end of a word preceding a consonantal group must be long in arsis: in thesis it can be lengthened only in first, second, or fourth foot. E. Bickel, *Die Schrift des Martinus von Bracara formula vitae honestae.* The treatise *de IV virtutibus* ascribed by the MSS. to Martin or Seneca is really the former's, and should be styled *Formula vitae honestae* (with best MSS.). An examination of it shews that along with Senecan style and philosophy it contains in matters of rhythm, vocabulary, and syntax unmistakable evidence of the handiwork of Martin (or a similar writer). A study of Martin's treatment of Seneca's *De Ira* in his own work of that name justifies us in assuming that here too he is giving an epitome of one of the philosopher's books, conforming therewith in general arrangement. The Senecan work was probably a *De Officiis*. W. Kroll, *Handbemerkungen* (cont.). On Dirae, Ciris, Cicero, Quintilian, Manilius, etc. R. Hildebrandt, *Analecta in Aetnam* and S. Sudhaus, *Zur Uebersetzung des Gedichtes Aetna.* Emendations. L. Radermacher, *Zur Hades-mythologie.* Among points treated is the Lamos episode in the *Odyssey*. R believes this king was originally a god, the double of Hades. G. Loeschke, *Das Synagma des Gelasius Cyzicenus.* I. G.'s work and its sources: Eusebius, a Greek version of Rufinus (ascribed to Gelasius of Caesarea), Theodoret, Socrates, Johannes, Dalmatius. O. von Basiner, *Nixi di und Verwandtes.* Maintains, against Wissowa, the religious origin of the Capitoline statues. They probably represented a goddess of birth with supporting males on either side. P. Lehmann, *Eine verschollene Priscianhandschrift.* A. Brinkmann, *Klassische Reminiscenzen.* E.g. of Thuc. 2. 35 in a Martyrium. *Miscellen:* F. Solmsen, *Philocomasium*; E. Assmann, *Zu Martialis* 4. 64 read *virgineo liquore*: cp. *Ov. P.* 1. 8. 38; H. Schickinger, *Zu Caesar* b. G. 7. 35. 4 (read *coartatis quidem cohortibus*).

Hermathena. No. xxxi.

On the $\kappa\omicron\mu\omicron\delta\varsigma$ in the Chorophoroe, F. Blass. *Metrical Prose in the Correspondence of Cicero*, R. Y. Tyrrell. *The Early History of India*, Edward Stanley Robertson. *On the History of Sizarship in Trinity College*, J. P. Mahaffy. *Two Collections of Visitation Reports in the Library of*

Trinity College, H. J. Lawlor. *Further Notes on Coney's Irish-English Dictionary*, T. K. Abbott. *Notes on Cicero ad Atticum II*, J. S. Reid. *On the Relation of the Macedonian to the Egyptian Calendar*, J. Gilbert Smyly. *On the Historia Augusta*, Robinson Ellis. *The Magnum Nomen*, A. A. Burd. Navarino, J. B. Bury. *Notes on the Ignatian Epistles*, F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock. *Cathréim Conghail Cláiringhugh*, Edward Gwynn. *Two Notes on the Divina Commedia*, H. S. Verschoyle. *Further Notes on Longinus Περὶ Τύφους*, Robinson Ellis. *On the Method and Teaching of Elementary Geometry*, Frederick Purser. *The Deduction of Space from Time*, R. A. P. Rogers. *Letters of Henry Bradshaw on Irish Topography*, Brian Merriman's *Midnight Court*, F. W. O'Connor. *Some Thoughts as to the Absolute*, Alex. R. Eagar. *The Latin Genitive in -ai*, Charles Exon. *Two Notes (Hom. H. Demet. 22-23, Eurip. Hippol. 294-5)*, Ernest H. Alton. *Reviews: Sharpley's Peace of Aristophanes* (W. J. M. S.); Lindsay's

Text of Plautus II. (C. E.); Strachan's *Selections from the Old Irish Glosses*, and *Old Irish Paradigms*; Gifford's *Euthydemus of Plato*; A. E. Clark's *The Vetus Cluniacensis of Poggio*; E. I. Harris' *Tragedies of Seneca*; F. X. Burger's *Minucius Felix und Seneca*; Wordsworth's and White's *Actus Apostolorum Lutine*, sec. ed. Sancti Hieronymi.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xxvi. No. 3.

The Origin and Meaning of the Ancient Characters of Style, G. L. Hendrickson. *A Harvard Manuscript of Ovid, Palladius, and Tacitus*, E. K. Rand. *Reviews*, etc.: Heinze's *Virgils Epische Technik*, G. J. Laing; Harris' *Tragedies of Seneca*, Charles G. Osgood, Jr. *Summaries of Periodicals*. *Brief Mention*: the Editor, W. A. H., G. L. H., and K. F. S. *Correspondence*: Platner's *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*, S. B. Platner and Charles Knapp. *Recent Publications*, etc.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

The size of Books is given in inches. 4 inches = 10 centimetres (roughly).

* * * *Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.*

Allinson (F. G.), see *Lucian*.

Altman (Walter). *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*. 11" × 8". Pp. 306 mit 208 Abb. im Text und 2 Heliogravüren. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1905. M. 18.

Archer-Hind (R. D.). *Translations into Greek Verse and Prose*. 8" × 5½". Pp. viii + 244. Cambridge, University Press. 1905. 6s.

Aristophanes. *Aristophanis Pax: cum prolegomenis et commentariis* edidit J. van Leeuwen. 9¾" × 6¾". Pp. xii + 202. Lugduni Batavorum apud A. W. Sijthoff. 1906. M. 5.

— See also *Herveerden* (H. van).

Brock (Margaret), see *Cicero*.

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The Classical Review

MARCH 1906.

THE DOLONEIA ONCE MORE.

THE view that the *Doloneia* is a burlesque, or conscious parody of the Epic style, expressed in my paper on 'The Place of the *Doloneia* in Epic Poetry' (*Cl. Rev.* May 1905) has called forth a vigorous and characteristic protest from Mr. Andrew Lang (*Cl. Rev.* Dec. 1905). That Mr. Lang's touch is light and his opinions decided, goes without saying: but I own that I am still unconvinced.

Mr. Lang's view of the date of the book is not quite clear to me. He speaks of the author as an 'early poet' and seems to argue against the view of the book as 'late.' But as he leaves, as he says, the lateness of the language to philologists, I suppose he is prepared to abide by their verdict. The verdict is unequivocal. It is summed up in Dr. Leaf's Introduction to the book (*Iliad* i², p. 424), where the linguistic and other evidence combined is held to point to a date for its composition as late as the second half of the seventh century. Dr. Leaf is not alone in his opinion: Robert (*Studien zur Ilias*, p. 574) places it before 600 B.C. and most modern philologists seem to be of the same way of thinking. However, the impression that Mr. Lang gives is that he regards the precise date as a matter of (on the whole) comparative indifference. It seems to me on the contrary that the date is a very vital matter from the point of view of the interpretation. To suppose the book to be early work and yet regard it as an effort of conscious humour employing the 'grand style' as a foil for the triviality of the incidents is not, to my mind at least, a very possible position. But if the

book be late, coming after the Indian summer of the Epos, when political and social changes alike were beginning to make their mark in literature, when the rise of much in thought and action that would have seemed strange to the heroes for whom the earliest lays were sung craved expression and found the epic style too cumbrous and antique, it would not be so impossible for some one to conceive the idea of composing a poem in which the humour of the actual situation is heightened by the inappropriateness of the style and the contrast with the well known incidents and characters of the Epic. That such a tendency found expression in the sphere of Homeric Theology has been successfully shown by Nestle (*Neue Jahrbücher für das Cl. Alt.* xv. 3 (1905); and one can detect, I think, in more than one passage in books usually classed as 'late' a distinct strain upon the epic powers of expression, a bursting of the old bottles of the *Hofdichtung*. Were the probable (or possible) date of the book to fall within the 'heroic' age I should certainly share Mr. Lang's scorn for the 'higher critics' who fail 'to put themselves *dans la peau* of the original audience' by considering the book a burlesque; but with the very low date to which it must be assigned the objection loses something of its relevance.

Mr. Lang professes himself unable to understand 'how the devil' such a book got into the *Iliad*. One might retort by demanding similar satisfaction as to the method by which the *Hymn* to Hermes has been set complacently in the collection of Homeric *Hymns*. There is a strong analogy

between it and the *Doloneia*: and one supposes that the audience who relished the one can have had few qualms about the other. But, conjectures apart, that the book *did* stand originally apart from the main *corpus* of the *Iliad* is the definite statement of Schol. T. *φασὶ τὴν ῥαψωδίαν ὑφ' Ὁμήρου ἰδίᾳ τετάχθαι καὶ μὴ εἶναι μέρος τῆς Ἰλιάδος, ὑπὸ δὲ Πεισιστράτου τετάχθαι εἰς τὴν ποιήσιν.* The Scholiast or his authority saw no impossibility in a book being added to the *Iliad*. He says it was done by Peisistratus. I gather that Mr. Lang does not believe, any more than most of us, in 'Peisistratus and his editorial committee.' But that somebody somewhere did at some time do the work attributed to him by the legend is certain. Mr. Lang finds this too 'vague': perhaps we may be content to be vague on matters where no direct evidence is possible; but we do not need to be so vague on this point as to deserve to be called 'hopelessly futile.' It is reasonably probable that the Homeric poems took their definite shape at Athens. We need not assume that ecumenical councils sat to review the claims of the Antilegomena. A process of natural selection had been going on: the stream of epic had run dry: the rhapsodists found a demand for certain episodes and not for others, and the latter gradually passed out of the list that were left in the running 'in the straight.' The former were not as yet numbered among the Homologoumena but they were popular and often called for. Among these one feels little doubt was the *Doloneia*. Would a burlesque be ruled out of court in the city that was to produce the *Ranae*? When the epic was no longer the only poetry and what there was of it had to justify its existence in competition, a book like the *Doloneia* would not fail of its welcome—at Athens. One feels less certain of its fate had we to depend upon Lycurgus' 'complete copy' among the Spartans. Did Lycurgus, we wonder, allow the inclusion of the cajoling of the 'uxorious king' in the *Διὸς ἀπάντη*?

Mr. Lang sees nothing 'suspicious' in the poet's choice of 'unhackneyed novelties' for his subject. Not in the choice, perhaps; but the use he makes of them is another matter. Agamemnon 'tears out his hair by the roots' in his terror. The companions of Odysseus do the same, though nothing, to be sure, is said about 'the roots.' But then Odysseus' fellows were no heroes, while Agamemnon was supposed to be a warrior-king. If burlesque be, in Addison's words, to describe 'great persons acting and speaking like the

basest among the people' we have here burlesque to the life. Mr. Lang reminds us of Napoleon shooting at a dog at Leipzig in a moment of terror and throwing the pistol at it when he had missed. No doubt heroes will have their nervous moments. But I cannot help thinking that some glimmer of light might be thrown on the *Doloneia*, had some court poet introduced this 'unhackneyed novelty' into an ode and read it before Napoleon. The motley dress of the characters is, according to Mr. Lang, the natural result of their being in a 'funk.' No doubt: but the poet, if he were serious, might have exercised a little judgment. Napoleon, Murat, and the General Staff in striped pyjamas and the only weapons either of offence or defence among the company being a sword carried by one and a cavalry cuirass by another might not form the best episode of the campaign before Leipzig to select for an epic.

After all to prove that a joke is a joke is a tedious business, and no one is one whit the wiser for the attempt. But Mr. Lang has too fine an appreciation of humour to fail to see it at least in some episodes of the *Doloneia*. When he says that 'the whole picture of Dolon is' 'worthy of Shakespeare' I heartily agree with him. But the humour is not spoilt, I fancy, by the fact that the element of parody and burlesque comes in to help it out. 'The Rovers or the Double Arrangement' loses only part of its exquisite absurdity when one is ignorant of its literary intention.

In regard to one particular passage in the book Mr. Lang goes very far toward admitting my contention. In speaking of 265–270 he says that if the passage is a parody of B 102 *sqq.* '*cadit quaestio*'; the Book is a burlesque.' It is not the only case of what I claimed to be deliberate parody; but it is certainly the most striking. I put the passages down here for comparison. In B 102 *sqq.* the description of Agamemnon's sceptre runs:

Ἡφαιστος μὲν δῶκε Διὶ Κρονίῳ ἀνακτὶ,
αὐτὰρ ἄρα Ζεὺς δῶκε διακτόρῳ ἀργεῖφόντῃ·
Ἑρμείας δὲ ἀναξ δῶκεν Πέλοσι πληξέσπῳ,
αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτε Πέλοψ δῶκ' Ἀτρεΐ, ποιμένι λαῶν·
Ἀτρεὺς δὲ θήσκων ἔλιπεν πολύαρνι Θυσίῳ,
αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτε Θυσίῳ Ἀγαμέμνονι λείπε φορῆναι,
πολλῆσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἀργεῖ παντὶ ἄνθρωπῳ.

This passage did not remain in a corner of the Epic: it must have been celebrated, and justly so, when Thucydides (i. 9) can refer to it as the *σκήπτρου παράδοσις*. It was familiar alike to rhapsodists and hearers when the *Doloneia* was composed, and the

Doloneia contains the following lines about Odysseus' helmet :

τὴν ῥά ποτ' ἐξ Ἑλεῶνος Ἀμύντορος Ὀρμενίδαο
ἐξέλετ' Αὐτόλυκος πυκινὸν δόμον ἀντιτορσάας,
Σκάνδειαν δ' ἄρα δῶκε Κυθηρίῳ Ἀμφιδάμαντι
Ἀμφιδάμας δὲ Μόλῳ δῶκε ξεινήιον εἶναι,
αὐτὰρ ὁ Μηριόνη δῶκεν ᾧ παιδὶ φορῆναι.
διή τούτ' Ὀδυσσεύς πύκασεν κάρη ἀμφιτεθεῖσα.

Neither the author nor his audience can have missed the reference. What were the latter to think of the adaptation? Agamemnon's sceptre had passed through the hands of three gods before it reached their favourite Pelops in whose family it descended as a sacred heirloom. Where did the helmet come from? Autolycus broke into Amyntor's house and stole it: he transferred the stolen goods to Amphidamas in Scandeia: Amphidamas got rid of the incriminating property by making a present of it to Molos: in the second generation it could safely be transferred to Molos' son, who lends it to Odysseus when on his way to purloin horses in the dead of night. Would any audience that knew its Homer have considered this a happy literary reminiscence? I once heard a divine, well known in Ulster, preach from the text 'He spake as one that had authority, and not as the scribes.' During the sermon

he introduced the quotation 'And still he talked, and still the wonder grew' which he proudly regarded as a satisfactory equivalent for the words of his text. I could not persuade a theological professor afterwards that there was anything amiss.

Just one more point. Mr. Lang says that 'the laugh of Odysseus is both in character and in keeping.' It is both undoubtedly; but I think it is something more. Mr. Lang in a happy sentence says 'Humour is certainly not the strong point of the Epics: the jests are pointed with spears or driven in with the staff of Odysseus.' But Homer has another way of pointing his humorous passages. In B 270 when Thersites is made to look ridiculous we read οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀχνύμενοί περ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἡδὺν γέλασαν. After the narrative in θ of what Hephaistos calls the ἐργ' ἀγέλαστα of Ares and Aphrodite the poet adds ἄσβεστος δ' ἄρ' ἐνῶρτο γέλως μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν. These are two specimens of what seems to have been an epic convention to indicate the point of view which the poet expected the hearers to adopt. It reminds one somewhat of the naïve Roman *plaudite*. I take Odysseus' guffaw to be similar in intention, like Sterne's asterisks, 'lamps hung up in dark places.'

R. M. HENRY.

BELFAST, Feb. 3, 1906.

ON THE GREEK IDIOM IN ISOCRATES *PANEGYRICUS*, 110.

PROF. PLATT has called attention to this passage in the February number of this Review, and proposes to substitute *γεγονώς* for *γέγονεν* on the ground that the words *ἐξ ὧν μεθ' ἐκατέρων γέγονεν* are ungrammatical. The purpose of these remarks is to maintain the soundness of the text, and to submit that *ἐξ ὧν μεθ' ἐκατέρων γέγονεν*, although seeming to defy grammatical analysis, is nevertheless perfectly good Greek for 'from his alliances with either party.'

The construction finds its ultimate motive in what Shilleto (on Dem. *de F. L.* § 263) has admirably characterised as the Greek fondness for 'throwing the substantive into the verb.' Within the limits of the relative clause this gave rise to an extension in the range of the so-called cognate accusative,—whether remaining unaltered or passing into other cases by attraction. Consider in this light such examples as the following:—Herod. 3. 81 τὰ μὲν Ὀτάνης εἶπε τυραννίδα ποιῶν,

λελέχθω κάμοι ταῦτα, τὰ δ' ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἀνωγε φέρειν τὸ κράτος, γνώμης τῆς ἀρίστης ἡμάρτηκε. Dem. or. 16 § 13 χάριν ἔχειν ὧν ἐσώθησαν ἢ φ' ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους ἐλθόντες κινδύνους. Dem. or. 21 § 196 φθόνον ἐξ ὧν ἕξ καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἐξαπατᾶς ἔλεον (cf. § 134 ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἕξης). Dem. or. 45 § 68 ἀπέπλαστοι καὶ βαδίζει οὗτος παρὰ τοῖς τοίχοις ἐσκυθρωπακός. It will be admitted that the normal demonstrative type is οὕτω (not ταῦτα) ζῆν, βαδίζειν, σωθῆναι, etc., and it follows that the abnormality of ταῦτα γίνεσθαι in the sense of οὕτω γίνεσθαι is not conclusive against the employment of ἐξ ὧν (μεθ' ἐκατέρων γέγονεν) in the sense of 'from the manner in which' or even 'from the fact that.' For the combination of the attracted relative with prepositions led to the gradual growth of quasi-conjunctions after the pattern of ἐξ οὗ, καθὰ, διότι, etc. The instances now to be quoted are on the same footing as the passage from the *Panegyricus*. Isocr. or. 10 § 47

χρῆ . . . δοκιμάζειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς τῶν ἀποτυχουσῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἀπασαί βουλευσάμεναι προέλονται τὴν ἐκείνου διάνοιαν. Here Wolf noted that ἐξ ὧν stood for ἐκ τούτου ὅτι. Dem. or. 27 § 44 δῆλον τοίνυν ἐστίν . . . τὸ πλῆθος τῶν καταλειφθέντων . . . ἐξ ὧν τοσαῦτα χρήματα ἀλλήλοις φασὶ δοθῆναι ('from their admissions that such large sums were given to each other'). Dem. or. 28 § 23 ἐξ ὧν οὔτοι λαβεῖν ἐμολογούντες ἀθρόα τὰμὰ ταῦτ' ἀνηλωκέναι φασίν. And we can hardly refuse to equate ἐξ ὧν with ἐκ τούτου ὅτι in Plut. *Themist.* 29, 1 μηδὲν ἐλπίζοντα χρηστὸν ἐξ ὧν ἑώρα τοὺς ἐπὶ θύραις ἔγγυς . . . χαλεπῶς διακειμένους καὶ κακῶς λέγοντας. It is true that Holden writes:—ἐξ ὧν ἑώρα 'from what he saw, viz. that etc.', but this is to dislocate the period. A somewhat similar question arises in Thuc. 1. 43 ἡμεῖς δὲ περιπεπτωκότες οἷς ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι αὐτοὶ προείπομεν τοὺς σφετέρους ξυμμάχους αὐτὸν τινα κολάζειν. Most editors, placing a comma after προείπομεν, treat α̃ (οἷς = τοῖς α̃) as the direct object of προείπομεν, of which τοὺς . . . κολάζειν is expegetic. To this Stahl not without reason objects that the Corinthians could not have proclaimed at Sparta their present condition. Of course everybody agrees that the meaning is 'having fallen within the scope of the rule which we maintained' etc., but in order to extract this from the Greek it is necessary to admit that the clause τοὺς . . . κολάζειν is the direct object of προείπομεν and that οἷς conceals a loose cognate accusative. To this there is, I think, a precise parallel in Dem. or. 23 § 184 οὐ γὰρ ὧν ἀναγκαζόμενος φίλος εἶναι φησι, φενακίζων ὑμᾶς, χάριν ἐστὶ δέκαιον ὀφείλειν Κερσοβλέπτῃ, 'you must not feel gratitude to Cersobleptes for his pro-

fessions of friendship made under compulsion.' Not widely different from that of ἐξ ὧν is the use of ἀφ' ὧν in Thuc. 3. 64 καὶ νῦν ἀξιοῦτε, ἀφ' ὧν δι' ἑτέρους ἐγένεσθε ἀγαθοί, ἀπὸ τούτων ὠφελείσθαι. Now here we have the same verb (γίγνεσθαι) which has given trouble in Isocrates, and the relative attaches not to the verb itself but to the complex ἐγένεσθε ἀγαθοί as in Isocrates to the complex μεθ' ἑκατέρων γέγονεν. The sense forbids us to restrict to ἀγαθοί alone the limiting force of the implied accusative, as if it followed the type of βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος. Further it should be observed that ἀπὸ has no logical connexion with the relative clause, but belongs solely to the antecedent. Thus ἀπὸ τούτων is redundant after ἀφ' ὧν, and its appearance is due to rhetorical considerations. Indeed, the antecedent is generally omitted: for an exception see Theocr. epigr. 20 = Anth. Pal. vii. 663 ἔξει τὰν χάριν ἃ γυνὰ ἀντὶ τήνων, ὧν τὸν κῶρον ἔθρεψε. Thus we come to ἀνθ' ὧν, the force of which in these combinations is more generally recognised: see Jebb on Soph. *Ant.* 1068. Add Xen. *Anab.* 5. 5, 14 ἀνθ' ὧν ἐτίμωσαν ἡμᾶς καὶ ξένια ἔδωκαν τῇ στρατιᾷ, ἀντετιμῶμεν αὐτούς. Lucian *dial. mort.* 22, 1 ἀπόδος ἀνθ' ὧν σε διεπορθμευσάμην.

In conclusion, I would emphasise the difficulty of determining exactly the significance which the Greek mind attached to this or that combination of verb and relative. But on a general survey we seem to approximate most closely to their meaning, if we adopt for an English rendering the abstract noun, which corresponds best to the sense of the Greek verb.

A. C. PEARSON.

THE PERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE, OPTATIVE AND IMPERATIVE IN GREEK AGAIN.

THE December number of the *Classical Review* reached me to-day, and I hasten to thank Prof. Sonnenschein for his remarks on my article which was published in the October issue—πρότερον γὰρ οὐκ ἔχων πρόφασιν ἐφ' ἧς τοῦ βίου λόγον δοῖν, νυνὶ διὰ τούτων εἴληφα. First of all I desire to make restitution to Prof. Babbitt for not mentioning his grammar among the few which recognize in the paradigm the non-existence of the perfect imperative active; and then I wish to add one example of the perfect subjunctive to my list: Dem. 23. 122 ἐπειλήφωσι (a verb

already cited by me from Dinarchus)—εἴληφα being extremely frequent, εἰλήφωσι is brought within the range of possibility. This admission of an omission on my part may appear to be a justification of Prof. Sonnenschein's feeling that I may not have collected all the examples. Suffice it to say that I deemed one reading of the extant literature to be inadequate, that any induction made on such a basis must needs be hasty and (probably) erroneous. For this reason I re-read every author before I ventured to publish my results. Hence the examples

cited may be taken as fairly complete—for practical purposes exhaustive. And what do they show? Not that a 'list arranged in tabular form, would be useful,' as Prof. Sonnenschein thinks—the veriest tyro in chirography could write on his thumb-nail all the examples of either mood—but that the perfects optative and subjunctive (and imperative) active are rarer in Greek literature, proportionately, than *ὥς* final in Attic prose. Yet nobody nowadays would think of calling *ὥς* *πράττει* good Attic Greek.

Prof. Sonnenschein has certainly not understood me. My first impulse is to impute the cause to a failure on my part to make my meaning clear. Yet when I read on page 440: 'I do not feel certain that Prof. Harry's lists are complete; at any rate I can at once supply him with two examples which he has forgotten: *πειποιθείη* in Aristophanes (*Acharn.* 940) etc.', I am not disposed to attribute carelessness to the writer rather than to the reader. Not only did I not forget *πειποιθείη* (it stands out clear and plain on page 352 of my article), but I cited the example in a context which showed that it is not to be regarded as a perfect at all—a fact which Prof. Sonnenschein seems to have overlooked.¹

My reason for selecting the English (rather than a German or American) grammar for my first comment is patent: it was the latest. The difference between *εἰθεῖν* with *βούλομαι* and *εἰθεῖν* with *φημί* was never distinctly stated before 1847; and if any grammar to-day happens to contain the facts about the perfect subjunctive, the presumption is that it is the one just issued from the press.

Prof. Sonnenschein, in attempting to refute a charge I made against grammars in general with reference to the perfect *subjunctive* takes occasion to cite from his grammar a most elementary principle about the perfect *imperative*. I quote examples to sustain my charge, and I might have quoted many more to show that there had been no change in the tradition from country to country and from age to age—

¹ If the student is not trained to feel *πειποιθείη* as a present, *ἦτοι* (Soph. *Al.* 186) as a perfect, *ἡλώκοι* (Hdt. 1. 83) as a passive, little wonder that he balks, when he meets reduplicated forms of verbs that have no perfect at all. To form what we call the perfect is only one function of reduplication; and we must not lose sight of this fact (and others), when we are considering the few sporadic cases of the perfect forms of the subjunctive, optative, and imperative. So in *Moschus* 3 *μεμίκη* is merely intensive, onomatopoeic, which is to be carefully discriminated from the ordinary temporal use.

the grammars of Italy, France, Germany, England bear the same unvarying testimony: *λελύκω* *ich habe gelöst*, *Que j'ai fini de délier*, *λελύκοιμι* *möge gelöst haben*, etc.

But the climax is reached when my trans-Atlantic critic makes the startling statement that I deny 'that the Perfects Subj. and Opt. ever have Perfect meaning.' Turning to my article I find that what I have to say about such perfect forms as *ἐστήκω* Prof. Sonnenschein makes me extend to all verbs in both the subjunctive and in the optative moods. In discussing the subject of the perfect optative (p. 352 f.) I state explicitly that it may represent the perfect indicative in oblique form. But the perfect has a beginning and an end, a past and a present. In some verbs the past is dwelt upon, in others the present (by reason of the character of the word). Generally only one sphere of action for any particular verb needs to be emphasized—present or past according to the nature of the given verb. But some demand that both spheres be recognized, e.g. *γίγνομαι*, which bifurcates into *γένεονα* (present) and *γεγένημαι* (past)—*τὸ γεγονός πρᾶγμα* is not the same as *τὸ γεγενημένον*. So with a number of the verbs which occur in the perfect optative: *πάσχω*, *λανθάνω*, *ἐμπίπτω*—it is the *end* of the action of the perfect that is important. I may even add the active of *ἐμπίπτω* (*εἰσβάλλω*), though this emphasis on the present sphere does not come out in the example cited from Thuc. 2. 48. 2. Nor do I deny that *ἔσβεβλήκειεν* here has a perfect meaning. It is the verb, not the example, of which I was speaking. For this reason I quote four examples in the same part of Thucydides' work, every one of which (*ἔσβεβληκότων*, *ἔσβεβληκυῖαν*, *ἔσβεβλήκεσαν*) shows that the perfect is for all practical purposes a present and the pluperfect an imperfect. What could be more natural than that a verb which is used so readily (from its meaning) in the pluperfect, should in oratio obliqua show at least one example in the extant literature of the perfect optative, that the indicative should glide into the optative in oblique form? No wonder 'cette langue fait, par son apparente indiscipline, le désespoir des grammairiens rigides'—*τοῦτο γὰρ ἀντιθίσω ἐκείνῳ*—my French Hellenist over against the *Lehrpläne* der Sonnenscheinischen Replik (daher die Länge dieser Duplik). And who are the 'grammairiens rigides,' if not those who pour both Latin syntax and Greek syntax into the same cast-iron mould; who, fresh from a debauch of Latin sequences, see the same mechanical uniformity in the sister tongue,

and look at syntactical phenomena in the more flexible Greek with a Roman squint? Parallelism of a certain kind I have no objection to—English and Greek as well as Latin and Greek, where they are parallel. But in spite of all the irrelevant discussion of ‘the highest educational authority in Germany’ in Prof. Sonnenschein’s last paragraph (I was discussing facts, not methods) I still ‘apprehend’ that the persistence of the perfect subjunctive, and other similar ghost forms, in our Greek grammars has been due to a feeling that Latin syntax and Greek syntax run on strictly parallel lines. (Latin grammar has had entirely too much to do even with English grammar for that matter.) Not only the perfect in Greek, but also the other tenses, the different moods, the participles, the subordinate clauses, looked at from a Roman point of view, frequently become distorted. To cite a single example (the first that comes to mind, and possibly not the best), we resort to the historical present, so familiar to the Latin reader, to explain the first verb in the first book of the first author usually read by the student. Mr. Gleason changes in his ‘Gate to the Anabasis’ (for obvious reasons) to *Δαρείω ἦσαν παῖδες δύο*. A distinguished American scholar, in an address before the New York Latin Club, a year or two ago, recognized the difficulty which inheres in the tense and thought we should be honest enough to say we do not really know. At the risk of inviting cis-Atlantic criticism I venture to think we do know. But I shall not enter into a discussion of that question here. Many Greek aorists have no equivalent in Latin. Imperfects in one of the languages do not always cover imperfects in the other. Medea says *ἔτικτον αὐτούς*, and the novice wonders why the aorist was not used.¹ But the manifold differences that subsist between the elastic Greek and the rigorous Roman idiom are conspicuous on almost every page of Plato and Demosthenes, of Sophocles and Thucydides, as compared with Livy and Cicero; and these divergencies² should be insisted on

¹ The Greek can even say *ἰδεάμην, ἔτικτον, ἐκτρέφω, and τί με ἔτικτες*; (Nauck, *Trag. Dict. Index*, p. 636.)

² The perfect subjunctive was felt as a compound tense by the Romans. The ideal second person is confined to a few phrases in Greek. The pluperfects in the two languages differ widely. The tendency in Greek is to modal constructions in generic sentences. Insertion of the preposition between adjective and substantive is not permitted in Greek prose. The mobility of the Greek, as contrasted with the stiffness of the Latin tongue, is seen in the use of the aorist in connection with the imperfect. The nominative with the infinitive is a normal construction in Greek. But a multiplication of illustrations is unnecessary.

even more strongly than the parallels—the latter can take care of themselves. Not only do the ancients often express the same ideas differently from the moderns—and also have different ideas to express (*ἄλλοι ἄλλον ἄλλως*)—but both ancients and moderns differently, respectively, from one another. A Frenchman says in English: ‘the clock, it is broken; it does not walk any more.’ And this difference of idiom is not confined to words and phrases, but extends to time relations as well. ‘I have been sick three days’ translates ‘ich bin schon drei Tage krank.’ One is present, the other perfect; yet one expression is used by the Anglo-Saxon and the other by the Teuton under precisely the same circumstances. The Greek does not hesitate to use a perfect form with a present meaning (otherwise how could he express ‘lest I stand’?), a present in a perfect sense, or even to employ a sliding scale between the two. The verb determines, rather than the tense. In like manner the choice between the present and aorist optatives is influenced by the signification of the word, e.g. *χαίρω* always in the present in certain constructions, *ἔλλομαι* always in the aorist. A German educated in his native land and teaching in an American university for twenty years does not, without an effort, bring himself to say ‘I have been sick three days’ (I am citing a concrete case), and simply because his German idiom refuses to be silenced. Similarly the Roman cast of the sentence is ever present to the mind of the young Hellenist. A modern Greek who had learned his English through French said to me: ‘I am not well for a day or two’; and the tyro in Germany, France, and America, has difficulty in turning *ich bin gewesen, j’ai été, and I have been* into Greek, or in translating *εἶναι (= fuisse)* into Latin.

In conclusion, I desire to call Prof. Sonnenschein’s attention to the fact that, when I quoted *ἡμαρτήκοι* from Pausanias, I made the explicit statement that I took no account (in my list of examples) of the writers of the later period. This was intended to include Athenaeus, even where he quoted from an earlier author whose works have not come down to us, except in a few scattered remnants. Nevertheless, I am grateful to Prof. Sonnenschein for adding *ἐδηδοκόη* to my list, which will probably be swelled just a little by the results of my investigation in the later field of literature. In classical Greek there are whole ranges of verbs that never had a perfect; and in spite of the fact that these vacancies were filled

by the mechanical inventions of the later Greeks, in fifteen thousand Teubner pages of post-Demosthenean authors I have been able to find but one solitary spectre of a *sub-junctive* perfect; the optatives may be

counted on the fingers of one hand; while active retroactive perfect imperatives—*εἰρῶν ἀπαγγελέω*.

J. E. HARRY.

CINCINNATI, Jan. 8, 1906.

DE ANTIQUISSIMIS THEOCRITI MEMBRANIS.

BUCOLICOS Graecos cum nuper in Classicorum Oxoniensium collectione edidissem, huius ephemeridis hospitium impetravi, ut inter Britanicos profiterer quae per oblivionem meam omissa esse gratissimo C. Wendelii v. d. admonitu comperi.

Rettulerat C. Wessely, chartarum Aegyptiacarum investigator spectatissimus, in Studiorum Vindobonensium volumine octavo p. 221–30 de codicis Theocritei membranacei lacinii quae in bibliotheca nationali Parisiorum numero 6678 notata sunt. Eiusdem codicis fragmentum Vindobonam devenit in thesaurum papyrorum Rainerianarum, quod idem Wessely edidit (Mitteilungen aus den Papyri Rainer anni 1887, p. 78). Qui codex saeculo quinto scriptus esse fertur ita ut tricenii bini versus in pagina legerentur, sed dinumeratis versibus carminum ordo non potest investigari, cum et incertum sit, quomodo carminum principia distincta fuerint, nec desit exemplum versuum omissorum et postmodo additorum. Laciniae tam exiguae sunt ut paucae tantum litterae versuum horum supersint: Theocrit. 1. 14–19, 27–32, 46–52, 59–65, 4. 34–38, 5. 3–8, 50–56, 83–89, 13. 53–66 Baccharum, quod carmen vulgo dicitur Theocriti 26, in editione mea Appendicis est 4. vers. 10–20, Theocr. 15, 15–25, 48–59, 16. 6–31, 40–64, 22. 33–35, 65–68.

Scriba munere suo functus est negligentissime; corrector multa emendavit addiditque saepe accentus spiritusque; nec tamen non neglexit turpia vitia, velut 16. 21 in versu a scriba postmodo inculcato *οἶσσε με μὴδεν* pro genuino *οἶσσαι οἶδέν*, et intulit adeo falsa, velut 16. 61 *οἶα*, cum scriba verum dedisset quod etiam libri nostri tenent *οἶσα*. Vocales iam tunc modo ad vulgarem pronuntiationem, modo ad falsam Doridem erant ita deformatae, ut solent esse in codicibus Byzantinis. Qualia omnino spernenda esse usus docuit. Exempla adfero 5. 50 *τιδε πατησης* (*τῆδε* vel *τεῖδε πατησεῖς*); 15. 48 *δαληται* (*δαλείται*), 54 *φεξει* (*φενξει*). Magis etiam corruptum 5. 85 *προβέρευσα* (*ποθορεύσα*), ubi corrector tantum prius *ρ* delevit. Itaque vix ullius momenti quod Bacch. 13 *βακχω*

recte legitur, dudum contra codicum nostrorum *βάκχου* restitutum. Novis talis codicis lectionibus quam maxime diffidendum est, ac ne commemoratione quidem dignos habeo errores quales sunt 16. 24 *τινι δουναι αἰδοῖαι* (*ἀοιδῶν*), 15. 25 *τυ ἰδοῖσα*, quidquid praeterea olim ibi fuit; verum *καὶ ἰδοῖσά τυ* tenent codices nostri. Etiam minus ex incertissimis apicum reliquiis, quas Wessely l. 46, 13. 65, 16. 30 dispicere sibi visus est, novas comminisci lectiones licet.

Nihil igitur ad ipsa poetae verba rectius scribenda proficimus; sed in adnotatione nonnulla locum sibi flagitant. 16. 16 *αὔσεται* est, ubi *οἶσεται* recte et Ambrosianus K et stirps Φ praebent; *αὔσεται* deteriores tantum exhibent, quorum usum nullum esse in libro meo, Textgeschichte der Bukoliker, 56sq., demonstravi. Ibidem de 16. 42 et 44 dictum est, in quibus lectiones Φ, quamquam haud verae, in membranis Parisinis comparent, et 44 quidem *θεῖος* (sive *ὁ θεῖος*) iam a Syriano lectum esse sciebamus. Denique 13. 61 versus spurius deest, ignoratus a scholiis et ab uno codice Ambrosiano.

Maxime memorabile quod carmen *Ἀῆναι* inscriptum post Hylam legitur, cum praeterea tantum in libris BCD servatum sit, i.e. in familia Π, idque longe a vere Theocriteis remotum. Colligendumne est, receptum id olim esse in Syllogam mere Theocriteam? Non dixerim. Demonstravi enim distinguendos esse carminum greges 1. 3–13, et 14. 2. 15–18 et ea carmina quae Φ et Π peculiararia habent, quae tamen mihi videbantur ad unam redire eandemque Bucolicorum appendicem. Itaque in codice quinti saeculi et lectiones stirpi Φ peculiariae et carmen stirpi Π peculiare simul inveniri a rationibus meis minime abhorret. Gregum vero illorum ordinem perturbari novum quidem est, sed novum libri scholiis non instructi neglegenterque exarati vitium.

Commodo autem accidit, ut his ipsis diebus alterum ordinis carminum perturbati exemplum animadverterem in frustulo membranaceo quod inter papyros musei Berolinensis est 5017. Servatae sunt exiguae ver-

suum a margine superiore proximorum reliquiae horum, in recto 11. 21-23, in verso 14. 59-61. Unde suspiceris binas in quaque pagina fuisse columnas; tamen 14 proxime sequebatur 11 omissis 12 et 13.

Quae cum ita sint, pudet quidem neglegentiae, sed neque rationes meae infirmantur et, quod gravissimum est, Bucolicorum editio Oxoniensis detrimentum non cepit.

U. DE WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF.

AD EPICTETUM.

(Continued from page 19.)

III. 1, 31 (in effeminatum quendam pilos vellentem ceterisque ornatus deliciis sexum mutantem :) ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀρέσκει σοι τὸ πραγμάτων ὄλον δι' ὅλων αὐτὸ ποιήσων· ἄρον—τί ποτ' ἐκείνο;—τὸ αἴτιον τῶν τριχῶν ποιήσων εἰς ἅπαντα σαντὸν γυναῖκα κτέ.

L. ἀρ[εσ]κέι.

III. 1, 37 ἀλλ' ἂν μὲν κόραξ κραυγάζων σημαίνει σοί τι, οὐχ ὁ κόραξ ἐστὶν ὁ σημαίνων, ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς δι' αὐτοῦ· ἂν δὲ δι' ἀνθρωπίνης φωνῆς σημαίνει τι, τὸν ἄνθρωπον <οὐ> ποιήσει λέγειν σοι ταῦτα, ἵνα γνοίης τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ δαιμονίου κτέ.;

Manus recentior Sb, quae οὐ inseruit, sensit quid vellet auctor, non sensit futuro οὐ ποιήσει optativum ἵνα γνοίης male esse subordinatum. L. τὸν ἄνθρωπον ποιήσει λέγειν σοι ταῦτα, ἵν' ἀγνοῇς τὴν δύναμιν κτέ.; In vocabulorum divisione et in elisionibus multum peccavit librarius; cf. ex. gr. i. 3, 7 οἱ πλείστοι δ' ἡμῶν ἀλώπεκες καὶ ὡς (ὅσα S) ἐν ζωῖς ἀτυχήματα (l. ὅσ' ἐν ζωῖς), i. 6, 10 μεταβαίνοντες ἀπ' ἄλλων ἐπ' ἄλλα τινὰ (Cod.: ἄλλα τά, corr. Wachsmuth ἀλλ' ἄττα), ii. 20, 12 τὰ διάφορα (corr. editor τὰ διάφορα), ii. 14, 19 τὸν κολοφῶνα ἐπιθῶ (S πείθω, lege κολοφῶν ἐπιθῶ), iii. 21, 2 πρᾶγμα ἀκάθαρτον (S καθάρων, lege πρᾶγμ' ἀκάθαρτον), iv. 13, 18 οὐδέ τι ὀλίγον (corr. Reiskius οὐδ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον).

III. 2, 7 Δεῖ γάρ, φησὶν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις ταύταις γινόμενον διαφυλάττει τὸ ἀνεπατήτων. —Τίνα; τὸν καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν. σοὶ οὖν τοῦτο λείπει· τὰς ἄλλας ἐκπεπόνηκας;

L.—λείπει;

III. 2, 13 ἔξω δὲ βλέπεις εἰς τὰ ἀπροαίρετα, τί ἔρει ὁ δεῖνα καὶ τίς εἶναι δόξεις, εἰ φιλόλογος, εἰ Χρυσίππον ἀνεγνούς ἢ Ἀντίπατρον;

L. ἀνεγνώκως. Cf. i. 4, 6 τίς οὖν προκόπτει; ὁ πολλὰς Χρυσίππου συντάξεις ἀνεγνώκως; iii. 23, 20 ἰδοὺ ἀκηκοὺς ἄνθρωπος λόγου, ἀνεγνώκως τὰ Σωκρατικά κτέ.

III. 4, 9 εἶδε εἰσερχόμενον εἰς τὸ θέατρον τοῦτο εἰπεῖν· ἄγε ἵνα Σώφρον στεφανώῃ;

ἀλλ' ἐκείνο· ἄγε ἵνα τηρήσω τὴν ἐμαντοῦ προαίρεσιν ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ὕλης κατὰ φύσιν ἔχουσιν[.]. ἐμοὶ παρ' ἐμὲ φίλτερος οὐδεὶς· γελοῖον οὖν, ἵν' ἄλλος νικήσῃ κομψῶν, ἐμὲ βλάπτεισθαι <'>.

Virgulam transposui. Ceterum S a prima manu exhibet παρ' ἐμοῦ, unde editor coni. παρ' ἐμὲ οὐ. Ἀν γὰρ ἐμοῦ! cf. iv. 8, 13 πρὸς ὃν οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ σου πιθανώτερος. De II = Γ cf. Corais coniecturam ad ii. 7, 9.

III. 9, 6 πότε οὕτως ἐπλευσας ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ δόγματα ἐπισκέψασθαι τὰ σαντοῦ καὶ εἴ τι φαῖλον ἔχεις, ἐκβαλεῖν; τίνι προσελήλυθας τοῦτου ἕνεκα; ποῖον χρόνον ἐπέταξας σαντῶ, ποῖαν ἡλικίαν;

L. εἶχες et πόσον χρόνον cf. 11 ὀλίγον χρόνον χρεῖαν ἔχει—;

III. 9, 15 ἀγρὸν οὐχ ἔξω ὥς οὐδὲ σὺ, ποτήρια ἀργυρὰ οἶχ ἔξω ὥς οὐδὲ σὺ, κτήνη καλὰ ὥς οὐδὲ σὺ.

Aut post κτήνη καλὰ excidit <οὐχ ἔξω>, aut supplendum est <οὐ> κτήνη.

III. 10, 5 — μή, ἂν πυρέξωμεν, ἀφίεναι πάντα καὶ ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι· ἂν ἐγὼ ἐτι φιλοσοφῶ, ὃ θέλει γινέσθω. πού ποτ' ἀπελθόντα τοῦ σωματίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι† εἴ τε καὶ πυρετὸς οὐκ ἔρχεται.

Emendandi rationem indicavit editor partem citans e iv. 1, 96, qua integra collata sectione (— ἂν δ' αὐτὸς ἐκ τινος περιστάσεως ἐχθρὸς μου γένηται, ἀναχωρήσαι πού ποτε κρείσσον; εἰς ἐρημίαν; ἄγε, ἐκεῖ πυρετὸς οὐκ ἔρχεται; —) scripserim — τοῦ σωματίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι <κρείττον>. Εἴτ' ἐκεῖ πυρετὸς οὐκ ἔρχεται; De encliticae collocatione, cf. iv. 13, 1 πὼς ποτε.

III. 10, 7 ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ μὲν (ἐν τῷ παγκρατίζειν) ἔξεστι καταλῦσαι καὶ μὴ δέρεσθαι, ἐνθάδε δ' ἂν καταλύσωμεν [φιλοσοφοῦντες], τί ὀφείλο;

Glossema inclusi, sicut editor inclusit iii. 26, 20 διὰ ταῦτα νῦν τίνεις δίκας ὧν ἡμέλησας [φιλοσοφίας].

III. 10, 12 ἀλλ' ἂν καλῶς περιπατῆς, ἔχεις τὸ (I. τὰ) τοῦ περιπατοῦντος· ἂν καλῶς πυρέξῃς, ἔχεις τὰ τοῦ πυρέσσοντος.

Non πυρέξῃς, pro quo Richardsius πυρέτῃς substituit, contaminatum videtur—cf. enim 15 τούτων ὁ καιρὸς ἐστὶ τῷ πυρέσσοντι· ἂν ταῦτα ἐκπληρώσῃ, ἔχει τὰ αὐτοῦ—sed περιπατῆς. I. περιπατήσῃς.

III. 10, 19 'οὐκ ἔδει οὕτως μοι προσενηχθῆναι τὸν ἀδελφόν.' οὐ· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἐκείνος ὀψεται. ἐγὼ δ' ὥς ἂν προσενηχθῇ <, > αὐτός [.] ὥς δεῖ χρήσομαι τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνον.

Comma transposui.

III. 12, 15 ὥς γὰρ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔλεγεν ἀνέξταστον βίον μὴ ζῆν, οὕτως ἀνέξταστον φαντασίαν μὴ παραδέχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ λέγειν 'ἐκδεξαι, ἄφες ἰδῶ τίς εἰ καὶ πόθεν ἔρχῃ', ὥς οἱ νυκτοφύλακες 'δείξόν μοι τὰ συνθήματα'. <'> ἔχεις τὸ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως σύμβολον, ὃ δεῖ τὴν παραδεχθισομένην ἔχειν φαντασίαν; <'>

Virgulas addidi.

III. 14, 12 εἰ δ' ἵπποι ἦμεν, ἔλεγες ἂν ὅτι 'ὁ πατήρ μου ὠκύτερος ἦν' <ῆ> ὅτι 'ἐγὼ ἔχω πολλὰς κριθὰς καὶ χόρτον' ἢ ὅτι 'κομψὰ περιτραχίλια'; εἰ οὖν ταῦτα σου λέγοντος εἶπον ὅτι 'ἔστω ταῦτα, τρέχωμεν οὖν' <ι>

Interrogandi signum addidi, cf. iii. 25, 7 ἂν οὖν <ὁ> ἱατρὸς αὐτῷ ἔχῃ λέγειν 'ἄγε, λουσάμενος οὖν τί ἔπαθες κτε';' iv. 1, 10 τί γάρ, εἰ ἐκείνοι μὲν γενναῖοι ἦσαν, σὺ δ' ἄγενής;

III. 18, 3 — ὁ πατήρ ταδε τινὰ ἐτοιμάζεται· ἐπὶ τίνα; ἢ τι ἐπὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν; πόθεν δύνανται; ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ σωματίον, ἐπὶ τὸ κτησεῖδιον' (; recte Elterus) ἐσώθης, οὐκ ἐπὶ σέ. [οὐκοῦν] ἀλλ' ὁ κριτὴς ἀποφαίνεται ὅτι ἡσέβησας.

Transpono <οὐκοῦν> οὐκ ἐπὶ σέ. Vide ind. i.v.

III. 19, 1 ὁ δ' ἂν ποτ' εἰπεῖν ἀναγκασθῇ[.] 'οἶαί μοι,' ἐπιστήσας λέγει, 'δεῖ ἐμέ.'

Comma removi, cf. iii. 5, 4 κἂν ποτ' εἴπῃς 'οἶμοι', οὐ λέγεις διὰ τὸν πατέρα —, ἀλλὰ 'δεῖ ἐμέ'.

III. 21, 1 Οἱ τὰ θεωρήματα ἀναλαβόντες ψιλὰ εὐθὺς αὐτὰ ἐξεμέσαι θέλουσιν ὥς οἱ στομαχικοὶ τὴν τροφήν. πρῶτον αὐτὸ πέψον, εἴθ' οὕτω μὴ ἐξεμέσῃς· εἰ δὲ μή, ἔμετος τῷ ὄντι γίγνεται κτε.

Suppleo εἴθ' οὕτω <ς οὐ> μὴ ἐξεμέσῃς· vide ind. i.v. μῆ. Litteras σου perperam copulatas consilio omisisse videtur librarius.

III. 21, 13 οἰκνῆμά ἐστι καὶ ἐν 'Ελευσίνι, ἰδοὺ καὶ ἐνθάδε.

Reiskius, prius καὶ non ferens, inclusit scripsitque ἐστὶν ἐν 'Ελ. An forte οἰκνῆμα ἔστηκεν 'Ελ.?

III. 21, 14 — καὶ παρὰ τόπον ταῦτα ὠφέλει καὶ παρὰ καιρόν· καὶ μετὰ θυσίας δὲ καὶ μετ' εὐχῶν καὶ προηγουμένων καὶ προδιακειμένων τῇ γνώμῃ, ὅτι ἱεροὺς προσελεύσεται καὶ ἱεροῖς παλαιοῖς· οὕτως ὠφέλιμα γίνεται τὰ μυστήρια, κτε.

Elterus post καιρόν per interrogandi signum interpungit, quod quin recte factum sit quis dubitet? Quod item post παλαιοῖς (si fides habenda est editoris testimonio, neque latet aliqui error), in eo quidem quam interpretandi rationem sit secutus non assequor. Omnia plana mihi esse videntur si legimus καὶ μετὰ θυσίας δεῖ scil. προσέρχεσθαι, quod repetendum est e 12 τηλικούτου δ' ἔργου ἀψάμενός τις ἄνευ θεῶν ἀσφαλῶς ἄψεται καὶ οἱ τοῦτω προσιόντες εὐτυχῶς προσελείσονται; ubi corrigas ἀψόμενος, quod in S fuisse videtur.

III. 22, 4 sqq. οὕτω γίνεται καὶ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ταύτῃ πόλει. ἐστὶ γάρ τις καὶ ἐνθάδ' οἰκοδοσότης ἕκαστα [δ] διατάσσων. 'σὺ ἥλιος εἰ' δύνασαι περιερχόμενος ἐνιαυτὸν ποιεῖν — καὶ ἀνέμους κινεῖν — ὕπαγε, περιέρχου καὶ οὕτω διακίней ἀπὸ τῶν μεγίστων ἐπὶ τὰ μικρότατα. σὺ μοσχάριον εἰ' ὅταν ἐπιφανῇ λέων, τὰ σαντοῦ πρᾶσσε κτε.

Verba inde a 'σὺ ἥλιος εἰ domini dei sunt praeter καὶ οὕτω διακίней (lege διακίней) ἀπὸ τῶν μεγίστων ἐπὶ τὰ μικρότατα, quod per virgulas notandum erat: 'σὺ ἥλιος εἰ' — περιέρχου.' — 'σὺ μοσχάριον εἰ κτε.' Et sic cepit Reiskius cum pro διακίней coniceret διανέμει annotaretque 'deus puta', cui viro docto libens assentior de corrupto διακίней; nam etiam διακίней suspectum est, videturque ex antecedenti ἀνέμους κινεῖν labem contraxisse. Verbis quae paulo supra leguntur διατάσσων et (3) ἐν οἰκίᾳ καλῶς οἰκουμένη et 'ἐμὲ δεῖ οἰκονόμον εἶναι' facile impellor ut suspicer diouκεί.

III. 22, 23 Εἴθ' οὕτω παρασκευασάμενον οὐκ ἐστὶ τούτοις ἀρκέσθαι τὸν ταῖς ἀληθείαις Κυνικόν, ἀλλ' εἰδέναι δεῖ, ὅτι ἄγγελος ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἀπέσταλται καὶ <κατάσκοπος> πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν <, > ὑποδείξων αὐτοῖς, ὅτι πεπλάνηνται καὶ ἀλλαχού ζῆτοῦσι τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ ὅπου οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅπου δ' ἔστιν οὐκ ἐνθυμοῦνται, καὶ ὥς ὁ Διωγνῆς ἀπαχθεὶς πρὸς Φίλιππον μετὰ τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχην κατάσκοπος εἶναι.

<κατάσκοπος> addidi coll. infra 38 εἰπέ ἡμῖν, κύριον (Elterus pro κύριε) ἄγγελε καὶ κατάσκοπε, et 69 ἀπολεῖ τὸν ἄγγελον καὶ κατάσκοπον καὶ κήρυκα τῶν θεῶν. Post κακῶν

comma addidi; in sequentibus legerim — οὐκ ἐνθυμοῦνται' [καί] ὡς ὁ Δ. vel ὡς καὶ ὁ Δ. κτέ. De infinitivo κατὰσκοπος εἶναι cf. Ench. 7 εἰ ἐξέλθοις ὑδρὺν σάσθαι.

III. 22, 27 εἰ δὲ μή γε, (comma delet Elterus) ἔδει τοὺς δῖος καὶ τρις ὑπάτους εὐδαίμονας εἶναι' οὐκ εἰσι δέ.

L. εἰ δὲ μή, ἔδει γε κτέ. Cf. 30 εἰ δὲ μή, Νέρων ἂν εὐδαίμων ἐγένετο.

III. 22, 38 <'> 'Εν τίνι οὖν ἔστι τὸ ἀγαθόν —; εἰπέ ἡμῖν, κύριε (recte Elterus: κυρίου) ἄγγελε καὶ κατὰσκοπε. <'> Virgulas addidi; cetera sic lego ['] ὅπου οὐ δοκεῖτε κτέ. — 39 ποῖόν τι φαντάζεσθε τὸ ἀγαθόν; τὸ εἶρων, τὸ εὐδαιμονικόν, τὸ ἀπαρπαδόιστον <;> — 40 ['] 'ἐν τῇ ἑλευθέρᾳ.' ['] — ['] 'οὐκ ἴσμεν.' ['] — ['] 'ναὶ δοῦλον.' ['] — 41 ['] 'μήποτε οὐδέν.' ['] <;> 42 ['] οὐδεὶς. ['] (bis, et semel in 43). — 44 τὸ ἀγαθόν. [']

III. 22, 53 Βούλευσαι ἐπιμελέστερον, γνῶθι σαυτὸν, ἀνάκρινον τὸ δαιμόνιον, δίχα θεοῦ μὴ ἐπιχειρήσης. ἂν γὰρ συμβουλευσῇ, ἴσθι ὅτι μέγαν σε θέλει γενέσθαι ἢ πολλὰς πληγὰς λαβεῖν.

L. καὶ πολλὰς πληγὰς λ. Continuo enim subsequuntur καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο λῆαν κομψὸν τῷ Κυνικῷ παραπέλεκται' δέρεσθαι αὐτὸν δεῖ ὡς ὄνον κτέ. — De ἡ = καί cf. i. 6, 32 ἡ τί οἶε = Stob. flor. 108, 80 καὶ τί οἶε; i. 11, 23 ἡ — ἐν ταῖς χερσίν — ἀποθανεῖν (correxit Richardsius), iii. 5, 13 'Ἀπὸ τί σου ἐπὶ τὸ κλινάριον <νοσῶν> ἢ ὑγιαίνων ἄξιος εἰ ἐπὶ τοιοῦτου κατακείσθαι (corr. Coraes καὶ ὑγιαίνων, quod praestat quam <νοσῶν> inserere), iii. 6, 5 'Ὁ σπουδαῖος ἀήττητος' ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀγωνίζεται, εἰ μὴ ὅπου κρείσσων ἐστίν, ubi editor ἐπεὶ scripsit pro ἡ, rectius Schweighaeuserus καὶ γὰρ cum apographis. Et sic emendandum erit iv. 6, 8 πῶς οὖν οὕτω πέπεικας σαυτὸν μαθεῖν; νῦν οὐχὶ ἄνω κάτω; τοῦτ' ἔστι περὶ ὃ ἐσπούδακας; οὐ μανθάνειν, ὥστε ἄλυσος εἶναι —; ubi in S legitur καὶ μανθάνειν, in quo ἡ μανθάνειν latet.

III. 22, 59 ταχύ γ' ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος (sc. Diogenes cum febris fortiter collectans) ἐνεκάλεσεν τῷ θεῷ —. (recte; Elterus) ἐπὶ τίνι γὰρ ἐγκαλέσει; ὅτι εὐσχημονεῖ, ὅτι κατηγορεῖ, ὅτι λαμπροτέραν ἐπιδείκνυται τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ;

Vetat antecedens futurum ἐγκαλέσει cum Eltero scribere τί κατηγορεῖ; neque magis placet ὅτι μεγαληγορεῖ quod Reiskius, vel ὅτι <οὐ> κατηγορεῖ; quod editor coniecit, qui etiam de novo vocabulo καλληγορεῖ vel καλλοηγορεῖ cogitavit. Num quis dubitabit corrigere ὅτι εὐσχημονεῖ; ὅτι καρτερεῖ;?

Cf. i. 26, 12 πῶς ἐσιώπας, πῶς ἐκαρτέρει; ii. 16, 13 et 14 — καὶ μὴ ἐγκαλεῖ. τί οὖν; ἐν ταῦτά σοι οὐδὲν δίδωκεν; οὐ δέδωκέ σοι καρτερίαν κτέ.;

III. 22, 69 — μή ποτ' ἀπερίσπαστον εἶναι δεῖ τὸν Κυνικόν <, > ὅλον πρὸς τῇ διακονίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπιφοιτᾶν ἀνθρώποις δυνάμενον —;

Comma addidi.

III. 22, 101 μέμνηται γὰρ ὅτι τὸ χεῖρον ἀνάγκη νικάσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος, ὅπου χεῖρόν ἐστι, τὸ δὲ σωματίον τῶν πολλῶν χεῖρον, τὸ ἀσθενέστερον τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων.

L. τὸ δ' ἐ<ν> σωματών. Cf. iv. 5, 34 — καὶ οὔτε τύραννος κωλύσει με θέλοντα οὔτε δεσπότης οὔτε οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν ἕνα οὐθ' ὁ ἰσχυρότερος τὸν ἀσθενέστερον.

III. 23, 2 οἱ ἀθλοῦντες πρῶτον κρίνουσιν τίνες εἶναι θέλουσιν, εἴθ' οὕτω τὰ ἐξῆς ποιοῦσιν. — οὕτως εὐρήσεις καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τεχνῶν. (3) εἰ τέκτων, τοιαῦτα ἔξεις: εἰ χαλκεύς, τοιαῦτα.

L. εἰ τέκτων, τοιαῦτα <τὰ> ἐξῆς. κτέ.

III. 23, 19 'σήμερόν μου πολλῶ πλείονες ἤκουσαν.' 'ναί, πολλοί.'

L. 'ναί, πολλῶ.'

III. 23, 27 Φιλόσοφος δ' ἐπ' ἀκρόασιν παρακαλεῖ; [—] Οὐχὶ δ' ὡς ὁ ἥλιος ἄγει αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν — τοὺς ὠφεληθσομένους;

Lineolam inclusi; non enim interlocutor rogat 'num ad se audiendum advocabit philosophus?' quod a disputatione alienum est, sed rogat Epictetus 'num vocat philosophus?'

III. 23, 36 οὐδὲν προτρεπτικώτερον ἢ ὅταν ὁ λέγων ἐμφαίνῃ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὅτι χρειάν αὐτῶν ἔχει.

ἂν, quod inepte post οὐδὲν a recentiore manu, quae etiam ἡ scripsit pro ἡ, additum est, recepit Schweigh. vertitque: 'Nihil magis ad hortandum scilicet facit, quam cum is, qui dicit, auditoribus significat, sibi illis opus esse!' in quo Wolfium secutus esse videtur, qui in his ἱρωνεῖαν agnoscebat. Sed qui locus hic ironiae? Suspicio: οὐδὲν <ἀ> προτρεπτικώτερον κτέ.

III. 24, 51 — 'Ἐπαθλον οὖν οὐδέν; σὺ δὲ ζητῆς ἔπαθλον ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ μείζον τοῦ τὰ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια πράττειν;

L. 'Ἐπαθλον οὖν οὐδέν; — Σὺ δὲ κτέ.

III. 24, 75 'δοῦλος ἐμὸς εἰ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ γάρ ἐστι κωλύσαι σε διάγειν ὡς θέλεις, ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τὸ ἀνείναι σε, τὸ ταπεινοῦν' ὅταν θέλω, πάλιν εὐφραίνῃ καὶ μετέωρος πορεύῃ εἰς Ἀθήνας.'

Sive cum Uptono, qui in aoristo, subsequente praesenti ταπεινοῦν, offendisse videtur,¹ ἀνέναι mavis—quamquam ‘dimittere’ apud nostrum est ἀφέναι—, sive cum Wolfio interpretaris ‘indulgentius habere,’ res eodem redit: inter res tristes rei laetae locus non est. Lege ἀνιάν; cf. 72 ὁ ἰσχυρότερος κύριος ἂν ἦν ληπῆσαι αὐτόν.

III. 24, 101 ἂν μ' ἐκέῖ πέμπης, ὅπου κατὰ φύσιν διεξαγωγή οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων, κτέ.

L. ἀνθρώπων.

III. 26, 7 σὺ δ' ὁλόκληρος ἄνθρωπος χεῖρας ἔχων καὶ πόδας περὶ λιμοῦ δέδουκας οὕτως; οὐκ ἀντλεῖν δύνασαι, οὐ γράφειν κτέ.;

Distinguendum videtur —δέδουκας; οὕτως οὐκ ἄ. δ. κτέ.; Cf. iii. 13, 19 ἐγὼ οὖν—μέλλω καθήκοντος κλαίειν ὅτι μόνος ἀπελειφθῆν καὶ ἔρημος; οὕτως οὐκ ὁστράκια ἔξω, οὐ σποδόν; iii. 24, 53 οὕτως οὐδέποτε παύσει παιδίον ὦν νήπιον; iii. 26, 25 ἐτ 26 ἄλλα σκεῖος μὲν ὁλόκληρον καὶ χρήσιμον ἔξω ἐρριμμένον πᾶς τις εἰρῶν ἀναγίσκεται καὶ κέρδος ἡγήσεται, σὲ δ' οὐδέτις, ἄλλα πᾶς ζημιάν. (malim ζημιάν;) οὕτως οὐδὲ κυνὸς δύνασαι χρεῖαν παρασχέιν οὐδ' ἀλεκτρύνος; (pro; non recte Elterus) iv. 8, 28 οὕτως οὐκ ἀρκεῖ σοι τὸ μηδὲν ἀλγεῖν—; iv. 9, 9 οὕτως οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ κέρμα ἀπολλύουσιν ἄνθρωποι;

IV. 1, 22 —καὶ δῶρα τῇ μισοῦσῃ πέμπει καὶ δέεται καὶ κλαίει, πάλιν δὲ μικρὰ εὐημερήσας (Elterus -σάσης, sed Schw. recte vertisse videtur ‘exiguo usus successu’) ἐπαίρεται. (23) πλὴν καὶ τότε πῶς †μηδ' ἐπιθυμῆν ἢ φοβείσθαι οὕτως ἐλευθερίαν εἶχε.

In his, cum praesertim in MS. complura rescripta sint, de certa emendatione prorsus desperandum esse videtur; tenendum tamen est verba μηδ' ἐπιθυμῆν ἢ φοβείσθαι non pendere ab ἐλευθερίαν, cum totum capit περὶ ἐλευθερίας agat, i.e. de libertate qualem philosophi intellegunt, vera illa et absoluta, non de hoc illudve faciendi non faciendi potestate (Elterus: πλὴν καὶ τότε πῶς <τοῦ> μηδ' ἐπ. ἢ φ. οὕτως ἐλευθερίαν εἶχε). Requiritur haec fere sententia: ‘quomodo liber erat, cuius animi status a voluntate penderet puellae modo aevsae nunc placioris’ = πλὴν καὶ τότε πῶς, μηδ' ἐπιθυμῆν ἢ φοβείσθαι <κύριος> ,

οὕτως ἐλευθερίαν εἶχε;’ De κύριος cum inf. cf. iii. 24, 72).

IV. 1, 111 Ταύτην τὴν μελέτην ἔωθεν εἰς ἐσπέραν μελετᾶν ἔδει ἀπὸ τῶν μικροτάτων, ἀπὸ τῶν εὐεπηρεαστοτάτων ἀρξάμενος, ἀπὸ χύτρας, ἀπὸ ποτηρίου. εἰθ' οὕτως ἐπὶ χιτωνάριον πρόσ-ελθε (Meibomius recte πρόελθε), ἐπὶ κυνάριον, κτέ.

Quamquam possis quidem sic interpungere —μελετᾶν ἔδει ἀπὸ τῶν μικροτάτων—ἀρξάμενος—, εἰθ' οὕτως κτέ., tamen cum in Epictetis nusquam occurrat εἰθ' οὕτως post participium (ἀρξάμενος), praestabit corrigere ἀρξαμένου, cf. i. 18, 18 ἔδει—μελετᾶν ἐπὶ τῶν μικρῶν καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἀρχομένους διαβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὰ μείζω. Pergitur et illic per imperativum in singulari ‘κεφαλὴν ἀλγῶ.’ ‘οἱμοί’ μὴ λέγε.

IV. 1, 112 πανταχοῦ περιβλέψας ἀπόρριψον ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ. κἄνθρωπον τὰ δόγματα, μὴ τι προσήρηται σοι τῶν οὐ σῶν, κτέ.

Verbum περιβλέπειν cuius nonnisi mediae formae in Epictetis inveniuntur, quasnam partes hic agat non plane dilucet (Schw. vertit ‘Ubi oculis omnia collustraris, abjice abs te quae tua non sunt’); sin meminimus quid Stoicus de externis sentiat—cortice esse, φλοιούς ut ait Marc. Antoninus xii. 2 (‘Ὁ θεὸς πάντα τὰ ἡγεμονικά γυνὰ τῶν ἑλικῶν ἀγγείων καὶ φλοιῶν καὶ καθαρμάτων ὀρά.—’Εὰν δὲ καὶ σὺ τοῦτο ἐθίσῃς ποιεῖν, τὸν πολὺν περισπασμὸν σεαυτοῦ περιαιρήσεις. ‘Ὁ γὰρ μὴ τὰ περικείμενα κρέαδια ὀρῶν, ἥπου γε ἐσθῆτα καὶ οἰκίαν καὶ δόξαν καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην περιβολὴν καὶ σκηνὴν θεώμενος, ἀσχολήσεται; Cf. etiam c. 8 Γυμνά τῶν φλοιῶν θεύσασθαι τὰ αἰτιώδη) —, vix dubium erit quin corrigendum sit περι[β]λέψας.²

IV. 1, 131 αὕτη <ῆ> δὸς ἐπ' ἐλευθερίαν ἄγει, αὕτη μόνῃ ἀπαλλαγῇ δουλείας, [μόνῃ] τὸ δυνήσθαι ποτ' εἰπεῖν ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς τὸ

ἄγου δέ μ', ὦ Ζεῦ, κτέ.

μόνῃ (= μονή, cf. iv. 1, 174 ἄσημ = ἄση ἢ) ita transponendum esse puto ut suum tribuatur τῇ ὀδῷ, nempe: αὕτη ὁδὸς μόνῃ, ἢ ἐπ' ἐλευθερίαν ἄγει, αὕτη μόνῃ κτέ.

IV. 3, 9 ἄλλ' οὐ κραυγάζω, ὅπου ἀπρεπές: ἄλλ' οὐκ ἀναστήσομαι, ὅπου μὴ δεῖ.

L. κραυγᾶσω. De forma activa cf. iii. 4, 4.

IV. 5, 5 οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο ἤθελεν ἢ τὸ ἴδιον. τί δ' ἔστι τοῦτο; οὐχ ἵνα κινή οὗτός τινα κατὰ

² Conferatur Postgatii emendatio in Xen. Hell. ii. 3, 31 ἀπο[β]λέπει (Class. Rev. xi. (1897) 1, p. 22).

¹ Meritone offenderit nolum iudicare; loci tamen duo, quos mihi notavi, facili negotio emendari possunt: ii. 18, 6 τὴν ἀκράσιαν σου τέτροφας, ἐπὶ ἡξας (-kas), iv. 1, 87 ἀρξασθαι—καθελεῖν—ἐκβάλλειν (-βαλεῖν)—ἀφέναι. Conferatur tamen ii. 15, 19 τὸ ζῆν, τὸ δεδέσθαι, τὸ φυγαδεύεσθαι, τὸ πειν φάρμακον, τὸ γυναικὸς ἀπαρῆσθαι, τὸ τέκνα ὀρφανὰ καταλιπεῖν, iv. 1, 46 εὐσταθεῖν, εὐδαιμονῆσαι, πάντα ὡς θέλει ποιεῖν μὴ καλύεσθαι, μὴ ἀναγκάζεσθαι, 66 Ζῆν δὲ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν; 70 τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν καὶ τοῦ δεδέσθαι.

φύσιν τοῦτο γάρ ἀλλότριον· ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐκείνων τὰ ἴδια ποιούντων, ὡς αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ, αὐτὸς μηδὲν ἤττον κατὰ φύσιν ἔξει καὶ διεξάξει μόνον τὰ αὐτοῦ ποιῶν πρὸς τὸ κάκεινους ἔχειν κατὰ φύσιν.

In loco corrupte tradito varieque a viris doctis tractato auctoris sententia restitui mihi videtur, si τι (pro quo editor tina scripsit) cum κινῇ iungitur: οὐχ ἵνα κινήται οὗτος κατὰ φύσιν. Quid sit κινεῖσθαι κατὰ φύσιν, apparet e ii. 20. 18 οὕτως ἰσχυρόν τι καὶ ἀνίκητόν ἐστιν ἡ φύσις ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη· πῶς γὰρ δύναται ἀμπελος μὴ ἀμπελικῶς κινεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐλαϊκῶς, ἡ ἐλαία πάλιν μὴ ἐλαϊκῶς—; (19) οὐ τοῖνων οὐδ' ἀνθρώπων οἷον τε παντελῶς ἀπολέσαι τὰς κινήσεις τὰς ἀνθρωπικὰς, καὶ οἱ ἀποκοπτόμενοι τὰς γε προθυμίας τὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποκόψασθαι οὐ δύνανται. Cf. etiam iii. 3, 2 πέφυκε δὲ πᾶσα ψυχὴ—πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὀρεκτικῶς κινεῖσθαι κτέ. Verum ut ut haec sunt, quomodo in ultimis verbis μόνον τὰ αὐτοῦ ποιῶν π. τ. κ. ἐ. κ. φύσιν acquieverunt viri docti? Nam Schweighaeuseri quidem interpretatio—vertit enim: 'modo quoad in ipso esset, elaborans ut illi quoque ex Naturae praescripto se gererent'—manifesto falsa est: quid enim apertius quam opponi inter se ἐκείνων τὰ ἴδια ποιούντων et αὐτὸς—μόνον τὰ αὐτοῦ ποιῶν? Itaque post ποιῶν per comma distinguendum esse videtur, in ceteris lacuna statuenda, in hunc fere modum explenda <μηδὲν διαφερόμενος> πρὸς τὸ κάκεινους ἔχειν κατὰ φύσιν.

IV. 5, 29 Ἐτεοκλέα καὶ Πολυνείκη τὸ πεπιτροκὸς οὐκ ἄλλο ἢ τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα, τὸ περὶ τυραννίδος, τὸ δόγμα τὸ περὶ φυγῆς, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἔσχατον τῶν κακῶν, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν.

Interpunge—οὐκ ἄλλο ἢ τοῦτο· τὸ δόγμα [,] τὸ π. τ.

IV. 7, 21 τί αὐτῷ συμβαίνει; <ἐπαρχία, ἐπιτροπή>· μὴ τι. οὐν καὶ δόγμα, οἷον δεῖ ἐπαρχίαν; μὴ τι οὐν καὶ τὸ χρῆσθαι ἐπιτροπῇ.

Membra disiecta! <ἐπαρχία, ἐπιτροπή> addidit editor, cetera ut erant reliquit. Quae quamvis inepta sint, quamvis turbata, tamen tam lucide dilucet quid senserit philosophus,—totiens enim, ut complura alia, etiam hoc auditoribus suis ad taedium usque inculcavit,—ut si non ipsis verbis, tamen quantum ad sententiam, fieri non possit quin ita sit locutus: τί αὐτῷ συμβαίνει; ἐπιτροπή; μὴ τι οὐν καὶ δόγμα, οἷον δεῖ; ἐπαρχία; μὴ τι οὐν καὶ τὸ χρῆσθαι, <ταῖς φαντασίαις κατὰ φύσιν>; Postquam ultima verba perierunt, in perditorum locum successit ἐπιτροπή (-ῇ). Possis etiam supplere <φαντασίαις ὡς δεῖ>, coll. iv. 6, 34 οὐδ' εἴπερ ταῖς ἀληθείαις οὐδενός

ἄλλου πεφρόντικας <ῇ> χρήσεως οἷας δεῖ φαντασιῶν, κτέ. Conferatur etiam iv. 6, 25 (ubi καὶ includo) περὶ ἀρχὰς ἐσπουδάκασι, σὺ περὶ δόγματα; [καὶ] περὶ πλοῦτον, σὺ περὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τῶν φαντασιῶν.

IV. 8, 27 ἔγὼ ἀπαθὴς εἰμι καὶ ἀτάραχος· μὴ ἀγνοεῖτε, ὦ ἄνθρωποι, ὅτι ὑμῶν κυκλωμένων καὶ θορυβουμένων περὶ τὰ μηδενὸς ἄξια μόνος ἐγὼ ἀπήλλαγμαί πάσης ταραχῆς.

Schweigh. κυκλωμένων pro κοιμωμένων. Tuius videtur verbum Epicteteum restituere; in mentem mihi venit κῶδωνμένων, vide indicem et cf. i. 6, 29 τί μ' ἐκστήσει ἡ ταραξὶ ἡ τί ὀδυνήρον φανείται; Possis etiam κἀνωμένων, cf. 13 διὰ τί τὸν—ἀνιώσι με οἱ ψέγοντες; τί τὸ αἷτον ταύτης τῆς ταραχῆς;

IV. 11, 17 εἰ δ' ἔππον σοι πεπιστεύκει ἡ φύσις, περιέωρας αὐτὸν καὶ ἀτμήλητον;

Reiskius αὐτὸν <ἄσμηκτον> κτέ.; si ὁμοιοτέλειτον requirimus, ut par est, ad praecedentis verbi similitudinem propius accedet—ἀθεράπευτον, cf. i. 19, 5 τὸν ὄνον οὐ θεραπεύω; iii. 22, 33 ἡγεμονικόν—ἀτμήλητον καὶ ἀθεράπευτον.

Fragm. i. (i. f.) πότερον οὖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος αὐτὸς ἐφ' αὐτοῦ πεποιῆσθαι σοι δοκεῖ ζῶν ἢ πρὸς κοινωνίαν;—<Πρὸς κοινωνίαν>.—Ἐπὶ τίνος;—Ἐπὶ τῆς φύσεως.—Τίνος οὕσης καὶ πῶς διοικουμένης τὰ ὅλα καὶ πότερον οὕσης ἢ μὴ, ταῦτα οὐκέτι ἀναγκαῖον πολυπραγμονεῖν;

L. πότερον <προνο>οῦσης κτέ. Cf. Diss. i. 12 init.

Fragm. xxix. [Ἐκ τοῦ Ἐπικτήτου ἐγχειριδίου.]

Μηδενὸς οὕτως ἐν παντὶ προνοεῖ, ὡς τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς· ἀσφαλέστερον γὰρ τοῦ λέγειν τὸ σιγᾶν εἶναι δὲ τὸ λέγειν, ὅσα δέχεται νοῦ καὶ ψόγου

Cur Gesneri coniecturam εἰν pro εἶν receperit editor, non receperit eiusdem λόγου pro ψόγου (quod consequens erat) ratio latet; quid enim uno illo verbo proficimus, si reliqua omnia aequae atque antea sensu carent, quin etiam lacuna statuenda est? Quod ad ultima verba pertinet, emendatio est in promptu; in his enim nihil latet nisi δέχα ἐπαίνου καὶ ψόγου. Cum autem apud Stobaeum (flor. 35, 10^a) continuo sequatur ex Enchiridio capituli 33 sectio 14 (ἀπέστω δὲ τὸ πολλὸν κτέ.) nullo praeposito lemmate nisi quod unus codex Br, qui omisit hoc de quo agimus fragmentum, pro lemmate addidit Ἐπικτήτου, vix possum quin hoc lemma ad nostrum fragmentum transponendum esse putem, quod fragmentum is qui codicem Br exaravit, postquam lemma Ἐπικτήτου scripsit, per

errorem transiit, pergens ad Ench. 33, 14. Nam hoc fragmentum, cui vel maxime locus est in Stobaei capite quod agit περί βραχυλογίας, plus quam veri simile est ex Epicteti aliquo sermone esse desumptum, cum eadem res, sed latius, tractetur in eodem Enchiridii capite 33, sect. 2 καὶ σιωπῇ τὸ πολλὸν ἔστω ἢ λαλείσθω τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ δι' ὀλίγων. σπανίως δέ ποτε καιροῦ παρακαλοῦντος ἐπὶ τὸ λέγειν, λέξον μὲν, ἀλλὰ περὶ οὐδενὸς τῶν τυχόντων— μάλιστα δὲ μὴ περὶ ἀνθρώπων ψέγων ἢ ἐπαυνῶν ἢ συγκρίνων. Qua collata sectione suspicio oritur aliquid illic deesse atque sic fere legisse Stobaeum: ἐὰν δὲ τὸ λέγειν <εὐκαιρον>, ὅσα δῖχα ἐπαίνουν καὶ ψόγου. De suppresso verbo ἢ post εἰν cf. Diss. i. 1, 32 ἀποθανεῖν με δεῖ. εἰ ἤδη, ἀποθνήσκω κἂν μετ' ὀλίγων, νῦν ἀριστῶ—, εἴτα τότε τεθνήξομαι, vel, si tibi non probatur C. Schenkeli correctio κἂν pro καί, i. 25, 18 καπνὸν πεποίηκεν ἐν τῷ οἰκηματί; ἂν μέτριον, μένω ἂν λίαν πολὺν, ἐξέρχομαι. De audiendo verbo 'λέγε' (ὅσα δῖχα ἐπ.) cf. Ench. 47 κἂν ἀσκήσῃς ποτε πρὸς πόνον θέλης. σεαυτῷ καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἕξω. Notandum praeterea illud δῖχα, quod Epicteto proprium est.

Quamquam, ut fere fit, saepius mihi accidit, ut quae emendasse mihi visus essem, inspecta Schweighaeuseri editione ab aliis iam correcta cognoscerem, tamen breviter ea enotare quam silentio premere satius putavi, cum praesertim essent quae tantam evidentiam prae se ferrent, ut fugisse editorem potius viderentur, quam consulto ab eo esse praeterita. Ea itaque haec sunt: p. 43, 5 τότε <τοῦ> φείγειν Uptonus.—p. 72, 21 μάνθανε συλλογισμὸν Salmasius (recte: monentis enim esse verba, non opprobrantis, tam ex ipso contextu apparet quam ostendit numerus singularis συλλογισμὸν; conceditur philosophia sed non sine contemptu quodam et commiseratione: 'miserum aliquem syllogismum discere licebit, dum ne ultra.' At opprobrantis erat dicere: σὺ μανθάνεις συλλογισμούς, qua forma plurali inutilis copia

indicaretur).—p. 72, 24 ῥήγγνται. 'Εκείνῳ δὲ λέγειν Upt.—p. 108, 19 τοῦ ἀντιδίκου Schweigh.—p. 109, 3 ἢ ἐκείνα. (Schweigh. per comma distinxit).—p. 145, 6 καί <τοι> τὰ μὲν Schw.—p. 152, 5 οὗτοι [οἱ] μανικοί τόνου Schw.—p. 163, 6 τ[οι]ούτων Upt.—p. 177, 18 τοῦτον δ' οὐ χαλεπώτεροι [αἱ] Ἐρινύες καὶ Ποιναί[.] ἐξήγγειρον καθεύδοντα—καὶ ὁ οἶνος <;> Schw.—p. 180, 1 ἐλαβον Wolfius in versione 'caperem garum'; 'probabilis conjectura' Schw.—p. 194, 8 ἄγοι θ' Schw.—p. 207, 3 ἐκάστων; Schw.—p. 224, 13 ἀπήγαγεν. Τίς κτέ. Schw.—p. 263, 4 'ἰδοὺ ἐκείνος ταῦτα κολλύρια κἀγὼ ἔχω.' Schw.—p. 266, 10 κατὰ τὴν ἔνστασιν ταύτην Schw.—p. 274, 24 πυνακίδια ἔχοντα, τιτλάρια; καὶ τοῦτοις κραβάττιον ἐτοιμάσαι; Schw. (καὶ τοῦτοις = 'etiam his' sicuti ante (10) puerperae uxori).—p. 280, 3 interpingatur cum Schweighaeusero ναί καὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ τιμῶν sine signo rogandi; cf. p. 369, 3 'θέλεις ἀρχάς;' φέρε, καὶ πόνους.—p. 280, 8 ὥστε εἰν σοι δόξη, τὸν θεόν σοι, ὑπέρθου, (= per Deum, differ) Schw.—p. 311, 23 καὶ ἄπειμι πάλιν ἐκείνῳ δοκοῦν καὶ ζῶντός μου τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἦν, ὑμνεῖν τὸν θεόν Schw.—p. 329, 23 Πῶς λέγεις προσκατατάξαι; Aut cum Corae <τὸ> πρ. scribendum est (cf. p. 92, 17 τί λέγεις τὸ Σωκράτης; p. 284, 11 τί λέγεις τὸ ἐπαίνεσον; p. 358, 3 τί λέγεις τὸ ἐμοί;), aut Πῶς λέγεις προσκατατάξῃ; (Schw.) Cf. p. 350, 4 Νῦν οὖν ἐμὲ ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τοῦτ' διεξάγειν;—τί λέγεις θορύβῳ;—p. 330, 18 οὐ συνεργοῦς δέδωκεν; οὐκ [αἱ] αἰσθησεις; cum manu correctrice Sc Schw.—p. 358, 20 ποία κτήσις <οὔτως> ἀναφαίρετος Salmasius et Comes Shaftesburiensis.—p. 364, 7 περιερχόμενος κηρύσσω καὶ λέγω 'μὴ πλανᾶσθε, ἄνδρες, —οὐδενὸς πεφρόντικα ἐτι;' Idem sensit Schw. qui interrogandi signum posuit post λέγω; De re cf. p. 378, 5–15.—p. 365, 21 πῇ παρέβην[.] τῶν πρὸς κολακείαν; Schw. post παρέβην comma scripsit, quod tamen melius abest; cf. p. 366, 8 πῇ παρέβην τῶν πρὸς εὐροίαν;

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NOTES ON THE EROTICI GRAECI.

(Continued from page 23.)

HELIODORUS.

1. 4 καὶ ἦν δόξης οὐκ ἐκτός τὸ γινόμενον· δουλεύειν ὁ ἄρχων ἐφαίνετο κ.τ.λ.

It seems impossible to make any good

sense of δόξης οὐκ ἐκτός, and Bekker proposes to omit οὐκ. This would give the very suitable meaning of παρὰ δόξαν or παράδοξον, but how did οὐκ get in? Can it stand for γοῦν, a word of which H. is decidedly fond?

1. 7 ἡ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐμπνουν μετῆχθαι τὸ ἀγαλμα διὰ τῆς κόρης ὑπ' ἀγροικίας εἰκάζον.

διὰ τῆς κόρης seems often misunderstood. It cannot be joined with εἰκάζον as though διὰ meant by reason of: that would be διὰ τὴν κόρην. H. does not confuse the uses. διὰ τῆς κόρης can only mean *in the person of the girl*. Cf. such a passage as Plat. Rep. 607 D ὅταν δὲ Ὀμήρου θεωρῆς αὐτήν (i.e. poetry).

1. 19 προσήκειν ἡγούμενος τὸν οὕτω δὴ καλῶς ἐξηγούμενον κ.τ.λ.

Bekker again proposes simply to omit οὕτω δὴ, but who would insert such words for nothing? Perhaps they are out of their place and should precede προσήκειν, being more or less explained by what follows.

Just before should we read εἴτε χρημάτων <ἦν> νέμῃσις? H. is however fond of understanding the parts of εἶναι.

Ib. τὴν κόρην . . . ἦν δυνατόν ἐμαντῶ με δοῖναι βέλτιον παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαβεῖν ἡγοῦμαι· καὶ γὰρ εὖηθες τὴν αἰχμάλωτον βιασάμενον ἀκόντων τι τῶν φίλων φαίνεσθαι διαπραττόμενον.

I do not find any difficulty raised about the last sentence, but it seems so incredibly weak and pointless that I cannot suppose it to be right. He wishes to have the girl formally granted him by general vote, *for after using force to her it would be silly to go against the wishes of one's friends*. What sense is there in this? Perhaps we should insert a negative. After *not* using violence to her it would be silly to do violence to the wishes of one's friends. If he has spared her βία, *a fortiori* he will spare them.

Read also δυνατόν <ὄν>, for δυνατόν cannot stand alone. So in 5. 12 ὅσα καὶ αἰτεῖν οἶδε καλόν, we need καλόν <ὄν>.

Half a dozen lines below one would think χάριν or ἔνεκα should be added to govern χρειάς and σποράς.

1. 29 οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρέψειν (i.e. ἔφη) αὐτῷ συμπλακῆναι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀλλὰ διαδρᾶναι οἱ τὴν μάχην.

For οἱ, which can hardly be right, I suggest ποι. οἱ is condemned not only by the weakness of sense, but by the hiatus.

2. 6 ταῦτα δὲ ἔξεσται καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα <ἀνα>γινώσκειν?

2. 16 'καὶ εἶγε σοι πατέρες (parents) εἰσὶν ἀπόκριναι.' τῆς δὲ ὁμολογούσης καὶ 'εἰ ποτε ἦσαν' ἐπιούσης, 'οὐκοῦν τὸν πατέρα σοι τεθνηκέναι νόμιζε' ἔλεγε.

'I have parents if ever I had' is devoid of sense and cannot be defended by Homer's εἰ ποτ' ἦν γε, Homeric in phrases as H. often is. The other explanation (Coraes), which makes the words a wish, breaks down on the consideration that in that case they should at any rate be εἰ εἴην, if even that is possible Greek for 'I hope I have.' Certainly εἰ ἦσαν is not: it could only mean here 'I wish I had, but I haven't.' I conjecture that εἰ is a mistake for ὅτι, perhaps facilitated by εἰ occurring in the previous line.

2. 18 τὴν τέφραν . . . ὅσα γῆν ἐπιφορήσαντες.

Should ὅσα be ὥς? The only use of ὅσα in which it is quoted as = ὥς is 'really very different, e.g. Xen. Hell. 6. 1. 15 ἱκανός . . . νυκτὶ ὅσαπερ ἡμέρᾳ χρῆσθαι, and so often in Xenophon. But possibly we should be correcting Heliodorus himself, not his copyist.

2. 21 θανάσας ὁ Κνήμων "Ἐλλην δὲ" εἶπεν 'ὁ ξένος, ἢ πόθεν'; ὁ δὲ "οὔτε Ἕλλην οὔτε ξένος, ἀλλ' ἐντέθειν Αἰγύπτιος."

ὁ ξένος cannot be right, because (1) the man is spoken to, (2) the answer shows that ξένος had been used in the question antithetically to "Ἕλλην. ἦ has been suggested for ὁ. This gives us three alternatives, whereas οὔτε-οὔτε shows that only two were put. The answer also shows that the only possible third alternative would be Αἰγύπτιος, and therefore the generality of πόθεν is very unlikely. Without much confidence I should suggest "Ἕλλην δὲ <εἰ>, εἶπεν, ἢ ξένος ποθέν; With that the answer seems perfectly to fit. Perhaps ἦ got out of its place, and then ὁ was added.

2. 26 No doubt many ways might be thought of in which we could get rid of ἀπό in the verse

ἵχνος ἀειράμενος ἀπ' εὐστάχους παρὰ Νείλου.

The easiest and slightest change I can think of is to read ἄρα (ἀρ'), making the two lines a question, as for instance in the oracle Herod. 1. 66 Ἀρκαδίην μ' αἰτεῖς;

2. 29 ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ τίθεμαι should surely be ταύτῃ τὴν γνώμην τίθεμαι.

2. 31 πιστεύω δέ σε πάντα ἐμπεδώσειν τὰ ὠμλημένα.

τὰ ὠμλημένα is explained to be 'what has passed between us,' 'the matter of our ὀμιλία,' but I cannot find any parallel. The sense of *trite*, *much used*, etc. is very different. Did not H. write ὠμολογημένα,

that you will keep the agreement? If *ογ* fell out after *ολ*, as it well might, *ὡμολημένα* would naturally become *ὡμιλημένα*. So in fragment 181 (Kock) of Eupolis one MS. appears to have *ὁμογεῖ* for *ὁμολογεῖ*. Cf. below on 7. 15.

3. 5 (end) *ἄλλον πρὸς ἄλλην χρεῖαν τε καὶ δαίνοιαν ὄντας* should of course be *πρὸς* with datives. So in 9. 12 read *πρὸς θεραπείᾳ . . . ὄντας*.

3. 11 (speaking of a man obviously ill at ease) *ὥστε καὶ τὸν Χαρικλέα καθεωρακότα ἄλλ' ἢ τὸ ἀνόμαλον ἥσυχῇ πρὸς με εἰπεῖν 'καὶ τοῦτον βάσκανος εἶδεν ὀφθαλμός.'*

For the very obscure *ἄλλ' ἢ* Bekker mentions that *δή* (Coraes) and *αὐτοῦ* have been conjectured. Naber in his valuable article on Heliodorus in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1 suggests *δηλαδῆ*. But *ἄλλ' ἢ* occurs again a page or two further on in Ch. 12 *ἄλλ' ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔοικα τῶν πολλῶν εἶναι*, where it has also been altered, and it is most unlikely to be a corruption in both places. I cannot help connecting the *ἄλλ' ἢ καὶ αὐτός* of the second with *ἄλλ' ἢ* and *καὶ τοῦτον* in the first and wondering whether (cf. on 1. 19 above) *ἄλλ' ἢ* has not got out of its place, and ought not to be put immediately before *καὶ τοῦτον*. Of its syntactical history and meaning I should not be sure.

3. 14 For *ταῦτα μὲν, ὦ θεοῖτατε, μεμύηκας* Coraes wrote *ταῦτά με κ.τ.λ.*

με does seem needed, but, as *μὲν* is quite in place too, why not put *με* before the verb, where the reason of its loss is plain?

Compare this use of *μῶν* with *μνηθήσῃ* at the beginning of 2. 32, where I think *μαθήσει* has been suggested.

Ib. (of Homer) *αὐτὸς μὲν τὸ ἴδιον οὐ λέγων, ἄλλ' οὐδὲ πόλιν ἢ γένος ὀνομάζων, τῶν δὲ ἐγνωκότων τὸ περὶ τὸ σῶμα πάθος* (a hairy thigh) *εἰς ὄνομα κρατησάντων.*

The last word can hardly be right, and *πατραρφεάντων* has been proposed, but the words are far too unlike. Paley in more than one note on Aeschylus (*e.g.* *P.V.* 2) has noted a tendency for *ρ* to get added in Greek writing to some other consonants (*βρ* for *β* and so on). If we might suppose that to have happened here, we arrive very easily at *καταρφεσάντων*, which is a fairly applicable word. They 'made a name' of it.

4. 3 *οἱ μὲν δὲ θεαταί, μετέωρος ἅπας ἐπὶ τὸ μέλλον καὶ ἀγωνίας ἀνάμεστος, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πλέον, ἅτε δὴ μοι ὡς παιδὸς ὑπερφροντίζεν προρημνέμην.*

One's first idea is that such a sentence must be very imperfect through omissions. On looking closer it is clear that *ἅπας* is in a sort of apposition to *οἱ θεαταί* (as *πᾶς, οἱ πολλοί, ἔνιοι*, etc. often are to plural words) and that *μετέωρος* is made to agree with it. The comma would be better away. The real difficulty is in *μοι . . . προρημνέμην*, which has no construction at all. I know no instance of *προρημνέμην* as an absolute accusative like *εἰρημένον, δόξαν*, and others; but it would seem legitimate, and I therefore conjecture *μοι . . . προρημνέμον.*

4. 7 Towards the end of this long chapter the words *καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ὡς βρόχον ἐπάγονσα τῷ τραχήλῳ διαχρήσασθαι ἠπειλεῖ καὶ διώμνεν* are certainly incomplete. They mean that she threatened to destroy herself, but we cannot simply insert *ἐαυτήν* in any of the possible places, because we should still have at least one hiatus, if not more, such as already exists after *διαχρήσασθαι* and serves as an additional proof of something wrong. It would seem therefore that more than one word must be missing.

4. 16 *ἔφθη τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ὁ Πύθιος.*

Here too one would think something lost, but one word will serve, *e.g.* *ποιησάμενος* or *δοῦς*.

4. 18 (towards end) *γυναικα ποιείσθαι* should, I think, be *γ. ποιήσασθαι* to match *ἀπολαβεῖν*.

ποιῦσθαι would be the middle term between the two.

Ib. He rather resented being bound by an oath: *οὐ γὰρ ἐπιδείξην ἔχειν προαίρεσιν φόβῳ τοῦ κρείττονος κατηναγκάσθαι νομιζομένην.*

τὸ κρείττον of course = *οἱ κρείττονες*, the gods, and occurs two or three times in H. No doubt *ἔχειν* should be *ἔχων*: the exchange is not at all infrequent, and *ἐπιδείξην* requires a participle. I am not clear as to the meaning of *νομιζομένην*, *thought* being hardly suitable here. Can it be *accustomed*? I know no parallel.

5. 4 As far as I can see, the imperfects *ἐπέτρεπεν, ἔμελλεν, ἐπέπλεκε* at the beginning of the ch. are out of place and should be presents. But the corruption, if it is one, is very odd. *ἐπετραγώδει* in 7. 6 ought also, I should say, to be *ἐπιτραγώδει* to match the *ἐφίστησι* which follows; but that is a simpler matter.

5. 14 *γραφῇ γὰρ ἔξεστο καὶ εἰς μίμημα ζώων ἐκοιλαινέτο.*

Obviously ἐκεκοίλαντο to match ἔξεστο and ἐγέγραπτο following. It was not now being hollowed out.

5. 27 (end) παρέστω should, I think, be περιέστω. Cf. περίσφζε twelve lines above.

5. 34 εἶδον . . . τὸν μὲν ἴσα καὶ νεκρῷ προκείμενον.

ἴσα καὶ takes the same case after as before it. Read νεκρόν.

6. 1 ψῆμην νύκτωρ σοι μόνον τὴν δειλίαν ἐνοχλεῖν . . . σὺ δὲ ἄρα καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἦσθα λίαν, ὡς εἰκε, τολμηρός.

One does not see how τολμηρός can be used ironically in the same sentence in which the man's δειλία is openly named, and indeed the irony would in any case be extremely clumsy. The difficulty does not seem to have been pointed out. I can only conjecture that τολμηρός is a blunder for ἀτόλμηρος, which is cited from Galen. This type of blunder is well recognised.

6. 2 διαπορῶν προφάσεως ἐκ ποίας ὁ Κνήμων ἦ τίνος κοινωνίας <γινώσκω> (?) ἢ τί πεπόνθοι πρὸς τοῖνομα τῆς Θίσβης.

A few lines below in the words beginning ὁ δὲ γεννάδας there is plainly something lost, more than we can attempt to restore.

Again in 6. 7, instead of reading οἶα for ὅτι γε as Bekker proposes, I would add a verb in the sense of *I depart*, and at the end of 7. 15 a λέγονσα or something similar before ὡς οὐ βούλοιο.

6. 7 (towards end) ὡς δὴ σοὶ φίλον, ἔφη.

ὡς ἂν would be more usual (ἂν for δὴ).

7. 15 διὰ τῶν ὁπῶν καθ' ἃς διήνοικτο τῶν κλεῖθρων ἢ ἄλλυσις.

Can a chain be 'opened' through holes? We could understand better its being said to have been 'carried' through them, διενήνεκτο. Cf. on 2. 31 above.

7. 20 ἀξία δ' ἐστὶ παρὰ σοῦ φαιδοῦς, εἰς τὰ δίκαια τῶν σῶν πόθων οὕτως ἐκμεμνηνία.

Saumaie τῷ σῷ πόθῳ, which makes hiatus with οὕτω and leaves the unintelligible δίκαια. Probably no adjective we could substitute for δίκαια would be satisfactory. Such an expression, for instance, as τὰ ἔσχατα or τὰ ἀκρότατα τῶν σῶν πόθων, would hardly be Greek. Can H. have written anything like εἰς τὰδε διὰ τῶν σῶν πόθων (or κατὰ τὸν σὸν πόθον) οὕτως ἐκμεμνηνία? Plurals like πόθων are sometimes used from Isocrates downwards to avoid hiatus.

7. 21 εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔχεις γνώμης καὶ τελείως δρᾶσαι τὸ ἔργον.

γνώμην?

7. 23 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκείνη τε . . . σαλεύει κἀγώ . . . προσδοκῶ κίνδυνον, λέγειν ἀναγκάζομαι, μὴ δὴ τινα ἐπικουρίαν τῇ γεννητάσῃ . . . ἐπινοήσειςαι.

But she wants him to think of some means of helping her, and therefore μὴ appears to give exactly the wrong sense, to say nothing of the fact that the optative is strange. I cannot see how μὴ is possible here. In 9. 24 μὴ πᾶν τοῖναντίον can be understood in the sense of μὴ and μήποτε as suggesting a possibility (Goodwin *M.T.* §§ 265-269), and in 5. 2 οὐ μὴ μανῶ, though certainly not Attic Greek for 'am I not to go crazy?' (μὴ μανῶ), is probably what H. wrote. But here it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that μὴ is somehow a mistake for εἰ. The -μαι preceding may account for the μ: about η and εἰ there is no difficulty.

7. 24 πεπαύσθω λοιπὸν Θεαγένης δοῦλος ὢν καὶ θρυπτόμενος κατὰ δεσποίνης ἰδίας.

καὶ may possibly be right as it stands, but I incline to think we should either omit it or read καὶ ταῦτα, which H. likes putting after the words it refers to (here δοῦλος ὢν). The first course gives the more logical sense.

Possibly in 8. 13 καὶ ἤδη ταῦτα should be καὶ ταῦτ' ἤδη.

8. 3 (end) Is ὅπως = πῶς really right?

8. 9 (a fifth through). The comparatives τιμωτέραν and εἰνουστέραν should almost certainly be superlatives. The confusion is really very common. Cf. above on Ach. T. 2. 34. 5.

Ib. (three-quarters through) οὐ γὰρ δὴ δέος τὴν ἐνδιατωμένῃ τῇ φλογὶ καὶ ἀπολιπεῖν βουλομένῃ.

There is no construction in this until we turn the accusatives into datives.

8. 11 ῥηδίως μοίραις καὶ τὰδόκητα πέλει.

There is nothing to show that Mitscherlich, Coraes, Bekker are not satisfied with this as a pentameter. Should we read the epic καὶ τε, i.e. καὶ τ' ἀδόκητα? Possibly too the adverb with πέλει is not right. It is certainly unusual and we might read ῥηίδι' ὡς.

8. 17 Αἰγύπτιον τε ἀπὸ σφῶν ἕνα τὸν καὶ περσίζοντα τὴν φωνήν . . . καθέτετε.

Two persons are certainly meant. Perhaps therefore we should read Αἰγύπτιον τε ἀπὸ σφῶν καὶ ἕνα τινα περσίζοντα or ἀπὸ σφῶν

ἐνα καὶ τινα. Coraes τὸν δέ for τὸν καί. Indeed there are many alternatives.

9. 19 τὴν μάχην συμφερομένων.

τῇ μάχῃ? Bekker's <εἰς> τήν involves a hiatus.

10. 7 ἐξητάζετο needs an ἄν.

10. 14 τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καλὸν ἀγαθόν. Probably αὐτὸ δὲ τό.

10. 22 ἕως ἂν τοῦτο γίνηται. ἕως being until, γένηται is indispensable.

10. 30 τῶν σκελῶν δὲ ἄπρακτα σκαιρόντων καὶ εἰς κενὸν ἀερονομούντων καὶ τὴν ἦτταν ἀλύνοντων.

Can ἀλύνειν be properly predicated of an animal's legs? and, even if it can, what is the construction of τὴν ἦτταν? One may conjecture something like κατὰ (or ὡς κατὰ) τὴν ἦτταν ἀλύνοντος or ἀλύνοντι. Possibly ἀλύνων.

10. 31 (almost at the end) The accusative λαβόντα must for grammar's sake be λαβόν.

10. 32 (end) εἰ τὸ διαδρᾶναι με τὴν ἱερουργίαν πάντως ἄφυκτον, χειρὶ γοῦν τῆς ἡύρημένης σοι νυνὶ θυγατρὸς κέλευε.

An infinitive seems lost, 'bid me be sacrificed.' It cannot very well be understood.

More puzzling is the first clause, which my books do not call in question. 'If my escaping sacrifice is unavoidable'! One would think the editors saw no difference between escaping sacrifice and undergoing it. The most obvious remedy is to insert a μή before διαδρᾶναι, but the double-negative sentence becomes extremely clumsy. Who would say that not escaping was inevitable, when he might say 'escape is impossible' or 'death is inevitable'? Can H. have written something like ἀνευκτον, 'past praying for'? διαδρᾶναι seems too apposite to be wrong. But a whole line may have been lost.

H. RICHARDS.

ON OVID, *METAMORPHOSES* XI. 119-124.

gaudenti mensas posuere ministri
exstructas dapibus nec tostae frugis egentes.
tum vero, sive ille sua Cerealia dextra
munera contigerat, Cerealia dona ribebant:
sive dapes avido convellere dente parabat,
lammina fulva dapes admoto dente premebat.

This passage in Ovid seems to be a conflate reminiscence of two passages in Virgil, viz.—

Aeneid i. 173, 177-9:

et sale tabentes artus in litore ponunt. . . .
tum Cererem corruptam undis Cerealiaque
arma
expediunt fessi rerum, frugesque receptas
et torrere parant flammis et frangere saxo.

and *Aeneid* vii. 108-115:

corpora sub ramis deponunt arboris altae
instituuntque dapes, et adorea liba per herbam
subiciunt epulis (sic Iuppiter ille monebat)
et Cereale solum pomis agrestibus augent.
consumptis hic forte aliis, ut vertere morsus
exiguam in Cererem penuria adegit edendi,
et violare manu malisque audacibus orbem
fatalis crusti, patulis nec parcere quadris.

The resemblance of the Ovidian passage to the two in Virgil does not depend mainly on the actual words, but rather on the back-
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ground; and also on the similarity of idea, for which it seems in many cases as if a different verbal expression had been sought. All three passages describe the setting of a meal, which is naturally stated most definitely by Ovid, as in his story there are servants to prepare the royal feast with due attention. For the change of verbal expression by Ovid, compare his DEXTRA contigerat with violare MANU (*Aen.* vii. 114); AVIDO convellere DENTE with (violare) MALIS AUDACIBUS and VERTERE MORSUS (vii. 114, 112).

The resemblance between the two Virgilian pieces is of course much closer than that between them and the passage in Ovid: the latter depends entirely on the chance circumstance of the spreading of a meal and eating; whereas both the former passages follow the description of a landing upon a 'desired shore', desired in the one case as a refuge from the storm, and in the other as a final rest from long wandering by sea. It is worth while to quote the lines coming just before the two passages.—

Aen. i. 168-9:

hic fessas non vincula naves
ulla tenent, unco non alligat ancora morsu.

and *Aen.* vii. 106:

gramineo ripae reliqavit ab aggere classem.

For another place where Ovid seems to have had *two* passages of Virgil in mind, compare *Metamorphoses* x. 11-13:—

quam satis ad superas postquam Rhodopeius
auras
deflevit vates, *ne non temptaret et umbras*
ad Styga Taenaria est ausus descendere porta.

with *Aen.* vii. 312 (for the idea):

flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta
movebo.

and *Aen.* x. 39-40 (a word as well as the idea)

nunc etiam Manes haec *intemptata* ma-
nebat
sors rerum—movet.

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CORP. INSCR. LAT. II SUPPL. 5839, ANTH. LAT. EPIGR. 1113.

qui Tiberina colunt et qui sep]tem ostia
Nil[i,
fulsit et in Grai[s] ars tu]a clara uiris,
dum cithara loqueris septe]m discrimina
uocum
et dulces hilaris d]as fidibus numeros.
at nunc funereo tu]a consona pectine Sexto
fraternos planctus in]cinit icta chelys.

These supplements are Mr Buecheler's, who adds the following notes:

1 s. aliquam feci sententiam cui *ostia* apta essent, comparat Huebnerus Prudentii c. Symm. ii 607 [Gangis alit tepidique lauant septem ostia Nili]. 3 fere sic Orpheum describit Vergilius *Aen.* vi 646 [obloquitur numeris septem discrimina uocum]. 5 *Sexto* nomen proprium credo fratris aut amici qui carmine deflerit citharoedum.

The original form of the piece was much more like this:

septem mundus habet stellas, sep]tem ostia
Nil[us,
est septem doctis Graeci]a clara uiris,
ore sonat cantor septe]m discrimina uocum,
tu, lyra, septenis d]as fidibus numeros,

quos nunc funereo me]a consona pectine
Sexto
tot functo lustris in]cinit icta chelys.

It is no accident that the relics of four successive verses contain or suggest the number seven. The last two lines are the most uncertain, but if I am right the poem is an epicedium on one Sextus who died at thirty-five: compare C.I.L. vi 10097 (anth. epigr. 1111) 19 sq. 'quot meat in stellis Delphin, quot Pegasus ales, | tot mea natales fata dedere mihi.' As to u. 1, the seven planets are coupled with the seven mouths of Nile by Manilius iii 271-4 'oras | quas rigat aestiuus grauidus torrentibus amnis | Nilus et erumpens imitatur sidera mundi | per septem fauces atque ora fugantia pontum'; for Scaliger's interpretation of this passage, controverted by Huet, is established by Claud. Stil. iii 135 'urbi | quae septem scopulis zonas imitatur Olympi.' For u. 4 see Hom. hymn. Merc. 51 ἐπτά δὲ συμφώνους ὅτιον ἐτανύσσατο χορδὰς, Terpander frag. 5 Bergk ἐπτατόνῳ φόρμιγγι νέους κελαδήσομεν ὕμνους, Hor. carm. iii 11 3 sq. 'tuque, testudo resonare septem | callida neruis.'

A. E. HOUSMAN.

NOTES.

BACCHYLIDES, V. 140 sqq. (Ed. Jebb).

καί τε δαίδαλέας
ἐκ λάρνακος ὠκύμορον
φίτρην ἀγκλαύσασα, τὸν δὲ
μοῖρ' ἐπέκλωσεν τότε
ζῶας ὄρον ἀματέραις ἔμμεν.

May we compare here the magic ceremonial of the second idyll of Theokritos, where we learn that the object burned was wrought in the image of the person on whom the magic was to work?

The commentators on Theokritos (*ad loc.*) might have supplied us with an excellent parallel from the 'Story of the Leech' in the *Ingoldsby Legends*, which (ni fallor) is taken direct from the *Gesta Romanorum*, No. cii ('Of the transgressions and wounds of the soul'). A method of divination sometimes practised was known as λεκανομαντεία, and consisted in placing waxen images in a λεκάνη full of water, which became, as it were, animated and sank, thus signifying the destruction of an enemy (Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, vol. i.

p. 177). Consult, for examples from the customs of savage nations, J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*², vol. i. pp. 10 *sqq.* Some further examples are cited in Macculloch's *The Childhood of Fiction* (1905), pp. 197, 8.

E. H. BLAKENEY.

* * *

BACCHYLIDEUM.—A minute error which took its rise in the editio princeps has run through all the subsequent recensions of Bacchylides. I tacitly amended in 1898 the one example which I had occasion to quote (C.R. xii p. 71 *b*), but the correction seems to have escaped notice. In the following passages, ix 39 'Ἀσώπῳ παρὰ πορφυροδίαν, xi 26 'Ἀλφεὶν παρὰ καλλιρόαν, 96 Δούσον ποτὶ καλλιρόαν, xvii 119 νῆα παρὰ λεπτόπρυμνον, the prepositions are falsely accentuated: they must suffer anastrophe and be πάρα and πότι. The contrary error στέροισι τ' ἔμφι at xviii 53, which also I corrected in 1898 to ἄμφι (C.R. xii p. 74 *b*), is now set right in Mr Blass's

third edition by Mr W. G. Headlam, who has similarly amended the βάλωσιν ἔμφι of xix 7.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

* * *

ON HORACE, *Epodes* V. 29-31.

Abacta nulla Veia conscientia
lignonibus duris humum
exhauriebat.

In all editions and translations that I have seen, the first line is taken to mean 'deterred by no scruples of conscience.' I have never read the line in that way, but as I seem to be in a minority of one I propound my view with diffidence. Does it not mean 'excluded from no complicity,' *i.e.* admitted to full knowledge of their nefarious secrets? Certainly there is nothing in the usage of 'abigo'—as displayed in the new *Thesaurus*—or in that of 'conscientia,' to make this interpretation inadmissible. Is it not rather *more* likely that 'conscientia' has this simple meaning here?

W. R. HARDIE.

REVIEWS.

RUTHERFORD'S *A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF ANNOTATION.*

(*Scholia Aristophanica*, Vol. III.)

A Chapter in the History of Annotation, being Scholia Aristophanica, Vol. III. By WILLIAM G. RUTHERFORD, Formerly Head-Master of Westminster. London: Macmillan & Co., 1905. 8vo. Pp. xii + 494. 25s. net.

It is common enough to meet with works of research that are mines of facts uninformed by originality or the generalizing reason. It is common enough too to meet with brilliant disquisitions, ingenious, stimulating, provocative, but unsustained with the solid work of the sapper and the miner. Such work as Dr. Rutherford's is too often a mere matter of desire. Anyone who should pass it by, suspicious of its title and its bulk, as if it were but provender for the grammarian, would miss what will repay study in many other ways. This is no lumber for the shelves of the professional Grecian: it abounds in hints, parallels deftly insinuated, allusions half concealed and half revealed to educational problems of the present day, and to sum up in one sentence the impression it leaves upon the mind, it is a book which every one interested in classical learning, every one anxious for the improvement of education, every one studious of our country's

future welfare, should read himself, should reflect on, and should discuss with all his friends. For it is indeed a notable ingredient that should do somewhat to leaven the mass of thought fermenting to-day in England ready to result in what strange amalgam of old and new, of practical and intellectual, who can prophesy?

Yet the partisan of any view who turns to Dr. Rutherford as to a sure ally will find his hopes surely blighted. Perhaps he goes to canvass this new comer for his vote on the side of Greek and scholarship. It is a wholesome drubbing—if that be not too rude a word for the mellow gentleness of persuasive exhortation which is habitual with the author—that he gets for his presumption. He is told that the Atticists ruined the Greek language, that Greek was made a dead language by the perverse folly which denied cosmopolitan or Hellenistic Greek to be fit for the educated to use, that men live in a gimcrack world who persist in an obsolete orthography instead of spelling as they speak, that it did a vast deal of harm when it was taught that for learning Greek it was indispensable to imitate the ancients, assiduously studying what they had been good enough to write out for others' advantage.

Or perhaps our partisan fondly imagines that one who can deliver such judgments must be zealous of natural science or the modern languages. Bitterly will he be undeceived, when he finds his hero still supposing it to be worth his while to settle minute points of Greek scholarship, absorbed heart and soul in admiration for the Greek point of view, and, if anything, resenting the necessity of teaching barbarians and attributing the degeneration of Greek, of learning, and of thought to the consequent blurring of the Greek view.

The reader will by this time have gathered some idea of the extraordinary interest and fascination the book will exercise over many minds. Yet he must not suppose that it is an illogical or rambling hotchpotch of random notions. It is nothing of the kind, but a methodically developed treatise by a mind not dwarfed and stunted by the drudgery of learning but elastic vigorous and above all original.

It is impossible to do justice within the necessary limits of this review to a tithe of the subjects which it would be a pleasure to discuss with Dr. Rutherford. Perforce, I must almost haphazard select one or two for consideration here.

Dr. Rutherford lays great emphasis on the divergence between the true and original Greek view of style, literature, the written word and the later view. To the Greek, he rightly bids us to impress upon ourselves, ἡ λέξις was the manner of speech into which ὁ καλὸς λόγος refined the fashion of speech in vogue amongst his neighbour Greeks. To the Greek τὰ γράμματα were dead symbols, from which must be recovered the living sounds. There is no doubt that an enormity of misconception has vitiated scholars' judgments solely in consequence of their not adequately grasping with lively imagination what Dr. Rutherford thus insists on. Whole cartloads of foolish diatribe might be shovelled away as rubbish from the studies of theologians, especially those who deal with the Old Testament, if every one of them were compelled to read this Introduction before beginning his proper subject. Yet when Dr. Rutherford goes on to urge that this original Greek view is superior to the later, misgivings arise in the reader's mind. He begins indeed to think that the separation which the author abhors between educated and uneducated may be perhaps theoretically vain in his eyes, yet has never been practically removed by him. Otherwise he would have discovered that the peasant or artisan who knows English alone, is the slave of

ambiguities just as the Greek was. Only the contact with barbarians, the illumination shed by comparison with another not too similar tongue, has ever removed and, it would seem, ever will remove these fallacies and sophisms which bewilder and betray the monoglot. It is this that makes Plato's slighter dialogues legitimately condemned by the modern schoolboy. I myself from boyhood for some years liked no Greek prose style as I did Plato's. But in these more rapid days, it seems as if a Sixth Form boy felt it waste of time to demolish elaborately a verbal quibble—he is rarely amused by it. Historically interesting it may be to assist at the first struggles of the Greek logician to put an edge on his instruments—but a modern boy's verdict on them is uncompromising, that they are puerile. Only such a dialogue as the *Phaedo*, where these consequences of knowing one language only are not apparent, can—and it does so preeminently—overpower and transport his imagination and feelings, to the contentment of the most jealous champion of Plato's honour.

I make no doubt that contact with Rome, with Egypt and the East developed, improved, clarified the Greek's intellect. The subsequent decadence is attributable—at least such a view is arguable—not to that contact which Dr. Rutherford seems to think its almost sufficient explanation, but to the lamentable persistence of dead tradition, which the author also holds to be in part responsible, the barbarian troubles and general insecurity of life, and the blighting doctrine that, all knowledge once scheduled into an encyclopaedic form, no substantial progress in discovery and invention remained for man.

To turn to a very different subject for discussion, the author devotes one of his longer notes to the examination of the evidence for an ordered commentary embracing more plays than one of Aristophanes. Others have concluded that there was evidence for such an order in the annotation of the plays as *Plutus*, *Clouds*, *Frogs*, *Knights*, *Acharnians*, *Wasps*, *Peace*, *Birds*, *Thesmophoriazusai*, *Ecclesiaz.*, *Lysistrata*. Dr. Rutherford has no difficulty in shewing that the evidence is very scanty, and himself concludes that what little there is indicates no order at all. That this is a hasty conclusion, the evidence he quotes will serve to shew. On *Clouds* 239 the *ven.* says ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἔπους φθάσαντι αὐτῷ εἶρηται ἐν Εἰρήνῃ. Again on *Wasps* 61 the *ven.* has κατ' αὐτοῦ (i. e. Euripides) καθῆκε τὰς Θεσμοφοριαζούσας.

φησὶν οὖν οὐ δεύτερον ταντολογήσω περὶ αὐτοῦ. If we take these statements at their face-value and suppose them to refer to the order of the plays in a collected edition, we have two facts, viz. that the *Peace* preceded the *Clouds*, and the *Thesmoph.* preceded the *Wasps*. On *Peace* 92 we read ἐφῆ δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Νεφέλαις, and this Dr. Rutherford supposes to contradict the previously quoted comment. But this form of expression, with no definite word for 'previously' added, seems always to be used when the commentator intends to say that another example will be found in a play later in the edition. If this observation be sound, we have *Birds* 1058 ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν Ἰππείσοι πεποίηκε *Peace* 199 ὥς καὶ ἐν ταῖς Σφηξίν εἴρκεν 432 προεῖρηται (but εἴρηται καὶ *ven.*) ἐν ταῖς Σφηξίν. 756 εἶπεν ἐν τοῖς Ἰππέουσιν *Plut.* 797 καὶ ἐν ταῖς Σφηξίν *Frogs* 567 Κλέωνα εἰς ὃν γέγραφεν τοὺς Ἰππέας *Thesm.* on the other hand 162 καὶ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου δράματι ταῖς Ὀρνισι, καὶ ἐν Σφηξίν (with which a note so near as 168 καὶ ἐν ταῖς Ὀρνισιν cannot fairly be pretended to disagree) *Wasps* 62 ὃν ἐκωμώδησεν ἐν τοῖς Ἰππέοσι. It will be observed that the comment on *Thesm.* 162 agrees with that on *Wasps* 61 if our interpretation of the usage be correct. We should thus get something like the following order for the plays in the collected edition: (*Lysistrata*)¹ *Birds*, *Thesmophoriazusai*, *Plutus*, *Peace*, *Frogs*, *Wasps* (or *Wasps*, *Peace*, *Frogs*, if we do not follow *ven.* at *Peace* 432), *Knights*, *Clouds*. But we have not quite exhausted Dr. Rutherford's list of comments. *Birds* 822 προεῖρηται ὅτι πένης οὗτος he rightly passes by—*Theogenes* was mentioned in *Peace* 928, *Wasps* 1183, the *Hours* as well as *Lysist.* 63. So *Birds* 1296 ὁ Χαιρεφῶν προεῖρηται might refer to any of several non-extant plays as much as *Clouds* 104, etc. or *Wasps* 1408. *Frogs* 932 προεῖρηται he refers to *Birds* 800 or *Peace* 1177—it will be seen how this agrees with our scheme. *Birds* 988 he decides to be in the main a hopeless 'hash,' but εἴρηται ἐτέρωθι of *Knights* 1084 is clear enough. *Clouds* 371 αἰθρίαν ἐν ἐκτάσει καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν παρετηροῦμεν well suits our order for that play, whether the reference is to *Plut.* 1129 or not. *Wasps* 418 ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτου εἴρηται may refer to 42 or to *Birds* 1701 and *Wasps* 1270 προεῖρηται he decides cannot safely be supposed to refer to *Clouds* 109.

There remain one or two undebateable instances, Dr. Rutherford holds. Confining ourselves to those dealing with extant plays,

we have *Lysist.* 801 δύο Μυρωνίδαί ἦσαν ὥς ἐν ταῖς Ἐκκλησιαζούσαις δεδῆλωται, which, he determines, describes a note on the *Eccl.* as antecedent to this on the *Lysist.* Similarly *Peace* 797 καὶ ἐν ταῖς Νεφέλαις δὲ εἶπον, he interprets in a sense opposite to what our theory would require. His view does not seem incontestable and the rule above suggested would still be entirely reconcilable with all these statements. So on *Birds* 750 περὶ ὧν ἐν Βατράχοις ἱκανῶς εἰρήκασι, even if we read εἰρήκαμεν, it may be questioned whether the meaning is not satisfied by supposing in accordance with our suggestion that a note on a subsequent play is referred to. And *Wasps* 496 ἐν Ἰππείσοι εἴρηται περὶ αὐτοῦ and 1206 εἴρηται περὶ Φαύλλου ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαρνεύσιν may support our theory and fix the *Acharnians* to follow the *Wasps*.

Here I must end. How Galen is pressed into the author's service to illuminate Greek life and thought; how the meaning of catechetical instruction is elucidated; how ancient practice warrants the importance of the master, like Dr. Kennedy, giving a a fluent and vigorously dramatic interpretation at the end of a classical lesson, rather than one meticulously faithful but slow and frigid; how scholium after scholium can be traced to a scheme of suitable comment naturally adopted by the professional γραμματικός; how some are due to the desire for dramatic recital, others to the artificial criticism that tabulated the Tropes—still faintly surviving in some grammars—others to the change, decay, or renewed youth of the Greek tongue, yet others to the effort for the instillation into the half-educated of some vigilance for poetical propriety—all this the reader will find with a multitude of illustrations in Dr. Rutherford.

Once the author observes that the fact is certainly odd that the scholia to Aristophanes should seldom refer to the errors of transcribers. But the solution of the problem is not far to seek. The γραμματικός dictated to his pupils what he fancied the text to be—often correctly enough, for he would know the work in the main by heart, and used the script merely to assist or prompt his memory. To this extent I feel less sceptical than the author of the substantial permanence in the century or two after Alexander of the classical texts.

Of misprints I have noted scarcely any: p. 10 note 2, line 13 παροῦσιν must be wrong and presumably p. 68, line 12 ἀνεν τό; p. 64, line 21 read perhaps ἐρίζομένων; p. 415 notes, col. 2 should ἀρρώστου be read and ἀνέστη?

T. NICKLIN.

¹ See immediately below.

TWO TRANSLATIONS OF *LUCIAN*.

The Works of Lucian. Translated by H. W. FOWLER and F. G. FOWLER. 4 vols. Oxford: 1905. 12s.

Translations from Lucian. By AUGUSTA M. CAMPBELL DAVIDSON. London: 1902. 5s. net.

THE first-mentioned translators seem to me to have done their work extremely well. I have tried the book in many places, just reading as in original English for interest and pleasure, and I have invariably found it not only correct but forcible, spirited, and natural, with nothing of the conventional translation about it. The following passage, taken at random from the beginning of the *Menippus*, may serve as a sample:

‘Menippus the cynic, surely; even so, or there are visions about. Menippus, every inch of him. What has he been getting himself up like that for? sailor’s cap, lyre, and lion-skin. However, here goes—How are you, Menippus? Where do you spring from? you have disappeared this long time.’

Οὐ Μένιππος οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ κύων; οὐ μὲν οἶν ἄλλος, εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ παραβλέπω. Μένιππος ὅλος. τί οὖν αὐτῷ βούλεται τὸ ἀλλόκοτον τοῦ σχήματος; πῖλος καὶ λύρα καὶ λεοντῇ; προσ-
ιέειν δὲ ὅμως αὐτῷ. χαῖρε, ὦ Μένιππε, πόθεν γὰρ ἀφίξεις; πολὺς γὰρ χρόνος ἐξ ὅτου οὐ πέφηνας ἐν τῇ πόλει.

Lucian’s style is always simple and easy, but it is with the ease and simplicity of high art, and it is a real achievement to maintain this natural tone in another tongue and for a thousand pages. If it were not for the contents, most of the thousand might be read with little idea of Greek authorship.

And how excellent the contents are! Hardly any classical author, hardly Aristophanes himself, is more entertaining, and even Aristophanes, at least in his extant plays, is less various. Lucian is a Greek Swift and Sterne, a Greek Voltaire, a Greek Heine. He has not Swift’s ‘scorn of scorn,’ the pathos and the poetry of Heine, nor perhaps so much sheer wit as they and Voltaire have, but as much of the comic spirit as any of them, and grace of style equal to any but Heine at his best. Critics say that with unbounded cleverness, like Ovid’s, he lacked a heart and never touches our human feelings. It may be so, but at any rate he did signal service to humanity in devoting his talents, like Voltaire, to the

exposure of superstition, hypocrisy, and shams of every kind. Perhaps he felt more than he allows to appear. In the amusing flippancy of *Candide* who would divine the ardent champion of Calas? who would have read in the naturalistic nastiness of *La Terre* the future defender of Dreyfus?

Be this as it may, no one will deny that he is at least amusing in a high degree. Messrs. Fowler have given us an admirable English rendering of him: the volumes are quite cheap; and, if good literature always sold as it should, they would have a readier and larger sale than many successful novels.

My only complaint shall be that after all we have not got in the new translation all that there is in the Greek Lucian. Besides a bit or two here and there some few things are omitted altogether, either as doubtful in authorship or as difficult to put into a decent English dress. Among others we miss the *Ass*, a work no doubt very gross in parts, which might have been softened or even omitted, but in others innocent enough, throughout very clever, and interesting also from the question about its relation to the famous romance of Apuleius. It is annoying to have *Phalaris* the *Tyrannicide* and the *Disinherited*, and not to have the *Ass*. Where so much is given, one regrets that anything should be withheld, even if its genuineness be very questionable. The English reader may like to form an opinion for himself, and works not genuine may still be of interest. The *Letters* of Plato are probably not genuine, but Jowett would have done better to include them in his monumental *Plato*. We remember too that in Lucian’s own *True History* the spirit of Homer, when consulted, declared that all the doubtful verses in his works were quite authentic.

Miss Davidson has translated seven things of Lucian’s, *Alexander*, *Ῥητόρων διδάσκαλος*, *περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μισθῷ συνόντων*, *Ζεὺς τραγῳδός*, *Βίων πᾶσις*, the *True History*, and the *Hermotimus*; the last a dialogue which in spite of its superficiality should be read by every philosopher as well as by every contemner of philosophy. Much of it was embodied by Pater in his *Marius*. As far as I have seen, the translation is accurate and in fair style, but has not altogether the ease and spirit of the other.

H. RICHARDS.

DOUGAN'S TUSCULAN DISPUTATIONS.

Ciceronis Tusculanae Disputationes. By T. W. DOUGAN. Vol. I. (Books I. and II.) Cambridge: University Press, 1905. Pp. lxiv + 252. 10s. net.

THIS important work must command the respect and admiration of the reader on account of the lofty ideal which the editor has set before him and the astonishing industry which it reveals. Mr. Dougan's object has been to collect the MSS. evidence upon a scale for which it is not easy to find a parallel. In order to appreciate his efforts and to determine what is specially due to him it is necessary to refer briefly to his predecessors. Baiter in the Zürich edition refers to three MSS. only. Two of these, *G* (= Gudianus 294) and *R* (Regius Parisiensis 6332) belong to the ninth century. The third *B* (Bruxellensis 5351) is two centuries later. Müller used no fresh materials, remarking, 'summam esse auctoritatem codicum Gudiani et Regii Parisini constat.' A number of later and inferior MSS. had of course been used by older editors and critics, such as the various Oxford MSS. of which a collection was published in the Clarendon Press edition of Cicero's works at the end of the eighteenth century, the Cambridge MSS. of Davies, and the codices Palatini formerly used by Gruter. These were ignored by Baiter and Müller, the result being that the criticism of the Tusculans rested upon a narrow basis.

A very important contribution towards our knowledge was made by E. Ströbel in his article 'Die Tusculanen in cod. Vaticanus, 3246' (*Philologus*, 1890, pp. 49-64). This MS. *V* like *GR* was written in the ninth century. Some of its readings were sent by Andreas Schottus to Gebhard who was responsible for this part of Gruter's edition, and it was afterwards examined by Gronovius. It subsequently passed into oblivion, and was ranked by Seyffert among the 'codices et aetate et auctoritate inferiores.' Ströbel shews that *V* is most closely connected with *GR*. The most interesting fact about *V* is that it possesses a number of readings proceeding from a second scribe 'der dem ersten an Alter sehr wenig nachsteht' which from internal evidence were clearly taken from a MS. as indeed is attested by a subscriptio *Contulimus*. These readings are of extraordinary merit. Frequently they furnish unique

evidence in support of corrections arrived at by various scholars, while in other cases they support readings otherwise found only in late MSS. I would venture to compare with *V*² the corrections of the second hand (*n*²) in the tenth-century Leiden MS. of the Philippics, Vossianus Lat. O 2 (*n*), which so frequently agree with readings previously known only from fifteenth-century sources. This article of Ströbel was not read by Mr. Dougan until he had himself collated *V* and almost completed his own work.

A second important contribution was made by O. Rossbach in his article *De duobus Ciceronis disputationum Tusculanarum codicibus saeculi noni et undecimi ab editoribus neglectis* (*Philologus*, 1904, pp. 94-103). One of these MSS. had been already used by Mr. Dougan, viz. Mus. Brit. Reg. 15. C. xi. It is styled by him *E*, and is said to have been written at the end of the eleventh century. The other MS. (*K*) is of very great importance. It belongs to the Bibliothèque Communale at Cambrai (num. 842) and like *GRV* was written in the ninth century. We thus possess no less than four ninth-century MSS. of the Tusculans, which is very unusual wealth.

I now turn to Mr. Dougan's researches. Their character and magnitude may be judged from the following statements, which I quote from him.

'I have looked into upwards of eighty MSS. and examined several test passages with a view to ascertaining the value of each. Thirty of these MSS. I have carefully read through and collated in detail. All these thirty are in my opinion worth collating, in some cases for their intrinsic merit, in others for their influence upon the development of the printed text, in others for the light which they throw upon the grouping of the MSS. Some of these MSS. have never been referred to in any edition up to the present time. Amongst these are *K*, *E*, *E*², *B*² and *J*.'

Of these *K*, the most important, was brought to notice by Rossbach. Mr. Dougan can claim *E* for his own. The others, viz. *E*², *B*² and *J* appear to be all fifteenth-century MSS. and only one of them (*B*²) is placed by Mr. Dougan in his first class.

Besides these new MSS. the editor has himself recollated all the MSS. which he uses, except *G*. These he enumerates and describes, pp. xxviii-xliv, arranging them

according to the libraries in which they are found. Thus he refers to 18 Paris MSS., to 13 found in the Vatican, to 16 in the British Museum, to 12 Oxford MSS. etc.¹ He has expended almost incredible labour upon his *Apparatus*, the elaborate character of which may be judged from the fact that on i. 69 three lines are occupied by various ways of spelling *idcirco*, on i. 106 eleven lines are given to variants for *semiesas sireis*, while in ii. 48 we have sixteen lines of variants for *si nihil esset aliud*. The last instance is really remarkable. I cannot sufficiently admire the editor who constructed, the compositor who set up, or the proof-reader who grappled with so brain-splitting a note.

In the presence of such industry I do not wish to be captious. I venture, however, in the interest of the reader to offer a few respectful suggestions, in the hope that Mr. Dougan may be induced in the future to simplify his methods.

In the first place it seems to me a grave defect that he designates all his MSS., both good and bad, by capital letters. The reader requires some convenient symbol by which he can at once discriminate between such first-class sources of information as *GKRV*, and late MSS. tainted by conjecture. As it is, there is nothing to help him. The only thing that he can do, as I know from my own experience, is to hunt through pp. xxviii–xliv, until he finds the particular MS. described. For, strange as it may seem, there is no *conspectus codicum*, from which he may gather such information at a glance. There is indeed a *stemma codicum*, in which the affinities of various MSS. are described, but here only a capital letter is used for the

MS. and it is necessary to resort to pp. xxviii–xliv for further information. Even the *stemma codicum* is difficult to follow, since it is not contained on one page, and the reader has to turn over in order to find the second half.

The first suggestion, therefore, which I would make is that Mr. Dougan should reserve capitals for his first-class MSS. (*GKRV* and possibly some others), and use minuscules for the rest. A further movement towards simplicity would be the use of a symbol to denote an entire family of MSS. Such symbols are to be found on pp. xxvii–xxviii, where he distinguishes between two groups, viz. *a* containing (*GKRV* and others, and *β* containing the very important *V*², and a number of later MSS. Besides *a* and *β* there are a number of contaminated MSS. which might be termed *γ* or *dett*.

Mr. Dougan's method is essentially that employed by Lagomarsini. The learned Jesuit undertook the herculean task of collating all the Florentine MSS. of all the works of Cicero, describing each by a number which afforded no indication of its goodness or badness. Mr. Dougan is concerned with one work only and he has ransacked Europe for materials, but his nomenclature is equally misleading.

Another symbol eschewed by the editor is the common sign *codd.*, where all the MSS. agree in a reading. This leads to complexity. Thus i. 41 he quotes 25 MSS. for the reading *sit*, in his explanatory notes he says that the correction *est* was made by Madvig. Other editors would have said '*est* Madvig: *sit codd.*' which is much shorter. So i. 119 upon *stratum* he quotes 23 MSS. for *statutum*, and says '*statutum non inveni.*' So on ii. 55 I would suggest the note '*lessus cod.*' (1) Mureti: *fletus mei*.' There is a large number of similar passages in which complexity might thus be avoided and space saved.

Mr. Dougan treats his predecessors as he does his MSS. He quotes them on every possible occasion. I cannot feel that this is necessary. If *A* makes any illuminating suggestion, and he is followed by *B* and *C*, I do not think that *B* and *C* have performed any feat worthy of notice. Why should one count the docile sheep who follow a particular wether? Mr. Dougan, however, frequently sets the disciple before his master, e.g. i. 76 'I follow Kühner who adopts the conjecture of Jeep.' Surely this is a *ὑπερπρότερον*.

A noticeable and gratifying point which presents itself to the student is the very

¹ The Florentine MSS. have not been consulted by the editor, which seems strange. A more serious omission is that he has not used a Vatican MS. (Reg. Sæc. 1762), which contains the Excerpts of Hadoardus from a number of Cicero's philosophical works. As this MS., which appears to be an autograph, was written in the ninth century, it must be drawn from a copy coeval with or anterior to *GKRV*. In the Tusculans the MS. from which he took his Excerpts belonged to the *GKRV* class and especially resembled *GR*. Its affinities may be seen from the following minute flaws: 1 § 30 *id enim*] *idem R. Had.*, § 65 *feret*] *ferit GR, Had.*, § 68 *cultum*] *cultam GR, Had.* (a variant of *GR* omitted by Mr. Dougan). Among important readings are 1 § 4 *accenduntur*, as quoted by Augustin and Servatus Lupus (*incenduntur cett.*), *ib. gloriæ* with Lupus (*gloria cett.*), § 18 *vecordes* ^a*exordes* *concordes* (*exordes*, *væordes* *concordesque cett.*) which supports Dr. Reid's proposal to cut out *-que*. I notice a bold variant 1 § 69, viz. *contemplatorem caeli ac dei, utilitatibusque hominis* etc. For these Excerpts cf. P. Schwenke's paper in Philologus, Suppl. B.V. 1886.

large number of cases in which readings arrived at by conjecture are supported, or I would venture to say in many cases established, by the readings of MSS. employed by the editor. This is especially true of V^2 and to a less degree of K . I find the latter MS. very fascinating, since it was obviously copied from a MS. written in capitals. The words in it are very frequently not divided. Thus l. 75 it gives

nequicquam aliud emori, i.e. *nec quicquam aliud est mori* as conjectured by Bentley, where other MSS. have *nec quicquam aliud emori*, or a further corruption. To find such a reading is a real joy. So frequently K has an abbreviation which appears to be the source of variants in other MSS. Thus i. 22 K has *h'* where the other meliores give *haec* (fem. plur.)—a form frequently substituted for *hae* by a blundering copyist (e.g. Rosc. Am. 67 *haec w*, *hae cett. mei*, Deiot. 26 *hae AVβh*: *haec Hag*, Phil. v. 8 *haec V¹*: *hae cett.*). So i. 41 where other MSS. omit *est* after *animus*, or place it before *animus*, in K is found *anim'*, the addition being made in different ink. It is obvious that the abbreviation ÷ was misunderstood by copyists. A specially interesting passage is i. 98, where MSS. generally give *iudicio iniquorum ventos*, which Bentley corrected to *iudicio iniquo circumventos*. The editor remarks that *-rum* must have arisen out of some abbreviation for *circum*. He does not draw attention to

the reading of K *iniquorum ventos* (sup. lin. m. 1), which shows us what this abbreviation was.

It is, however, V^2 which most frequently supplies MS. evidence for the corrections of scholars, as was pointed out by Strübel, who gives a long list (pp. 59. 60).

Mr. Dougan's notes do not sufficiently recognise the significance of this fact. I quote the following out of a large number of instances:

- i. 22 MSS. generally have *tam multa alia meminisse*. Sorof struck out *alia*, so V^2 . Mr. Dougan brackets *alia* in the text, an unsightly device which should be avoided except in cases of real necessity. In the notes he mentions Sorof's reading, adding 'and the latter is the reading of V as altered by the early corrector.' Surely Sorof deserves some praise and V^2 further recognition.

- i. 85 MSS. generally have *honoratus* (*honorat'* K). I quote the editor's note,

'*honoratus* read by MSS. is rejected by editors in favour of *honoratis*, the conj. of Bentley (now found in *V manu secunda*).'

- i. 113 *ut illis praemii* MSS. generally. 'Rath conj. *ut id illis praemii*, which Wes. Em. i. p. 16 approved and Sff. Ml. and Hei. adopt, and this is the reading of V^2 and may be right.' Here the essential point is that V^2 supports the conjecture of Rath. The fact that various scholars who knew nothing about the evidence thought well or ill of it is of no importance.
- i. 116 item Davies: *om. codd. (exc. V²)* 'This reading introduced by Davies as an emendation, is found in V by correction. It has been generally accepted and is probably right.' Surely Davies deserves something more than this.
- ii. 12 '*profiteatur*, so MSS. generally: *profiteatur V²*. Ern. conj. *profiteatur*, which Wes. approved and Kl. adopted.'
- ii. 20 *infixit* MSS. generally: '*infixit*, the emendation of Lamb. is found in M^2 and V^2 by correction.' Here M^2 is a fifteenth century det. and should not be placed before V^2 .

A regrettable consequence of the fact that the Apparatus Criticus is so thickly packed with superfluous matter is that necessary information is often withheld, or that the statements made are misleading.

Thus i. 31 *ut ait ille* in Synephebis. Mr. Dougan notes that *ille* does not occur in any of his MSS. but does not state to whom it is due. It is necessary to refer to Orelli where we find that it was supplied by Wolf. In such cases he generally contents himself with saying *non inveni*, where a very little research would have discovered the author of the reading.

In other cases his Apparatus is very puzzling. Thus i. 4 *aliquot ante annos*, he quotes in his Apparatus 12 MSS. as reading *annos*. In his note he says that several editors read *annis*, but does not tell us if this is given by the other MSS. So i. 7 *operam dedimus*, he quotes 9 MSS. for this reading. In his note he says that Muretus struck out *operam*, but does not tell us if any MS. supports the excision, though he himself brackets the word.

A striking case is ii. 40. Here Mr. Dougan gives after Gronovius *pernoctant*

venatores in montibus, nive (in *nive* Gronovius) *uri se patiuntur*. Various conjectures are mentioned in his note, but the reading of the MSS., *pernoctant venatores in nive, in montibus uri se patiuntur*, is not given either in the note or in the Apparatus.

The editor is very sparing of original suggestions. Apart from the slight variation in the conjecture of Gronovius just mentioned, the only original contribution which I have noticed is a transposition adopted without any MSS. evidence in i. 88, which I do not find at all convincing. A large number of palmary corrections in the text of the Tusculans have been made by various scholars who had very inferior MSS. material, so I cannot help thinking that Mr. Dougan's researches should have been more fruitful. Possibly he has been overburdened by the very abundance of his materials.

In some passages where the reading is doubtful fresh light is afforded by Zielinski's *Clauselgesetz*. I will content myself by mentioning one or two only. Thus in the passage quoted above from ii. 40 the reading of the MSS., *uri sē pātūntūr* gives the objectionable *heroica clausula* (*P*³). This is an argument in favour of Davies' correction *uri sē pātūntūr Īndī* (*vide* *codd.*), which gives *L* iii², as well as, in my opinion, an excellent sense. In i. 73 the editor justly prefers the MSS. reading *in mari immenso nostra vēhītūr ōrātō* (*ratio* *Camerarius*). Here the reading adopted gives *L* 2¹, while *nōstrā vēhītūr rātō* produce *P* 2², an unexampled *clausula*. In i. 59 *quam habet vim aut undē nātūram* yields *V* 1¹, while the conjecture *natam*, to which Mr. Dougan inclines, would give iii¹, which is not frequently used. Similar considerations apply to the *κῶλα* or *Satzschlüsse*. Thus i. 72 the MSS. reading *se totōs libīdīnībūs dēdissēt* produces iii², which is excessively harsh, while *dedidissēt* (*vett. edd.*) gives 3¹, which is normal.

The introductory chapters contain an excellent account of Cicero's philosophical works, the date and sources of the Tusculans, and the argument in Books i. and ii. There is also a useful chapter upon the spelling adopted in the text. I think that Mr. Dougan is somewhat optimistic when he says that the best MSS. 'appear in most instances to preserve the actual forms used by Cicero.' It is a curious omission that he says nothing concerning the forms *-i* and *-ii* in nouns of the second declension. (In the text he prints *-ii*, which is certainly against the evidence of the best MSS.)

The notes are generally excellent and are

enriched with a number of contributions from that great authority upon Ciceronian idiom—whose stores as I know from my own experience are always at the disposal of his friends—Prof. J. S. Reid.

I would conclude these remarks by drawing attention to a Bodleian fragment hitherto unused by editors. It is a single folio containing Tusc. v. 112–120 *-rent ille . . . iudicare*, written in a late ninth-century Carolingian hand. It was bound up as a fly-leaf with Laud. Lat. 29, but its existence was not noted in the Catalogue until six years ago when the Librarian, Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, discovered it and kindly shewed it to me. There are three columns in the page which would indicate that it was copied from a very ancient original. The margins have been cut so that two letters have frequently been lost, and in some places damage has been done by a deep crease in the parchment. So far as I can judge from the scanty Apparatus of Baiter, Orelli, and Moser, it presents an unusually accurate text. I add the following collation with references to the pages and lines of Baiter-Halm's Orelli.

362. 32 in *om.* 34 peregrinabatur 36 Graeciae—formae quae pugna 39 ac
363. 3 dedissent 4 poliphemum 5 immanem—finxisset 7 quem . . . attingeret 11 epicurei nostri 12 omnesque nos in eis 14 serrae 15 grunnitum 20 qui 22 congerantur 23 acerrimis 25 dii 26 ibidem 28 cant^h aridis 29 consecutus es—Persi 30 primo die.
364. 1 haud] aut 4 obtinetur 6 violentiam—ante discedat 8 hyeronimus 9 si his philosophis 11 inanis.
365. 1 putas] vides 2 ab iis 3 obscurentur] obruantur.

On account of the crease previously referred to, I cannot be sure of the reading in 364. 12. The word before *tamen* is thought by Mr. Nicholson to be *id*. In 364. 10 I think that the MS. has *omnesque*. I would notice that in two passages where Baiter's MSS., which he terms C, are corrupt, the Bodleian fragment gives the reading printed by editors, viz. 363. 14 *serrae* (*fere* C), 30 *primo die* (*primordie* C). In 363. 12 *omnesque nos* is printed by editors (*omnesque id nos* C) on the authority of two MSS. of Davies. The most remarkable and gratifying reading is 365. 3 *obruantur*, where it confirms a conjecture of the great Bentley (*observant* or *observent* C).

ALBERT C. CLARK.

PLÜSZ ON THE *EPODES* OF HORACE.

Das Iambenbuch des Horaz. Von THEODOR PLÜSZ. Leipzig: Teubner, 1904. Pp. 141. 8vo. M. 4.

MR. PLÜSZ has asked himself a good question and has found an answer to it which is very likely on right lines, though certainly incorrect in many details. The question is 'What have Horace's *Epodes* in common that they should be collected into a separate book?' And this question may be resolved into two others: (1) 'Why are the *Epodes* written, in the main, in iambic metres?' and (2) 'Why did Horace say, as he did (e.g. *Epp.* I. 19. 25), that he had imitated Archilochus at least in spirit?' Mr. Plüsz's answers to these questions are in effect as follows. The *Epodes* are not lyrics prompted by emotion, but are dramatic and therefore iambic. And, again, they are all humorous—some cynically, some sympathetically humorous—criticisms of persons or situations or styles of composition, and this sarcastic attitude is Archilochian. This thesis, thus briefly put, is surely attractive at first sight, but it requires to be expounded closely and cogently in a complete edition of the *Epodes*, and not in a series of talks about them. Mr. Plüsz's method of exposition enables him to skip small difficulties and, when he encounters a big one, to smother it in words from which he triumphantly extracts a meaning that does not seem to be honestly come by. Moreover, it is essential to Mr. Plüsz's theory that those very ancient commentators who wrote *de personis Horatianis* and knew who Canidia was, and who Bavius and Maevius and who the parvenu of *Epode* 4, were all wrong; and there is a certain natural prejudice against a writer who professes to see jokes that nobody else has seen for about 1800 years. His Latin, one suspects, is apt to be more hasty than that of the dullards whom he wishes to supersede. And, in truth, Mr. Plüsz is capable of some odd translations: e.g. in *Ep.* 9. 19, 20 he thinks that *hostiliumque navium portu latent|puppes sinistrorsum citae* means 'The Roman ships, that used to be so swift to rush into disaster, are now safe in the harbour that used to shelter the enemy's vessels.' Lastly, Mr. Plüsz is not always consistent with himself. He tells us that, for thirty years, he has been contending against the *Realismus* of the philological critic,

which leads to *Materialismus* in the German mind: and his point is that the *Ich* of a poem is not necessarily the *Ich* of the poet himself or of the poet in his actual surroundings, but may be an imaginary *Ich* or the poet's *Ich* in an imaginary situation. His treatment of most of the *Epodes* proceeds from this assumption, but his explanation of *Epodes* 1 and 9 is founded on his belief that Horace did not go to Actium. The fact, if it be a fact, is irrelevant. Horace could imagine himself at Actium and the word *nauseam* in 9. 35 suggests that the *Ich* of the poem was on shipboard.

Yet, when all the faults that justice or prejudice can find are pointed out, Mr. Plüsz's book remains an extremely interesting and stimulating piece of criticism, which ought to be widely known and carefully considered. I can shew this best by setting out briefly his explanation of each poem. I shall not add his speculations on the date, which seem to me highly fanciful and to serve no necessary purpose. He is anxious to assert that the *Epodes* are not all poems of Horace's youth, when he was embittered by poverty and failure; but the customary dating already indicates this fact. *Epode* 2 (for I will follow Mr. Plüsz's order) is a parody of the sentimental talk about country life current about the time of the publication of Virgil's *Georgics*. Its satirical intention is indicated by its being placed in the mouth of Alfius, the money-lender, the most constant of attendants on 'Change. *Ep.* 3 has the same intention, but is more dramatic. Somebody, who does not share the prevailing sentiment, is declaiming against garlic and comparing it to all the poisons of the mythology. Maecenas laughs at his fury and the speaker turns upon him. *Ep.* 4 does not express the opinions of Horace himself, who was the son of a freedman and had been a military tribune. It is dramatic, the diatribe of a crusty old Conservative. Mr. Plüsz's explanation of *Ep.* 5 is founded on an obstinate prepossession in regard to *hostilis domos* of l. 53. He imagines that Canidia is bewitching Varus so that he may, by adultery with some lady of the hostile faction, bring a noble house to shame. (This theory takes no notice of *ad me recurres* in l. 75 or of *amore meo flagres* in l. 81.) Varus suggests Antonius: Canidia suggests P. Canidius Crassus, a friend of Antonius and of Cleopatra. *Ep.* 6 appears

to be a dialogue. A statesman complains of a poet that he attacks harmless people, but is of no help against public enemies. The poet replies. (Here again I see no fair explanation of *me remorsurum petis* in l. 4.) Ep. 7 and Ep. 8 explain themselves, but it should be remembered that the speaker is not necessarily, or even probably, to be identified with Horace. Ep. 9 is a cry of disappointment for that, after the naval victory at Actium, a victory on land did not immediately follow or seem likely to follow. (Then why *terra marique victus hostis* in l. 27?) Ep. 10 is a parody of a propempticon: Ep. 11 a parody of the erotic elegy. Ep. 12 is a sort of distorted elegy, the complaint of the too-much-beloved. Ep. 13 is a comic protest, with parody, against gloomy vaticinations. Ep. 14 is a humorous defence of the elegiac lover, who is again comically presented in Ep. 15. Ep. 16 is 'a political elegy of an ironical, sarcastic, parodistic cast, composed about the time when

Virgil was finishing his lofty song of joy in country life.' In Ep. 17 Canidia is not a real person. 'Horace is trying to represent, with humorous irony, the failure of some enterprise, in which he had taken part, in the form of a parody of a tragic catastrophe.' Ep. 1 is a sportive declaration that Horace, though a very poor politician, was not going to retire to his Sabine farm, but was resolved to stay in Rome and assist Maecenas in his arduous work as *praefectus urbi*. The *navium propugnacula* are not real but only figurative, and the 'epodic' character of the piece lies in Horace's humorous criticism of himself. This summary does not include Mr. Plüsz's criticism of the customary interpretations. They are frequently more cogent than his own alternative explanations, but it does not occur to him that the fault may lie in Horace himself who has failed in carrying out his own ideas consistently.

J. Gow.

HENRY'S *LIVY* XXVI.

Livy XXVI. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Appendices by ROBERT MITCHELL HENRY, M. A., First Classical Master, Royal Academical Institution, Belfast. London: Edward Arnold, 1906. Pp. xxviii + 182 (one map). 2s. 6d.

THIS is a scholarly and workmanlike edition. The notes indeed might be terser (106 pages to 63 of text) and more attention paid to textual difficulties, e.g. at 27 § 16, 31 § 2, 38 § 7 Madvig's emendations should at least have been mentioned. But Mr. Henry's commentary is as a whole pertinent and helpful, and I have noticed few actual mistakes. In 6 § 1 *pro uallo* 'on the rampart' is substantially correct, but *pro* in such phrases means properly 'in front' and is a precious relic of the original adverbial sense of the so-called 'prepositions'. 11 § 12 *error* 'variation.' *Livy* 1. 24. 1 is a nearer parallel for the sense 'discrepancy' than the poetic quotations of T. W. D. (Prof. Dougan). 19 § 11 '*et ipsi*' There is a very similar use in c. 42. 8.' The form of this note is unsatisfactory. For as Mr. Henry has just said that here there may be a lacuna in the text, the similarity must be very hard to prove. In 42 § 8 '*paeninsula excurrit* is *ipse* in quo etc.' the pronoun plays the same sort of rôle

as in e.g. '*Mens cuiusque is est quisque*.' 21 § 10 *Nasum* comes from *Nāso*s the Syracusan form of *Nῆσος*. 35 § 10. '*paraturos*. A question asked in the first or third person usually (though not invariably) goes into the Infinitive in *Oratio Obliqua*.' A good specimen of a useless note. In the future the infinitive is used without exception in all rhetorical questions, as Riemann long ago pointed out. This is by no means the only thing about *Oratio Obliqua* which the authors of current English American and German grammars have to learn. ib. *esse*] 'represents *sunt* "are to be." ' *esse* depends on *posse* like the other infinitives. *elici* in c. 7. 1 is different. 39 § 22 *foribus*. 'Door' and 'gate' are confused (so again at 46 § 6) 41 § 22. If *suboli* was to have a note, it should have been said that its proper meaning 'young shoot' was clearly present to the historian as '*velut accisis recre-scenti stirpibus*' shows. 44 § 5 *qua cuique*. To say that '*cuique* is attracted into the relative clause' is to suggest that it is scarcely intelligible in that clause, which is controvertible, and that it has been moved from the main clause, which is more questionable still. 45 § 3 *caliginem*. In *Plaut. Mil. Glor.* 405 the word does not refer to 'dizziness' as here. 47 § 2 '*captivus*]=*captis*:'

cf. *nastam* = *uastatam* c. 35. 5.¹ The cases are not parallel, for *captivus* means belonging to *capti*, but *uastus* does not mean belonging to *uastati*. 49 § 1 *piget* 'it would be tedious, cf. c. 22. 6 n.' [impudentem esse]. *piget scribere* means rather 'I refuse to write,' *nolo scribere*. 51 § 14 *iactabant* 'threw out sneers.' 'Sneers' is not in the word, which is applied to any free or irresponsible utterance. Mr. Henry's spelling is correct in the main, and as his work is intended to satisfy the needs of both Pass and Honours candidates in the Royal University of Ireland, we must congratulate him on his courage in printing *u's* alone, thus anticipating the recommendation of *The Classical Association* that '*v* and *u* be continued in use to distinguish the two sounds of Latin *u* in books intended *only for beginners*.' He is, unless I am mistaken, the first in his island to shake himself free from the old tradition. Mr. Henry's introduction contains amongst other matter some pages of historical and literary criticism. The analysis of Livy's sources and his methods of dealing with them is sober and sensible; but some other judgments fly wide. From Praef. § 7 'ea belli gloria est populo R. ut

cum suum conditorisque sui parentem Martem potissimum ferat, *tam et hoc gentes humanae patientur aequo animo quam imperium patiuntur*' he infers that 'Livy's patriotism is a mellow and on the whole kindly feeling which, while it honours Rome above every land on earth (praef. 3), *yet feels that other nations have their place to fill*.'¹ What is there in the Latin to warrant the English? What further is gained by saying that Livy, the historian, would have dealt differently with the battle of Actium from Virgil, the epic writer, and Horace, the lyricist? What bearing has 'Vergil's noble picture of the Nile,' *Aen.* 8. 712 f. (which affords more than one indication of being taken from some actual work of art), upon that 'deep human feeling' which is denied to Livy? Mr. Henry takes too superior a tone, when he speaks of the 'somewhat plebeian outburst' of Horace c. i. 37. The victory of Cleopatra's Armada would have meant as much to Rome as that of Philip's to England. Actium was not Mafeking.

J. P. P.

¹ The italics are mine.

BURGER ON MINUCIUS FELIX AND SENECA.

Minucius Felix und Seneca. Von Dr. F. X. BURGER. München: Beck, 1904. 8vo. Pp. 65. M. 1.50.

CLASSICAL scholarship has always been unenviably prolific in certain so-called 'Questions' which chronically or periodically disturb the serenity of philologists. The question as to the Tacitean authorship of the *Dialogus*, it is true, after many vicissitudes, has now been given its quietus and the *Dictys* problem no longer seriously disturbs our reflections; two others, however, have entered the present century with Antaeian powers of invigoration. The 'Homeric Question' bids fair to remain upon the scene, as long as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are read, and a similar perenniality appears to be vouchsafed for the problem, whether the 'aureus libellus' of Minucius Felix antedated or succeeded the *Apologeticum* of Tertullian, with all the consequences which the acceptance of either hypothesis involves.² The great majority of

scholars has been inclined to favour the former view, but since Harnack's³ vigorous and uncompromising advocacy of the latter, I am not so sure but what '*ἐπένευσεν εἰς ἐκείνον ἡ βουλὴ πάλιν*,' for the contingency that both works might after all be strictly contemporaneous and independent of each other has never been seriously entertained by any critic of repute. And yet a plausible case might be made out for this hypothesis, were it my province to undertake this task, for the author of the dissertation under notice does not directly concern himself with this phase of the controversy, and it is doubtless for this reason also that he has refrained from drawing the valid conclusion from his results to which I shall refer at the close.

It is Dr. B.'s purpose to ascertain just what is the extent of Minucius' indebtedness to Seneca, a fact long since universally admitted, but never accurately and exhaustively

'Bibliographie de Minucius Felix' in *Le Musée Belge*, 1902, pp. 216-261.

³ *Die altchristliche Literatur bis Eusebius*, vol. ii. pp. 324-330.

² More than 150 articles have so far been called forth by this short treatise. Cp. J. P. Walzing's

determined. By way of introduction, Dr. B. briefly discusses the well-known attitude of ancient writers generally in the matter of imitating or silently appropriating the works of predecessors. Having thus paved the way for an impartial appreciation of the author, if it should turn out that he had, as in the case of Cicero, also laid Seneca under extensive contribution, he proceeds to compare the Octavius with the works of Seneca under two heads, *material imitation* (pp. 7-39) and *stylistic indebtedness* (pp. 39-59). In each case, however, with an admirable freedom from bias or the desire to prove a preconceived hypothesis—a quality deplorably lacking in most of the contributions to this subject,—he invariably distinguishes between three classes of passages: (1) those, where a reminiscence of Seneca is indubitable, (2) those, where indebtedness is highly probable and, (3) where the resemblance may be accidental, but, in view of obligations previously demonstrated, is not intrinsically impossible. It is clear that the determination of indebtedness to the *thought* of Seneca was by far the more difficult part of his task, requiring as it did a most careful weighing of possibilities no less than a very thorough knowledge of the works in question. The methodical and acute discussions accompanying all the principal passages adduced—many of them for the first time—satisfy all the demands that can reasonably be made upon a treatise of this nature. Thus a work that was worth doing has here been done once for all and done extremely well, the laborious comparison now establishing what had so often, but upon insufficient evidence, been asserted, to wit: that the author of the Octavius was satur-

ated with the thought and to a considerable extent with the phraseology of the writer whose ethical discussions seemed to the early Church to possess so close an affinity to Christian doctrine, as to be explicable only on the supposition of his conversion, a conviction which found a concrete expression in the still extant, apocryphal correspondence between Seneca and St. Paul.

But the result of Dr. Burger's investigation also justifies, as I have said, an important conclusion regarding the controversy referred to above. If an author of the intellectual stamp of Minucius Felix reveals so profound an indebtedness, in form and matter, to two pagan writers, such as Cicero and Seneca, it is all but psychologically impossible that he should have been proof against the overpowering individuality of a 'defensor fidei,' like Tertullian, provided, as Harnack and others so confidently assert, he had the celebrated Apologeticum before his eyes. But the very few alleged parallelisms in thought and phraseology between the two hitherto adduced are either not sufficiently characteristic or else inevitable in the treatment of similar themes. And when it is remembered that the Octavius contains no direct allusion to the Scriptures, no mention of Christ by name, no reference to the Trinity, the Revelation, or any other fundamental dogma of Christianity, if finally we compare the *σωφροσύνη* of Minucius with the 'furor arduus' of Tertullian, it is difficult for a non-prejudiced critic to believe that the fairly conciliatory Octavius was written under the influence of a pamphlet so 'full of Mars' as the Apologeticum.

A. GUDEMAN.

Munich.

PAULY-WISSOWA'S *ENCYCLOPAEDIA*.

Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung . . . herausg. von GEORG WISSOWA. X^{ter} Halbband: Donatio-Ephoroi. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1905. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". 1332 cols. Some Plans in Text. M. 15.

THE tenth half-volume of this great encyclopaedia has the usual number of invaluable articles, ranging from *Donatio* to *Ephoroi*: articles such as those by Reich on *Dreifuss*, Liebenam on *Duoviri*, Skutsch on *Ennius*, Crusius on *Elegie*, Swoboda on *Elis* and

Epameinondas, Büchner on *Ephesos*. It is unfortunate that the remarkable results of the recent excavations have not been published in time to be utilized for the last subject. The editing is conducted with Prof. Wissowa's accustomed care; if we proceed to point out weak spots in it, it is only because we feel that the book is so near being perfect that it ought to be nearer still. We have been more than usually struck in this volume by the prominence which is given to what may be called the agricultural interest. Prof. Olck's articles usurp more space than

seems to be justified. A subject like *Δοῖλοι* has only 5 columns, but *Dünkung* has over 20! *Duracinus* (usually a cling-stone fruit) has 4 columns, *EGGE* (a harrow) over 3, *Ente* nearly 10, *Eiche* 63½, and *Epheu* 20. In the last two cases the mythological importance of the oak and the ivy partly excuses the length of the articles. But, generally speaking, exuberances of this kind, suitable doubtless to a separate book on ancient *Landwirtschaft*, should be carefully pruned away in an *Encyclopaedia*. An excrescence of another kind is a quotation from Livy—whose works are presumably accessible to most users of the *Encyclopaedia*—occupying three-quarters of col. 2529. We have on a previous occasion noted the insufficient numismatic equipment of some of the writers on topography. Here, under *Dora*, nothing numismatic later than de Saulcy is quoted; the British Museum Catalogues seem to be

unknown to those who write on places such as *Emesa* and *Elaeussa*; we are not told that *Eboda* issued coins; and under *Edones* their king Getas, who is known to us by a most remarkable coinage, studied by Babelon in Svoronos' *Journal*, is not so much as mentioned. Doubtless he will find his way in under *G*; but there should at any rate be a cross-reference. It might also have been worth while to include the personification of *Dynamis* on Alexandrian coins. Every specialist is liable to take an exaggerated view of his own subject, and consider it to be unduly neglected. But in the case of sciences like numismatics, which bear on most other studies in an often unexpected way, would it not be worth while to have a bibliography made by some specialist for the purposes of the *Encyclopaedia*?

G. F. HILL.

BURTON ON THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

Principles of Literary Criticism and the Synoptic Problem. By ERNEST DE WITT BURTON. Printed from Volume V. of the Decennial Publications. The University of Chicago Press, 1904. 4to. Pp. 72. \$1 net.

THIS is a work that satisfies more, the more it is studied. The first glance at it may leave the reader repelled by what he will feel to be an insult to his powers of following an abstract or complicated argument. A careful perusal makes him forget his annoyance, and recognise that there is substantial value in the monograph.

The feature which is at first repellent is the introduction of diagrams or graphs to represent the various theories that have been or may be propounded for the reconciliation of the facts exhibited by the Synoptic Gospels. This is a method which doubtless has its uses for certain branches of mathematics and political economy; but when applied for the purposes of making a literary or philosophical argument not obnoxious to confusion of thought, it seems a concession to lazy thinkers such that its extended use would soon lower the average standard of power to reason.

Once the reader, however, has digested his scruples about this innovation, he will find the writer to be a sane and subtle judge of

his subject. He very properly sets forth upon his investigation with the timely remark that 'ever since the days of Augustine or Jerome, not to say earlier, the mutual resemblances of the first three Gospels have been observed, and the problem thus created for the biblical scholar has been discussed.' Then follows a statement of every conceivable hypothesis—with a diagram for each—and a brief discussion clears the ground for the view which Prof. Burton advocates. Here is, perhaps, the one weakness in the work. The arguments used for dismissing hypothesis M (as its diagram is numbered), *i.e.* the hypothesis of an oral tradition issuing in our three Gospels, are not as convincing as they ought to be for the author's purpose. He states that 'it fails to account for the large amount of close verbal agreement which exists between the Gospels'—this must be discounted by the fact that where oral repetition or teaching is greatly used, as in the East, it attains an accuracy inconceivable amongst us and comparable to Lord Macaulay's memory. 'It very unsatisfactorily accounts,' he continues, 'for the remarkable agreement between the Gospels, especially between Mark and Luke, in order of section': the same criticism is applicable. 'It furnishes no explanation of the relatively small amount of agreement of Matthew and Luke against Mark in threefold matter'—a sound

argument, but null against a possible restatement of hypothesis M. That is this. In hypothesis Y, *i.e.* the hypothesis that St. Matthew's Gospel is one combination of St. Mark's gospel with an indeterminate non-extant source, and St. Luke's is another combination of them, we may suppose the indeterminate source to have been oral tradition.

Prof. Burton decides that hypothesis Y is the least inadequate, modifying it, however, by postulating two or more documents for the indeterminate source. It may fairly be urged that he would have very great difficulty in substantiating any claim to superiority in this modified hypothesis over the hypothesis that one or more of these sources were oral. On the other hand (except for certain questions—especially that of the value to be attached to the ancient attributions of the Gospels), the difference between a rigorously accurate tradition orally transmitted to catechumens and a document freely treated is very inconsiderable, if not immaterial.

The reader may like to see Prof. Burton's final list of sources. Of major sources he

distinguishes 1. 'the Gospel of Mark, substantially as we now possess it'; 2. 'the spécial Matthaean source, probably the Logia of Matthew, spoken of by Papias'; 3. 'the Peraean document, consisting of Luke 9⁵⁷–18¹⁴ and 19¹⁻²⁸, portions of it being contained also in the record of the Galilean ministry and passion week of Matthew'; 4. 'the Galilean document found in Luke 3⁷⁻¹⁵, etc.' These, he says, were beyond doubt written. Of minor sources, two only need be mentioned here, *viz.* 'the infancy story of Matthew,' and 'the infancy story of Luke.' This last, he thinks, had existed in writing before.

The monograph concludes with a useful table exhibiting the parallelism of the Synoptic Gospels, and assigning every verse in them to the source the author believes it to be derived from.

The work may be commended as a handy introduction and work of reference for anyone who wishes to begin the study of the synoptic problem for himself.

T. NICKLIN.

EARLE'S MEDEA—A STATEMENT.

As general editor of the series in which the late Professor Earle's *Medea* appeared I desire to assume the responsibility for the disposition of the conjectural readings that was made the subject of remark in the *Review* for October 1905 by the distinguished scholar whose recognition of the substantial merits of that edition would have been a satisfaction to its author, who passed away before the number in question reached America. It was, I have recently been told, Earle's wish at least to insert references to the Critical Appendix in most cases where the MS. reading had been set aside; but with characteristic scrupulousness he chose to reject even these references in his desire to mind the general injunction not to put critical matter into the Notes, which were intended primarily for younger American students, who are not easily induced to believe in the profitableness of textual discussion; whereas the riper scholar would, it was thought, naturally work with the Critical Appendix constantly in mind.

May I take this opportunity of saying something about the career of one who for thirteen years has been a constant con-

tributor to the *Classical Review*? No American student of the classics took a heartier interest in the *Review* than Professor Earle, by whose untimely death, at the age of forty, the United States loses one of its most gifted scholars, and his University one of its most effective and beloved teachers. With the exception of a single year, each volume of the *Review* from 1892 to 1905 has contained some evidence of his studies in Greek and Latin literature, syntax, epigraphy, and kindred subjects. The majority of his papers dealt with the textual emendation or critical interpretation of passages from most of the classical Greek writers, especially the tragedians; others dealt with Appian and Heliodorus; and with Cicero, Horace, Seneca, and Statius.

Professor Earle's youthful career gave ample promise of its later distinction. Graduating in 1886 from Columbia University with high honours, he won the fellowship in letters, one year of which he spent in Greece, where he had charge of the excavations at Sicyon which resulted in the discovery of a theatre and the statue of Dionysus now standing in the Museum at

Athens. In 1889 he received the degree of doctor of philosophy from Columbia, and from that time on was engaged in teaching at Barnard College, Bryn Mawr College, and since 1899 as professor of classical philology at Columbia. Had he lived he would undoubtedly have been elected to the presidency of the American Philological Association for 1906. Apart from his contributions to the *Review* he wrote numerous articles for the *American Journal of Philology*, *American Journal of Archaeology*, *Revue de Philologie*, *Harvard Studies*, and *Mnemosyne*. His chief work was in Greek tragedy, and he published editions of the *Alcestis* (1894), *Oedipus Tyrannus* (1901), and *Medea* (1904).

He was intellectually honest to the core. He was possessed by the scholarly instinct to a very high degree; he took little on authority, and a great name inspired in him no undue awe. Critical in his attitude of thought and refined in his taste, he permitted nothing to pass that seemed to him shallow, pretentious, or frigid. He was a hater of shams, above all of the sham of

half-knowledge. His own knowledge was varied and exact, but he made no display. He was an excellent executive officer, a delightful companion, full of humour and wit that was often caustic. He was a keen observer of nature: he loved the woods and birds.

Love of Greece was almost a passion with him. He wrote and spoke both the literary and popular language of Modern Greece with ease, his facility extending even to verse, which received the commendation of such an authority as Bikelas. He took a sympathetic interest in many of the Greek residents of New York and his keenest delight was to visit the land whose history and people were endeared to him by study and intimate association. His sojourn in Greek lands during the summer of 1905 was destined to be his last. On his return he contracted typhoid fever and died shortly after reaching home, September 26. His short life, filled with devotion to high ideals, will remain an inspiration to the many friends who mourn his loss.

HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

Xenophontis Respublica Lacedaemoniorum.
Recensuit GINUS PIERLEONI. Berlin: MCMV.
Pp. v + 63. M. l. 80.

THIS is another of the careful and useful texts of the *opera minora* edited by Italian scholars, the main features being (1) thorough collation of MSS., (2) complete statement of their evidence, (3) a complete verbal index. In statement of modern suggestions as to the text this, like other parts of the series, is not so satisfactory. Thus in 5. 8 Hug's emendation of *ὡς μῆποτε αὐτοὶ κ.τ.λ.* should have been mentioned, for it or something like it—which had occurred to me independently—is certainly right. In 11. 10 the editor seems not to know Jebb's excellent emendation given in a note to Dakyns' translation. Again, the proposed exchange of the last words of Ch. 2 with the last of Ch. 3 should receive mention, even if it is not thought necessary. The proposal to make a slight change in Diogenes' list of X.'s writings, so that Demetrius would have doubted the genuineness of *R.A.* not of *R.L.*, is put down to Diels. I made it in this *Review* xi. 232 (1897), but perhaps

Diels had anticipated me. It is only surprising it was not made long ago.

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.
Vol. xvi. 1905. Pp. 166. 6s. 6d.

BESIDES a short article on certain MSS. of Suetonius by Mr. C. L. Smith and one of considerable length on 'Theories regarding the nature and origin of Indo-European inflection' by Mr. H. Oertel and Mr. E. P. Morris, this volume contains an essay on the 'Dramatic Art' of Aeschylus by Mr. C. R. Post and a discussion by Mr. K. K. Smith of the use of the buskin on the Greek tragic stage. Mr. Post writes well and with good illustrations both on the general structure of plays and on various subordinate points, especially on Clytemnestra. Here and there perhaps he makes too much of things. *Persae* 134–139 for instance is not a serious reflection on the character of Persian women. Mr. K. K. Smith argues from literature and art that the high buskin was not in use on the stage before the time of Lucian and

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Pollux. Good evidence for it is certainly hard to find, and some of his difficulties are real. But we may point out (1) that a good deal of the rapid movement of actors was not seen but imagined, being indeed often off the stage: (2) that actors and chorus must be kept distinct, as no one supposes high buskins to have been worn by the latter: (3) that after all the difficulties (*e.g.* of kneeling, or lying down, and then rising) were actually surmounted in Lucian's time. Mr. Smith does not question the use at that date of the high-soled buskin, and old, especially Euripidean, tragedies were certainly often played. It is possible however that, just as the stage probably got higher in later days, so did the buskin. Dr. Dörpfeld partly relies upon it to have raised actors above chorus in the absence of a stage. It would be curious if this argumentative resource were taken from him.

H. RICHARDS.

Greek Reader. Vol. I. Selected and adapted with English Notes from Professor von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf's *Griechische Lesebuch*. By E. C. MARCHANT, Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. Pp. iv + 85. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1905. 2s.

THIS adaptation of the Berlin Professor's well known book is an interesting experiment in readers. It includes the following extracts: in Part I some four pages of maxims and anecdotes, 'The Hunter' from Dion Chrysostom, seventeen pages, Alexander's fight with Porus from Arrian, sixteen pages, Strabo's description of Great Britain, four pages: and in Part II 'Hiero's Galleon' by Moschion ap. Athenaeum, six pages and 'Pausanias and Themistocles,' Thuc. i. 128-138. The pieces are not hackneyed and 'The Hunter' is especially attractive; but it is not clear for whom the book is intended. As a 'first reader' it is too hard, and the detailed account of Hiero's monster ship will hardly interest a school boy. The notes are pithy and to the point; but sometimes pass over difficulties, *e.g.* in the last sentence of § 3 of 'The Hunter.' Nor do they

explain 'all words that are not to be found in the small Liddell and Scott,' Pref. p. iv. *e.g.* ἀντιπαραγωγή, ὑδροθήκη and κατεστεγνόμενων. At 28. 22 χειμῶνος ἔμπαλιν ἴσχουσι does not mean the same as the English 'the opposite happens'; but ἴσχουσι, 'restrict' or 'check' sc. τὸ ὕδωρ, is opposed to αὔξουσι in the previous sentence. Σταμίνας (47. 8) and ἰχθυοστροφεῖον n. on 49. 24 are misprints, and πᾶγκαλοι (12.19) is an odd division of a word.

Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus.

By H. A. J. MUNRO. Second edition, 1905. [By J. D. DUFF.] London: George Bell and Sons. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. Pp. xii + 250. 7s. 6d. net.

EXCEPT for the incorporation of three notes on 63. 18, 64. 276 and 107. 7 which Munro published subsequently to 1878, the addition of a few further illustrations taken from a copy in which they were entered by Munro himself, the correction of a few misprints and the inclusion in one or two places of a reference to later discussions dealt with by Munro, this second edition shows no change from the first. The emendations and interpretations have long been known and appraised. It is to their setting that they owe the continued vitality of which this new edition is a proof, to the verve and gusto of their expression and the keen and masculine intelligence which they show in their treatment of letters men and affairs. The editor's strict construction of his task allows the sole remark that perhaps it would have been better to treat the first edition as a document and mark all additions and deviations beyond the corrections of mere errata in the places where they occur: as it is, the difference between the editions can only be ascertained by collating. I should indeed have preferred him to do more. A sketch of Munro's literary career by one so much in sympathy with him and a portrait as frontispiece would have enhanced the value of this posthumous tribute. The printing of the book is excellent.

J. P. P.

VERSION.

THE INSCRUTABLE.

THAT night in dreams that sway
 The soul to shedding blood,
 One hears his own voice say
 In sleep's half-weary mood,
Take down your father's sword and quickly
slide
The blade into his side.

Disguise the seeming guilt,
And bend his fingers round,
And put them on the hilt,
And leave him to his wound.
 In that strange dream until the break of day,
 Asleep the lover lay.

He wakes, aghast ; he strives
 To get the vision hence,
 That into morning lives,
 And fastens on his sense.
 'Tis but a dream, but should her hand fulfil
 His will within her will !

She comes up wild and pale,
 She wrings her hands in pain,
 She utters with a wail—
 'Who hath my father slain ?
 My anguished heart sobbed all night in its
 sleep ;
 I felt it sob and weep.

I saw you while I slept,
 And to my dream you spoke ;
 All night the words I kept,
 I heard them when I woke :
Take down your father's sword and quickly
slide
The blade into his side.

Disguise the seeming guilt,
And bend his fingers round,
And put them on the hilt,
And leave him to his wound.
 O the false voice, that it so true should seem
 In that unthought-of dream !

I hurried to the bed,
 I saw that he was slain,
 I saw the blood was shed,
 I saw the deep,—deep stain.
 His sword was through his side,—thrust,—
 on the hilt
 His fingers took the guilt.'

T. G. HAKE.

Noctem per illam, dum tenent insomnia
 mens unde caedis adpetens,
 suas loquentis audiit voces amans
 sopore semilanguidas.
Tu patris ense deripe atque ipsi citus
mucro latus sine hauriat,
tibique falle rem futuram crimini,
uncosque digitos copulans
inpone capulo diligenter et suo
sic sic relinque uolneri.
 hac totus in quiete tam mira iacet
 amator ad primum iubar.
 somnum metus soluere ; nocturnam procul
 uolt uolt fugare imaginem.
 ast illa lucem non fugit : sensus tenet,
 dirum uigens, expergitos.
 'haec somnia : ' inquit 'sin mihi absentis
 manus
 uolens uolenti pareat.—'
 en, ora uirgo pallida amenti subit
 dolore plangens pectora.
 'quis,' eiulat 'meum quis occidit patrem ?
 heu, nocte tota saucium
 miserae cor aegris sensimus singultibus
 gemitus ciere flebiles.
 deuincta te quiete, te uidi ; tuas
 uoces loquentis audii :
 uox ista tota nocte sopitam replet,
 uox ista somno liberam.
Tu patris ense deripe atque ipsi citus
mucro latus sine hauriat,
tibique falle rem futuram crimini,
uncosque digitos copulans
inpone capulo diligenter et suo
sic sic relinque uolneri.
 o falsa uox, tam uera quae uisa's meo
 incogitata somnio !
 patris uolo ad cubile : mortuus iacet,
 fluens iacet cruoribus ;
 uidi omnia undique inpiantem sanguinem
 latusque ferro saucium.
 adactus ensis ; capulo adhaerescens manus
 sibi ipsa crimen inputat.'

J. P. P.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN ROME.

(See *C.R.* 1905, P. 328)

THE most important discovery that has recently been made in the Forum has been that of a building extending along parts of the N.W. and S.W. sides of the base of the equestrian statue of Domitian. It appears to be posterior to this in date, and consists of a foundation of concrete, upon which rest the fragments of a pavement of various coloured marbles and, above this, a layer of roof tiles, some of which still retain fragments of fine stucco decoration, with indications that the vault of the chamber to which they belonged was of no very great size. Behind this are the foundations of a brick building: two rooms, originally paved with marble slabs, can be distinguished: the site of one of them was, in later days, occupied by the third (reckoning from the S.E.) of the line of square brick bases which run parallel to the front of the Basilica Iulia (*Builder*, Dec. 30, 1905, 693). Comm. Boni inclines to recognize in this the Imperial tribunal of the time of Trajan (see *Times*, Dec. 18, 1905), which he holds is represented in the north-western of the two well-known *plutei* in the Forum, which, there is practically no doubt, depict episodes in the reign of Trajan. There we see almost in the centre of the relief an emperor seated, approached by a woman carrying a child in her arms and leading another by the hand: his chair rests upon a low raised platform which has been taken by Comm. Boni to be an actual representation of the tribunal, its position being fixed by the representation of the arcades of the Basilica Iulia in the background. The view that a tribunal is represented (though not the emperor's tribunal *qua* emperor, but the praetorian tribunal) was brought forward by Gardthausen in *Hermes*, viii. (1874), 137 *sqq.* But Petersen, *Reliefschranken auf dem Forum Romanum*, 6,¹ gives various arguments for holding that the group is to be understood as a 'statuary,' not as a living, group—the raised left hand of the emperor, which we must imagine to have held the sceptre: the position of the woman and children on the podium, the form of the podium itself, which has no means of approach, and finally the fact that the emperor

already occurs on the (spectator's) left of the relief standing upon the Rostra. The contrast between this group of statues and the other figures of the relief was no doubt heightened by painting, the former being represented as of bronze. The group recurs upon some of the coins of Trajan with the legend *ALIMENTA ITALIAE* (Cohen, ii. p. 19, nos. 17–19).²

He concludes by remarking that the group itself is quite in accordance with the canons of Roman art, though its insertion here among those who are listening to the imperial proclamation, who take no notice of it, in a picture of reality to which it does not belong—inasmuch as such a group certainly did not stand in the Forum at that period,³ and perhaps never actually existed there—shows a somewhat uncommon, half-imaginary treatment.

To these arguments I may add (see my letter in *Times*, Jan. 12, 1906) that in the companion relief one scene only is represented, and, as there is no solution of continuity in the background, it is hard to suppose that there can be two here: that the passage of Pliny (*Panegyrr.* 36) upon which Comm. Boni relies as additional evidence cannot bear the sense he wishes to put upon it, referring, as it does, to Trajan as a party to a suit before a tribunal, and not as a judge seated on it—'at fortasse non eadem severitate fiscum quam aerarium cohibes: immo tanto maiore, quanto plus tibi licere de tuo quam de publico credis. Dicitur actori, atque etiam procuratori tuo, "in ius veni, sequere ad tribunal." Nam tribunal quoque excogitatum principatui est, par ceteris, nisi illud litigatoris amplitudine metiaris . . . Eodem foro utuntur principatus et libertas. Quae praecipua tua gloria est, saepius vincitur fiscus: cuius mala causa nunquam est, nisi sub bono principe.'

Even with regard to the buildings represented in the background, Petersen has shown (*op. cit.* 10 *sqq.*, cf. *Röm. Mitt.* 1897

² It was neglect to notice this fact that led to my adopting Mr. Stuart Jones' otherwise probable suggestion that Nerva may be represented in the relief as founder of the *institutiones alimentariae* which Trajan did so much to extend (*Times*, Jan. 12, 1906). The group which appears upon a coin of Nerva of 97 A.D. (Cohen, ii. p. 12, no. 142) seems to differ slightly.

³ It is never mentioned: cf. also Plin. *Panegyrr.* 59 'cum arcus, cum tropaea, cum statuas deprecariis.'

¹ Reprinted from *Festschrift für A. von Oettlingen*, 1897

327), as against, for example, Nichols (*Roman Forum*, 70), that, if the fig-tree and the statue of Marsyas stood in a line running from N.E. to S.W., there is nothing in their position on the reliefs irreconcilable with the idea that one side of the Forum is represented upon each. Whether they did or did not there is no evidence to show: both, we know, were 'in foro' or 'in medio foro'—if indeed we do not suppose the fig-tree to be that of the comitium (*C.R.* 1904, 330).

Excavations are also going on in other parts of the Forum, notably in front of the temple of Julius, and also close to the Arch of Tiberius, where the clearing out of an archway built of large blocks of stone, and of somewhat curious shape (narrowing like a funnel) has shown that it belongs to a drain, blocked up by the foundations of the Arch of Tiberius, and by another drain following the line of the Vicus Iugarius, and that its shape is due to the fact that it was intended to receive the contents of two drains which joined at an acute angle. A block of stone in the centre of it probably served to hold a sluice, in case one or other drain had to be closed. The drain contained fragments of pottery, coins of Augustus and Tiberius, etc. Just to the W. of the north-westernmost of the two Trajanic reliefs are three slabs of travertine which are better laid than most of the pavement of the area of the Forum, and appear to be *in situ*. Two of them show the traces of bronze letters 41 cm. high embedded in the pavement, which recent cleaning has rendered clearly visible, though they do not seem to have been noticed previously. L·NAEVIVS is all that is at present preserved: but portions of other letters may be seen on some slabs about 12 feet further to the S.W. after an interval in which the pavement has disappeared. The lettering might well belong to the beginning of the first century A.D.: whether the L. Naevius mentioned is to be identified with either of the two L. Naevii Sordini, the older, *triumvir monetalis* about 15 B.C., the younger *praetor inter cives et peregrinos*, and consul *suffectus* in 30 A.D. (Dessau, *Prosopogr.* ii. 397) is naturally uncertain. In any case, this portion of the pavement of the Forum is of a much earlier period than the rest. Richter (*Topogr.* 101) says 'Das Pflaster von Travertinplatten, welches jetzt noch auf der Area des Forums liegt, stammt natürlich aus der spätesten Zeit des Altertums.'

Professor Hülsen has published in *Römische Mitteilungen*, 1905, 1–119, a con-

tinuation of his report on the Forum excavations, dealing with the work from the spring of 1902 up to the end of 1904. This, like his first paper, will rank among the most important contributions to the literature of the subject.

On p. 11 he shows that, while the Graecostasis of the Republic undoubtedly stood not far from the old Rostra (*C.R.* 1901, 88), there is no room for the Graecostadium¹ of the imperial period near the newer Rostra, and points out that the order in which the buildings of the eighth region are named in the Notitia would indicate that it lay S.W. of the Basilica Iulia.

On p. 16 *sqq.* he examines and rejects Richter's new identification of the hemicycle (the so-called Graecostasis of the Republic) with the Rostra of Caesar (see *C.R.* 1904, 140, where I should perhaps have given more weight to the objections I myself raised in *C.R.* 1901, 88). He concludes that the marble decoration of the front of the hemicycle belongs to the time of Septimius Severus (the hemicycle itself having been cut out of a solid mass of concrete which originally ran as far as the brick wall parallel to the front of the Rostra of *opus quadratum*), though he considers that the curved flight of steps at the back forms part of the original approach to the Rostra.

The whole question will, however, be re-opened by Prof. Mau in a forthcoming number of the *Römische Mitteilungen*, where he will maintain the identification of the hemicycle with the Rostra of Caesar and its priority in date to the Rostra of *opus quadratum*; and it will therefore be well to wait until the appearance of his article before committing oneself to any more definite statement.

Pp. 29–46 are devoted to an examination of Studniczka's and Petersen's theories as to the monuments adjoining the Niger Lapis (*C.R.* 1904, 140; 1905, 77). Hülsen rightly points out that the wall which forms the front of Petersen's *suggestus* (which is that described by Delbrück)² is similar in structure to the sides of some of the archaic drains which have been found on the Clivus Capitolinus and elsewhere, and that Delbrück has not chosen the best specimen for illustration, inasmuch as at the point drawn by him there is a change in the height of

¹ It seems to have been a building of some size: we hear of its restoration by Antoninus Pius after fire, and of its burning in the fire of Carinus (*Hist. Aug. Vita Pii*, 8; *Chronogr.* a. 354, p. 148, ed. Mommsen).

² *Apollontempel auf dem Marsfelde*, 11 and Taf. ii. 1.

the courses (the only one in the whole length of the wall as preserved) due to the fact that the wall was built in two sections. He then conjectures that the position of the front of the pre-Caesarian Rostra may be indicated by a slightly curving drain, which runs almost parallel to the curve of the Republican *suggestus* of Petersen. He refuses, however, to accept the latter's theory as to the existence of a *suggestus*, or Rostra in the wider sense, and of a small platform upon which the actual speaker stood—both on grounds of constructional detail, and because the Republican Comitium, if enclosed by the semicircular flight of steps suggested by Petersen, becomes far too small.¹

Petersen's interpretation of *cornua* is, in his opinion, unnecessary (cf. Plin. *epist.* vi. 23 in *cornu porticus* and Winnefeld in *Jahrbuch des Inst.*, (vi) 1891, 204). He continues to hold (p. 43) to his original idea that the black marble pavement is the work of Maxentius. The main argument against this is its supposed connexion (*C.R.* 1904, 140 *fin.*) with the travertine pavement of the Caesarian period. This was noted by Petersen and further urged by Studniczka: but the theory of the former, that it was originally wider on the S.E. side, so as to make it symmetrical by giving it a band of broader slabs all round, or even enough slabs to make it come in front of the centre of the Curia Iulia (Comitium, Rostra, *Grab des Romulus*, 9 *fin.*, 11 *init.*) sharply contradicts the arguments of the latter as to its connexion with the earlier travertine pavement on this side at least.²

And, of course, the fact that no mention whatsoever of the 'tomb of Romulus' as existing occurs in the literature of the whole Imperial period is a very strong argument on the other side; though we still have to account for the existence of chips of this not very common black marble

beneath the level of the latest Republican pavement of the Comitium (*C.R.* 1904, 140 n. 5), and in the concrete of the cuniculi (Hülsem, *infra*, 66 n. 1).

A very careful study of the whole group of monuments has been made, too late to be noticed in Hülsem's article, by Pinza, *Il Comizio romano nell'età repubblicana* (reprinted from *Annali della Società degli Ingegneri ed Architetti Italiani*, 1905, fasc. 2). The details are more minutely dealt with than in preceding publications. He takes over Petersen's theories as to the two *suggestus*, but, noting the fact that the Comitium is thereby made too small, supposes that the part preserved is only the left wing of a much larger edifice than that imagined by Petersen, the central portion of which, the Rostra proper, rectangular and facing N.W., preserved the same form in both periods of its existence, and extended almost as far as the N.W. side of the Arch of Severus, while the right wing had the same form as the left, and thus enclosed the Comitium symmetrically.

With regard to the dating of the various remains, he is able to make a certain advance. His first period, A, is merely preliminary: to the second, B, belongs the pavement of slabs of tufa of his first *suggestus*, upon which the inscribed cippus stands. The cippus has, as he notices, probably been slightly turned from its original orientation in accordance with this pavement, and a pavement at a higher level has been put round it (B'). Just above the level of the Comitium of this period, which had no artificial floor, was found the stratum of tiles, believed by Boni to belong to the Curia, and to lie as they fell, but which Pinza supposed to have been spread as part of the foundation for the rammed tufa floor of the Comitium of period C—that of the second *suggestus* (Petersen's first) with a straight line of steps at the back. Upon one of these steps rests the base of the conical pillar, formed of four³ separate blocks of tufa, and not, as Studniczka asserts (*op. cit.* 135) on Delbrück's authority, a slab of travertine. The so-called 'tomb of Romulus' with the altar or shrine behind it, on the other hand, belongs as it stands (it has possibly taken the place of something earlier and differently orientated) to the third (Petersen's second) *suggestus* (period D) with the curved steps. Pinza is able to trace what appear to have been slight modifications in the front of the third *suggestus*, though in the main it

³ Possibly three, but certainly not less.

¹ He points out that if the tomb of Romulus is placed exactly in the centre of the semicircle, and not approximately so, as in Petersen's plan, matters become still worse. I may add that one would surely suppose that the straight ends of the curve ought to be in the same straight line, i.e. parallel to the front of the Curia, which, again, would tend to reduce the space available. It is difficult, too, to believe that the actual platform on which the speaker stood could have been so small as, if his view be accepted, it must have been—cf. the objections of Hülsem and Studniczka (the latter in *Jahreshefte des Oesterr. Instituts*, 1904, 241).

² This is a point that Hülsem does not make. Studniczka supposes that it originally extended further *not* on the S.E. (generally known as E.) side but on the S.W. (generally known as W.), and Hülsem does not seem to distinguish his view from that of Petersen (*Jahreshefte* 1903, 129 *fin.* 130 *init.*).

followed the course of the second. In both these later *suggestus* the monuments round the cippus were left in an open space enclosed by walls,¹ sunk below the level of the floor of the *suggestus*, whereas the cippus stood on the level of the floor of the first *suggestus* (B).

During all these various periods, according to his view, the orientation of the Curia never changed, and was identical with that of the present building. The tufa steps in front of the latter led up, during period C, to the terrace in front of the Curia, while in period D they, or at any rate the small part of them now visible, were no longer in use as steps, as there had been imposed on the highest of them a row of blocks of tufa of a later period, one of which has considerable bossing.²

In front of it, and parallel to it, at a distance of some 75 feet,³ he places the Rostra proper.⁴ The orientation and position are for him fixed by a small portion of the N.W. edging of the paved area of *suggestus* D, which is also shown by Petersen. Both these writers omit in their plans the 'pozzo rituale' (iv) in its immediate neighbourhood, while in Hülsen's plan (*op. cit.* pl. II.) the orientation of this edging is not quite correctly given: it should be parallel to the N.W. side of the 'Lapis Niger,' i.e. at right angles to the present Curia. Another pavement of gray tufa was superposed on it, two or three blocks of which remain (p. 40; cf. Hülsen, *op. cit.* 34) with circular cuttings in them.

Period E is represented by the fine travertine pavement of the Comitium, orientated on the points of the compass,⁵ a fragment of which is seen near the front of the Curia (*C.R.* 1900, 237). When it was laid the *suggestus* as such practically ceased to exist, and the whole level of the Comitium became uniform, the stele and the monuments round

it being buried by the deposit which in the original reports figured as the 'stipe votiva.'

Period F, finally, is that of the Curia Iulia, which returned to the original orientation of the travertine pavement corresponding with it, and of the *niger lapis* in its present position—for as to the original date of the *niger lapis* Pinza agrees with Studniczka (*C.R.* 1904, 140, n. 5.). In the description of details Pinza seems, as I have shown, to make some advance on previous writers, but his dating of the various periods cannot be called altogether felicitous. That of B between 449 and 447 B.C. relies too much on the details of the traditional history of this early period: that of C after the invasion of the Gauls may be accepted as probable (cf. Hülsen, *op. cit.* 43); but that of D in the last century B.C. (into which fall also E and F, not incorrectly—*C.R.* 1905, 77) rests upon the supposition that Varro (*apud* Aul. Gell. xiv. 7. 7), when he says *et in curia Hostilia et in Pompeia et post in Iulia, cum profana ea loca fuissent, templa esse per augures constituta*, is referring to the same building all through under the names which it acquired from its different builders—in other words, that the Curia proper was at one time known as the Curia Pompeia, from restorations in the time of Sulla⁶ undertaken by a member of the Pompeian gens!

With regard to many of these points, however, further discussion is not likely to be very profitable until the excavations have been continued.

Petersen has boldly attempted to tackle problems which others had been content to leave alone, but he emphasizes the need for further exploration, and Hülsen and Pinza do the same. Again, the small errors which are to be found in the various descriptions and plans which I have discussed are only worth noting in the absence of an adequate account of the excavations as far as they have gone, both of those monuments which have been completely brought to light and of the objects found in the course of the work. Until this appears, the formation of theories is somewhat dangerous, as they are exposed to the risk of being upset by some essential fact that could not have been known to their proposers.

The rest of Prof. Hülsen's article deals

⁶ The three passages he cites for these restorations (*Dio Cass.* xl. 49, xlii. 18; *Appian, Bell. Civ.* i. 97) prove nothing. The first describes the burning of the body of Clodius and of the Curia with it, the second the removal of the statue of Sulla from the rostra after the battle of Pharsalus, and the third the erection of this statue.

¹ On p. 22 (cf. 27) he identifies as a part of a balustrade enclosing this space on the Comitium side, a slab which he describes as of tufa (m in his Fig. 5 and Pl. I.) which seems to be undoubtedly of travertine.

² This point is missed by Petersen (*op. cit.* 14). The extremities of two other blocks are visible—one was certainly bossed, while of the other very little remains.

³ It is much more than a pity that none of Pinza's plans are provided with a scale.

⁴ It is a question how far his theory will agree with the tufa foundations—not now so easy to study as when first excavated (*C.R.* 1899, 233)—which lie immediately to the S.E. of the arch of Septimius Severus, and of which no plan has yet been published.

⁵ In this period alone the orientation of the Curia was changed, according to Pinza's theory.

mainly with discoveries which I have already from time to time reported in the *Classical Review*. He is not certain (p. 59 sqq.) as to the original position of the inscription in honour of Lucius Caesar which still lies in the Basilica Aemilia (C.R. 1899, 465) but notices that the inscription C.I.L. vi. 3747=31291 is entirely similar to it in size and character and certainly came from the same building. He therefore restores it as follows :

Imp. C[æsari divi iuli f.]
 Augu[sto pont. max. cos. xiii]
 trib. [pot. xxi pater patriæ]
 pleps [omnis urbana xxxv tribuum]

remarking further that *pater patriæ* in l. 3 is a necessary supplement to fill up the line, and that, as the title was given on Feb. 5 in 2 B.C. (the date of the inscription of Lucius) there is probably some connexion with this circumstance. We must then suppose that the lost inscription to Gaius Caesar was dedicated by the *equester ordo* (cf. Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 121).

On p. 72 he treats as highly probable the identification of the base of the equestrian statue of Domitian.

With regard to S. Maria Antiqua, it should be mentioned that the publication of the frescoes has been undertaken by Mgr. Wilpert, whose *Pitture delle Catacombe Romane* will be well known to all students of Christian antiquities.

A further report on the discoveries in the pre-historic necropolis has recently appeared (*Not. Scav.* 1905, 145-193) making the fourth of the series: but at least two more will be required before the publication of the results of the explorations there, so far as they have gone, is complete.

Hülsen (p. 95 sqq.) gives a full account of the finds, classified according to material and technique, and concludes (p. 114) that the tombs (with the exception of E and F, which belong to a later period, and lie at a much higher level) contain nothing that can be later than the sixth century B.C., while the native pottery, which occurs in them in large quantities, should be assigned to the eighth or seventh century B.C. at latest. He notices (1) that the doors of the hut urns face the Esquiline, as if the necropolis belonged to the 'Septimontialstadt' rather than to the original Rome on the Palatine (2) that the sixth century B.C., when the cemetery ceased to be in use, is exactly the period in which our literary tradition places the building of the Cloaca Maxima, before

which the Forum valley must have been a marsh and quite useless as a market.

In other parts of Rome I may notice (1) the recent discoveries in the gigantic necropolis to the W. of the Via Salaria (*Papers of the British School at Rome*, iii. 11; cf. *Not. Scav.* and *Bull. Com.* passim). A terracotta plaque found in one of the tombs, with a relief representing the stage of a Greek theatre, with a tragedy in course of performance, is published by Rizzo in *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Instituts*, viii. (1905), 203 sqq. and pl. V. (2) the excavations in the Catacomb of Commodilla (*Not. Scav.* 1905, 102 sqq.), while (3) the construction of an electric tramway to the Alban Hills has given rise to the finding of remains of some importance (*Not. Scav.* 1905, 72; *Bull. Com.* 1905, 129 sqq.), which may be best described in detail on another occasion.

From two cases which have recently occurred it would seem that greater care should be observed in the publication of supposed new discoveries in the *Notizie degli Scavi*. One of these, pointed out in the *Papers of the British School at Rome*, iii. 20, has already been seen to be no novelty after all (as I notice *ibid.* 208—see *Not. Scav.* 1905, 39); but another new discovery has just been announced, which is even less of a novelty than the first. I allude to the sarcophagus of Aurelius Vitalio, described, with the tomb which contains it, in *Not. Scav.* 1905, 202. The inscription has, however, been published in C.I.L. xiv. 2327, and was first copied in 1822: while of the tomb itself two plans have appeared in Angelini and Fea, *Via Appia* (Rome, 1828) Pl. 19, and in Canina, *Edifici*, vi. Pl. 60: cf. *Mélanges de l'École Française*, 1903, p. 396, no. 41.

THOMAS ASHBY, JUNIOR.

The first open meeting of the British School at Rome for the present season was held on Thursday, Jan. 4th, in the library of the school.

The Assistant-Director (Dr. T. Ashby, Jun.) read a paper on *Sixteenth century engravings in relation to classical sculpture*, pointing out the importance of the subject with reference to the catalogue of the Roman municipal museums which the School has in preparation, and illustrating his remarks by the exhibition of several engravings, especially of a group relating to the Laocoon, in which successive restorations can easily be traced. He also dealt with the collections of engravings dealing exclusively with sculpture,

which began with the first edition of the *Antiquarum Statuarum Urbis Romae Liber Primus* of De Cavalleriis (before 1570). He then exhibited a copy of the first edition of the well known woodblock view of Venice in six sheets, bearing the date 1500, the authorship of which has not as yet been ascertained, though the attribution to Jacopo de' Barbari seems to find most favour.

Mr. A. J. B. Wace, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, Librarian of the School, then dealt with a group of historical reliefs, two portions of which are in the Louvre and a fragment in the Villa Medici, while the rest seem to be lost. He was able, by the combination of 16th century drawings and notices, to trace their discovery back to 1540, in which year they were found in Trajan's Forum, where they probably formed a part of the decoration of the N.E. hemicycle, or of the colonnade on that side of the Forum. They were in the possession of Prospero Boccapaduli, who was in charge of the building of the Palazzo dei Conservatori from 1555 until its completion in 1568, and died in 1585. After his death they were very likely sold and the two largest portions preserved passed into the Villa Borghese, and thence, at the end of the 18th century, to the Louvre. The fragments belong to two different representations, and to two different periods—one part probably to a representation of the *nuncupatio votorum* of Trajan before the Dacian campaigns, and the other to the Parthian triumph of M. Aurelius and L. Verus in 166 A.D.

Professor Hulsen briefly congratulated Mr. Wace upon his discovery.

The meeting was well attended, the British Ambassador (Sir E. H. Egerton, G.C.M.G., a member of the Managing Committee of the School) being among those present.

TRIREMES.

MR. TARN says (vol. xx. p. 77) that two points of mine (vol. xix. p. 466) are not well founded. He asserts:—

'The Athenian lists do not shew that the Athenian triremes had 62 thranite, 54 zugite, and 54 thalamite oars. They perhaps shew that, during the few years they cover, no trireme had *more* oars of each class; they do not shew that no trireme had less, or that all were in use at once.'

Pay was provided for 200 men on every trireme.¹ This seems to show that, in

¹ Thus in Thucydides a talent a month a ship (vi. 8) makes a drachm a day a man (vi. 31), and in

giving 200 oars to a trireme,² the lists are giving the regulation number. Moreover, the lists deal with sets of oars (*ταῖποι*) for triremes on the basis of all the triremes being alike.³

He also asserts:—

'And the Acropolis relief and the Trajan's column relief do *not* shew an arrangement in *quincunx*, as anyone can see by looking at them. The quincunx is Mr. Torr's own idea of what these reliefs ought to shew.'

As vessels are depicted with two tiers of oars arranged in this way:'. . .', one would expect to find vessels with three tiers of oars arranged in this way:'. . .'. And that is precisely what one finds on Trajan's column, if one does not overlook the fracture that fixes the position of the second of the thalamite oars, now broken off.

As for the Acropolis relief, it is quite beyond dispute that the tholes of the thranite oars are vertically above the port-holes of the thalamite oars. The port-holes of the zygite oars are hidden by the projecting gunwale; but it is clear that they are approximately in the positions that would complete the quincunx.

Mr. Tarn says of Trajan's column:—

'Supposing this monument to have any bearing at all on the oarage of a trireme, it also shews a trireme to have been an open boat with eight rowers a side; which is absurd. It cannot therefore be evidence for anything connected with a trireme.'

The sculptor had to deal with a corkscrew relief at a very great height above the eye, the trireme being more than halfway up the column. And he did the right thing, namely, seized the essentials and made them very clear, and then indicated the remainder as best he could in the space at his disposal.

The sculptor depicted a number of vessels with two tiers of oars, and one vessel with three tiers; and on this vessel he depicted the admiral's lantern.⁴ He thus brought out the fact that there was a trireme as flagship to this fleet of biremes; but the size and the position of the relief made it impossible for him to give a detailed study of the ship and all its crew.

Cecil Torr.

Xenophon (*Hell.* i. 5) thirty mnas a month a ship makes three obols a day a man.

² The 200 oars were 62 thranite, 54 zygite, 54 thalamite, and 30 perineoi.

³ See, for instance, *C.I.A.* vol. ii. no. 808, col. b, ll. 11 ff.

⁴ For the admiral's lantern see Xenophon, *Hell.* v. 1. 8; Diodoros, xx. 75; Appian, *de bel. civ.* ii. 89; Livy, xxix. 25; Procopios, *de bel. Vand.* i. 13.

SMITH'S CATALOGUE OF BRITISH
MUSEUM SCULPTURES.

A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum. By A. H. SMITH, M.A. Vols. II. and III. London: 1900 and 1904. 8½ in. x 5½ in. Pp. ix + 264, xii + 481. Pls. XXVII. and XXIX. 3s. and 7s. 6d.

THESE volumes conclude Mr. A. H. Smith's excellent catalogue; and we have now for the first time a complete catalogue of the ancient sculpture in the national collection. The old Guides to the 'Graeco-Roman Sculptures' only contained about a third of the numbers we find in the corresponding part of the new catalogue, while a great part of the collections, including many of the most interesting series, was left out altogether. Moreover, even in the case of works already described in the old Guides, the descriptions all required revision from a more modern standpoint. There are two main questions to be decided by the writer of a modern sculpture catalogue; the first is the number and character of the illustrations that he can provide; the second the extent to which he allows himself to be drawn into controversial discussions. As regards illustration, Mr. Smith has steered a middle course. In the third volume, which is more or less miscellaneous, he has managed, by the plates at the end or the outline blocks in the text, to illustrate something like a fifth of the numbers. This is adequate for certain classes of objects, though in some cases we could have wished for more. A practice especially to be commended is the reproduction of ten or twelve objects together—mostly heads—on a single process plate. The scale is fully adequate for recognition of the type—which is all one can expect from a catalogue; while those who wish to make a more careful study will find trustworthy guidance for any attempt to obtain more detailed illustrations. In the second volume, which deals more with well known series such as the sculptures of the Mausoleum and the Nereid Monument, full illustrations are already accessible, and so would be superfluous in the catalogue; but more blocks or small photographs of the miscellaneous antiquities would be a desirable addition. A very useful feature in this volume is the reproduction of restorations of the buildings concerned, whether conjectural or actually mounted in the Museum. The chariot group of the Mausoleum, for instance, affords an

excellent opportunity for the reader to judge for himself of the relative proportions of the chariot and the figures; the eight restorations of the Mausoleum, placed side by side in one opening, are also most convenient and instructive. On the other hand, it seems a pity that Sir C. Fellows' restoration of the Nereid Monument, which is admitted in the text to be wrong, should be given instead of Falkener's more correct attempt, with six instead of five columns on the sides.

As to the text of the Catalogue, those acquainted with Mr. A. H. Smith's work will not need to be told that he is always concise, clear, and exact. He is obliged in many cases to discuss disputed problems or to summarise controversies; but this is always done with judicial impartiality, and, even where a definite decision is given, the rejected view is always fairly stated, as in the case of the presence of Mausolus and Artemisia in the chariot. Perhaps some would prefer to see more prominence given to recent theorising as to the school or artistic affinities of particular statues; but they can hardly complain so long as a reference is always given, and a quotation often made, even if not approved. Perhaps the most extreme example of this is in the discussion of the Aberdeen head; the rejection of the view that it is an original by Praxiteles will be approved by many critics; but the discussion of the question is somewhat curt and unsympathetic, especially in its treatment of the view that the head is a young Heracles—surely an essential part of the Praxitelean theory. Here, however, also the reference to the literature will give the student an opportunity to judge for himself. It might have been possible to make the catalogue more interesting; but only at the expense of the qualities in which its chief virtue consists. These qualities will suffice to make it for a long time to come a worthy official catalogue of the sculpture in the British Museum.

E. A. GARDNER.

BRIEF NOTICES.

Die Hellenische Kultur. By F. BAUMGARTEN, F. POLAND, and R. WAGNER. With seven coloured plates, two maps, and about 400 text-illustrations. 10¼" x 7". Pp. x + 490. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1905. M. 10.

WE do not remember to have met with any book, at any rate not in English, which covers

the same ground as the present, and being confessedly a hand-book for students and the upper classes of schools, it should fill the gap for which it is intended. But if it professes to deal with Greek culture as a whole, every side should receive equally exhaustive treatment. As it is, out of 470 pages, only 130 are devoted to the great subject of Greek literature, including Philology, the rest almost entirely to Art.

After an Introduction dealing with the country and people, their language and religion in general, the work is divided into three sections, the first devoted to Prehistoric and 'Mycenaean' Greece. The other two comprise the somewhat oddly-named 'Greek Middle Ages,' and the 'Finest Period,' or *Blütezeit*, with sub-headings for (A) political and social conditions, (B) Art, and (C) Literature.

It does not go beyond the end of the fourth century, but apparently a second volume is promised. Special attention is paid to new discoveries, such as those in Crete and the poems of Bacchylides, and the illustrations, of which there are no less than 400, several admirably reproduced in colours, are uniformly excellent. They are not however very systematically arranged.

Altogether the authors seem to have attempted too much, and the book, like a somewhat similar English work, recently noticed in these pages, seems more likely to be useful as a 'cram-book' than as one from which the general reader may obtain a general idea of Greek culture.

Carthage of the Phoenicians, in the light of Modern Excavations. By MABEL MOORE. 8" x 5½". Pp. x + 184. With 25 plates. London: W. Heinemann, 1905. 6s. net.

MISS MOORE has done well to bring to the notice of English readers a branch of ancient art of which little is known—or would be, but for the energy and devotion of French explorers, notably the White Fathers of Carthage, under Père Delattre. She gives us an interesting and well-illustrated account of their recent discoveries in three large cemeteries of the ancient Carthage, containing remains of various dates, Greek, Roman, and Punic. They include for instance some interesting, if late, painted Greek vases (why does Miss Moore persist in labelling them Etruscan, e.g. on the plates opposite pp. 106 and 112?). But the pleasure of reading the book is somewhat marred by the irritat-

ing way in which the illustrations are separated from the descriptions of the objects, without any cross-references in the text: e.g. the objects illustrated on the plates opposite pp. 72, 80, 88, 92, and 106, are described on pp. 129, 139, 144, 160, and 90 respectively. For this there is no apparent reason. The upper object on the plate opposite p. 32 (why again should not the plates have running numbers?) is rather to be described as a *kernos* than a lamp, and the middle lamp on the same plate is Roman rather than Greek, its date being the second century B.C. In the plate opposite p. 72 (upper figure) for 'amphorae' we should rather read 'paterae.' The 'get-up' of the book is pleasing and its format convenient.

Die Dipylongräber und die Dipylonvasen.

By F. POULSEN. 9½" x 6½". Pp. 138; three plates. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1905. M. 6.

THIS is an interesting and useful monograph on the Dipylon vases, revised and translated from the original Danish version. In accordance with its title it is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the tombs and the extent to which cremation was practised in early Hellas, the author maintaining that it was not so ancient or so extensive as is generally supposed. This is followed by a history of the excavations at Athens and Eleusis which have yielded vases of this type, the tombs of the latter site shewing the transition from the Mycenaean to the geometrical period.

Part II. gives an excellent sketch and critical study of the geometrical pottery found in Greece and elsewhere; the writer discards the old 'textile' and 'Dorian' theories, and agrees with Wide in referring it to a pre-Mycenaean origin; he goes on to discuss the geometrical pottery found on the Acropolis at Athens, which shews many features hitherto thought to be later developments, and that of Eleusis. Both classes give evidence of the derivation of the ornament from Mycenaean or earlier originals such as the incised pottery of Hissarlik. The writer is surely not accurate in speaking of the *maeander* as a new motive, for it appears in an elementary form on the incised Bronze Age pottery of Cyprus.

In a final chapter an exhaustive study is made of the later developments. The large Dipylon vases with figures are attributed to oriental influence; the writer acutely points out—what does not seem to have been

pointed out before—that these vases are *not geometrical*, having no ornamentation of that kind. He considers that the artists shewed themselves inferior in the artistic treatment of ornament to the Mycenaeans, but much more of painters in their presentment of animals and human beings.

The book is somewhat sparsely illustrated, but there is an excellent index.

The Greek Painter's Art. By IRENE WEIR. 8½" × 5¾". Pp. xviii + 361. With coloured frontispiece and 154 illustrations in text. Ginn and Co.: Boston, etc., 1905. 12s. 6d. net.

A SOMEWHAT typical specimen of the popular archaeological work, pleasantly written, and by one who has evidently enthusiasm for the subject and considerable knowledge; but it is decidedly amateurish, not to say unscholarly, in places. The introduction of over a hundred pages describing a journey to and in Greece is wholly irrelevant, and mere padding; the succeeding chapters however which deal in turn with Greek Painting, Vase-painting, Colour in Architecture and Sculpture, Portraits and Mosaics, and Wall-paintings, from Crete to Pompeii, contain a quite adequate account from the general reader's point of view, of classical painting in all its manifestations.

The illustrations seem to have been somewhat promiscuously selected, some from English sources, without any hint that permission for their use has been obtained; and there is a bibliography which is arranged on a rigidly alphabetical principle by the titles of the books (in no case by the author's name) with the grotesque result that the German works (for instance) mostly appear under *Der*, *Die*, or *Das*! To cite a few minor points which require correction, the François-vase on p. 163 is spoken of as 'early Attic,' but on the preceding page as 'Etruscan' (*sic*); the foot-note on the former page is partly inaccurate, partly unintelligible; there are also some eccentricities of spelling such as 'Kentaur' and 'kentaur,' 'Kleonai,' and 'Kleoni' (*sic*), but 'Mykenae.'

Brygos: his Characteristics. By OLIVER S. TONKS. (Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. xiii. No. 2.) Pp. 58. With two plates and 89 figs. in text. 12¼" × 10". Cambridge, U.S.A., 1904.

A STUDY of the vases signed by Brygos,

with a view to discovering peculiar characteristics by means of which unsigned vases can be attributed to him; of these Mr. Tonks notes ten, by the aid of which he draws up a list of over fifty new Brygos vases. Incidentally he frequently corrects Dr. Hartwig's conclusions in the *Meisterschalen*, and finds traces of an artist who worked for Brygos in a fragment in his style inscribed -δωρος ἔγραψεν. He declines to accept any theory as to his nationality, and dates him between 500–480, which seems much too early. We know that he was working before 480, from the Acropolis excavations, but the kylix in the British Museum can hardly be of such an early date, nor can he have overlapped so much with Euphronios.

H. B. W.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ASIA MINOR.

Ephesus.—The chief work carried out by the Austrian excavators in Sept.—Nov. 1904 was the final clearing of the Library of Celsus. It is ascertained that there were probably three rows of bookcases ranged one above the other round the walls. The walls in which the bookcases were inserted were surrounded by an outer wall, and a passage ran between. The object of this arrangement was to guard against the ill effects of damp. On the east façade were two inscriptions, placed in a prominent position. From these we learn that the library was erected by Tib. Jul. Aquila Polemaeanus, son of Tib. Jul. Celsus Polemaeanus, who was consul in 92 A.D. The building was probably intended by the son as a memorial to his father, and was erected about the first decade of the second century A.D. A rectangular base has been discovered with the following inscription, which bears witness to the zeal of a Christian iconoclast:

Δαίμωνος Ἀρ[τέμιδος] καθελὼν ἀποτήλιον εἶδος
 Δημέας ἀτρεκίης ἀνέθετο σῆμα τοῦδε,
 Εἰδῶλων ἐλατήρα Θεὸν σταυρόν τε γεραίρων
 Νυκτεφόρον Χριστοῦ, σὺν βολον ἀθιάτων.

Two long ordinances of Valentinianus, Valens, and Gratianus have been found, inscribed on the north side of a building which may have been a monument raised in commemoration of some victory. One deals with the administration of the revenues of certain lands granted by the Emperors for the benefit of the cities of Asia, the other with the appointment of magistrates throughout

the province. Drums of columns now supporting the wall of an apsidal building bear inscriptions which show that they belonged originally to a chapel of the Kuretes. The corporation consisted of six *κούρητες*, who were changed every year, and a band of subordinates, apparently permanent and chiefly recruited from slaves. The oldest list belongs to about the middle of the first century A.D.¹

Pergamum.—In the autumn of 1905 excavations were again carried on. A part of the court of the upper Gymnasium was uncovered, together with rooms on the north side and the subterranean *δρόμος* on the south. The house of the consul Attalus was laid bare in the space between the Gymnasium and the second Agora. The theatre on the Acropolis was further examined. The tumuli in the Caicus valley were explored and their dates ascertained.²

GREECE.

Kapakly (Volo).—In a 'beehive' tomb (cf. *Class. Rev.* 1905, p. 378) remains of

////////////////////S CEL(e)
RINVS AEDILIS · MENSVRAS

EXAEQV(a)TAS EX SVA LB CIVIB SVIS STATVIT

A table of a similar character was discovered a short time ago at Khamissa (Algeria).³

F. H. MARSHALL.

¹ *Oesterreich. Jahreshefte*, viii. Part 2, Beiblatt.

² *Ath. Mith.*, 1905. Part 4.

³ *Acad. des Inscr.* Sept.-Oct. 1905.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Journal of Philology. Vol. xxx. No. 59.

The British Museum Papyrus of Socrates *Ἡρόκλητος*, H. I. Bell. *Some Emendations of Propertius*, H. W. Garrod. *Elision in Hendecasyllables*, H. W. Garrod. *The Alphabet of Ben Sira*, C. Taylor. *Conjectural Emendations in the Silvae of Statius*, D. A. Slater.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xxvi. No. 4.

A Semantic Study of the Indo-Iranian Nasal Verbs, Part III, Edwin W. Fay. *The Vatican Codex of Cicero's Verrines*, W. Peterson. *Culex* 367, 8 and *Ciris* 66, Robinson Ellis. *De Thucydidis* I. 1-23 scripsit Mortimer L. Earle. Reviews, etc.: Waldstein's *Argive Heraeum*, David M. Robinson. Butler's *Sexti Properti Opera Omnia*, B. O. Foster. Summaries of Periodicals. Brief Mention (by the Editor, including observations on Brackett's *Temporal Sentences in Herodotus* and a sympathetic reference to the late Sir R. C. Jebb). Recent Publications, etc. Index.

about twenty skeletons have been found with gold ornaments of the Mycenaean type. They include parts of necklaces stamped with cuttlefish ornament, a large rosette, a gold plate in the form of an altar, etc. Mycenaean graves with gold ornaments have also been found recently to the south of Thebes.²

Lusi (in *Arcadia*).—In the temple of Artemis Hemera has been found the bust of an archaic statuette of the goddess, together with silver and iron ornaments. Among these latter was a silver ring with *καλά* inscribed in fifth-century letters.

At *Cynuria* an ancient kiln for firing pottery has been discovered.²

AFRICA.

Timgad.—A series of standard measures has recently been discovered. They are in the form of five well-shaped cavities hollowed out of a stone slab. They range from .39 m. to .10 m. in diameter, and, with the exception of the two smallest, have each a hole pierced through the bottom. On the front of this *mensa ponderaria* is inscribed:

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. xv. 10. 1905.

H. Diels, *Der lateinische, griechische und deutsche Thesaurus*. In view of the difficulties encountered in producing the Latin Lexicon, difficulties far greater in the case of Greek, the idea of a universal Greek Lexicon should be abandoned, and, say, ten special lexicons prepared—each dealing with a branch of the literature (e.g. poetry, history, rhetoric). The work of compiling each could be assigned to a definite nation or university. E. Petersen, *Der Leichenwagen Alexanders des Grossen*. The *πόλος* (of Diod. 18. 26) was a pole passing from the roof through the carriage and fixed in a beam which joined the two axles of the wheels. The roof was dome-shaped, the carriage pseudo-peripteral. B. Kahle, *Dänischer Volksglaube in Holberg's Schriften*. P. Haake, *Polen am Ausgang des xvi. Jahrhunderts*. F. Buecheler, *Gedächtnisrede auf Hermann Usener* (with portrait). *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: P. Brandt's *Sappho* reviewed unfavourably (esp. as regards the versions) by J.

Geffcken. O. Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*. 'The second vol. which was always expected is incorporated in the new edition [of *Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der röm. Verwaltungsgeschichte*]. . . In completing his work the author has added to it all that can be added, much indeed that at first sight is far removed from his subject' (M. Rostowzew).

xvi. 1. 1906.

H. Oldenburg, *Indische und klassische Philologie*. The Indian philologist can learn much from the older science—in some matters can help it: e.g. the fulness of Indian tradition in matters of the history of religion throws much light on the difficulties met there by classical scholars. D. Müller, *Die Phäaken-dichtung der Odyssee*. Attempts to reconstruct the old poem which forms the groundwork of the Phaeacia episode. In this, Od. came to Alcinoüs in broad daylight and was despatched the same evening: ll. 317 sqq. mean 'I reckon you will get home by to-morrow morning.' The Nausicaa episode, the Agon (where originally Laodamas was evidently a king and Od.'s host: cp. l. 210), and the narrative of Odysseus are all additions incorporated here by the 'editor' of the Odyssey. The tragic motives of *ἀναγνώσις*, punishment for transgression, fate, and *deus ex machina* traceable enough in the epic. H. Mayne, *Die deutsche Goethe-Biographie*. [In xviii. 1: S. Reiter, F. A. Wolf and D. Ruhnkenius, R. Wagner *Der griechische Geschichtsunterricht im Gymnasium der Gegenwart*.]

Mnemosyne. xxxiv. 1. 1906

S. A. Naber, *Ad Apollonium Rhodium*. Emendations, defence of text, notes on style. P. H. D., *Ad Sallustium*. H. van Herwerden, *Ad Procopium*. Readings. P. H. D., *Ad Ciceronem*. Tusc. i. 40: *Graeci—tradituri sint* a gloss. J. C. Naber, *Observationes de iure Romano*. 93. De deposito usurario. 94 Quid sit testamentum. J. Vürtheim, *Amphidromia*. Discusses scholiasts on Lysistr. 757, Plato Theaet. 160 E, Hesychius s.v. *δρομιδρομίων* etc. P. H. Damsté, *Minuciana*. P. H. D., *Sallustius*. J. J. Hartman, *De porticu Claudia*. In Mart. Spect. 2. 9 sq. read *ultima pars aulae desipientis erat*. W. Werff, *Ad Ovid. Met.* i. 712. Read *tribuisse* for

tennisse. C. Brakman, *De Ciceronis scholiasta Gronoviano*. Supplements Orelli's text and apparatus from Cod. Voss. Lat. 130. v. L., *Ad Aristoph. Ran.* 1274. Read *μελισσονόμοι δόμοι Ἀπρέμειος πέλας οἶγεν*.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. lxi. 1. 1906.

O. Hense, *Eine Menippea des Varro*. Cynic ingredients of the *περί ἰδεωμάτων*. Possibility of Stoic influence (Chrysippus). F. Münzer, *Zu den Fasti censorii*. Corrects Mommsen, St. R. 3. 970² P. Lentulus was not a censorius, L. Piso was censor in 120, the colleague of Licinius Geta in 108 was Q. Fab. Maximus Eburnus (*Serulianus* of Val. Max. 6. 1. 5. probably an error for *Seruliani* f.). S. Sudhaus, *Die Klage der Ciris*. In 408 read *uos humana olim* (cp. 202). Ll. 448-453 do not belong to a speech at all and should follow 477. G. Loeschke, *Das Syntagma des Gelasius Cyzicenus*. II. The letters of Constantine peculiar to G. and probably derived from Iohannes seem (from language and matter) genuine. III. *Palmatus*' book was a genuine account of their proceedings published by the Nicene synod. O. Keller, *Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des Horaz*. Combats Vollmer's theory as to origin of all our MSS. from the Mavortian recension and defends the 3 class system. Full discussion of the text of *Sat.* 1. 6. 126. F. Wilhelm, *Zu augusteischen Dichtern*. Mainly illustration from Anthology and proof of Alexandrian originals. P. Lehmann, *Fulgentiana*. Readings from a Cassel MS. closely resembling yet not dependent on T. A. Brinkmann, *Phoibammon περί μυήσεως*. The authorship of the Prolegomena to Hermogenes *Περί ἰδεῶν*, with text of the part *περί μυήσεως* edited with special respect to the readings of Pc. *Miscellen*: G. Knaack, Antiphanes von Berge. Attempts to cull fresh fragments, e.g. from Antonius Diogenes. G. Némethy, *Horatiana*: *Sat.* 2. 3. 182-6, Od. 3. 14. 22 (*murrem=fulvum*), 4. 15. 2 (*increpuit lyra=me lyra pulsavit*). F. B. Neopitius. The style and matter of the epitome shew it can hardly have been composed before the end of the fourth century. O. Seeck, *Zur Geschichte des Weihnachtsfestes*.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

The size of Books is given in inches. 4 inches = 10 centimetres (roughly)

* * Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.

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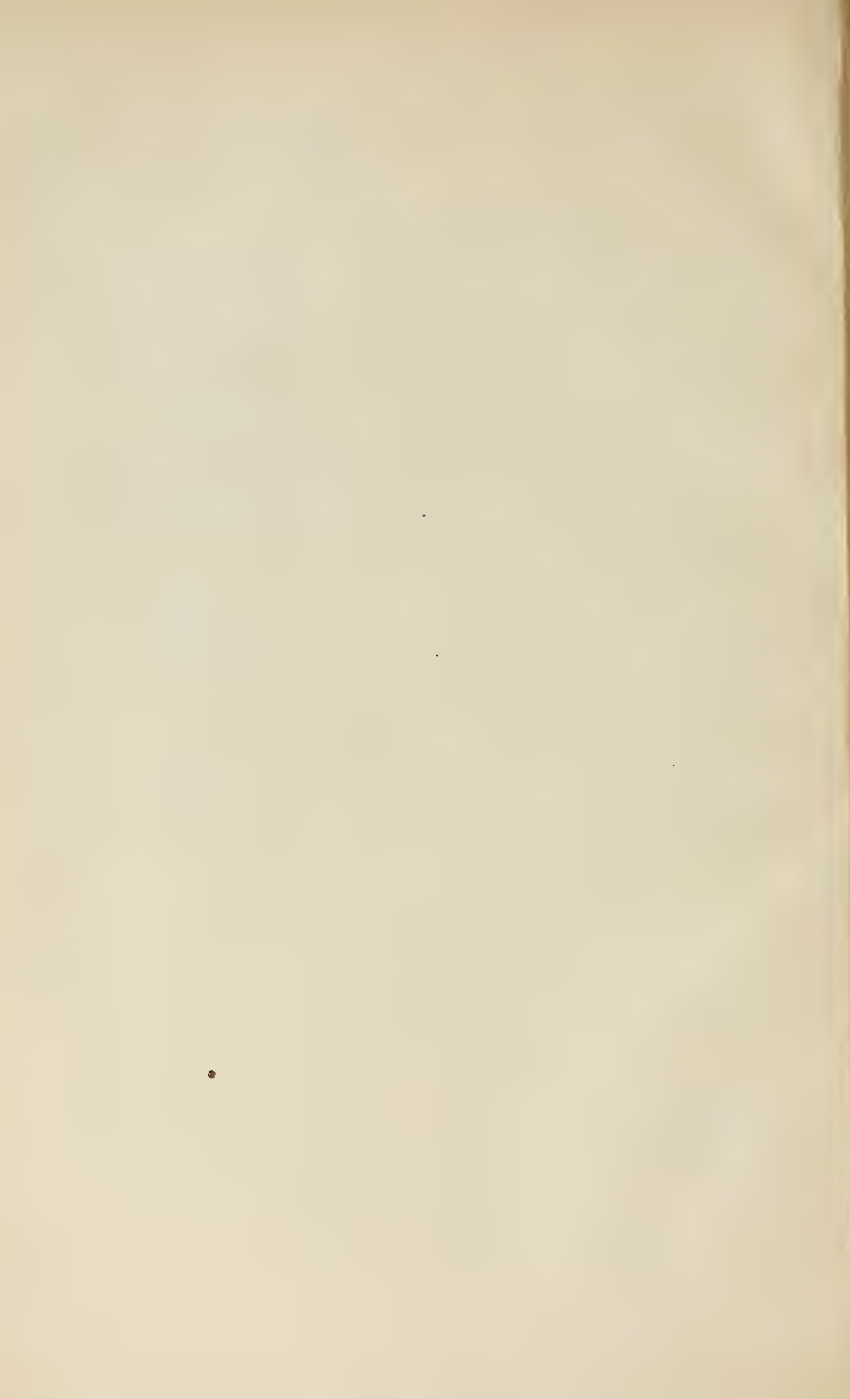
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Cicero. Nicol (J. C.) M. Tulli Ciceronis Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino oratio edited by J. C. N. (Pitt Press Series). 7" × 4½". Pp. xxxii + 150. Cambridge, University Press. 1905. 2s. 6d. cloth.

Cicero. Woodhouse (W. J.) M. Tulli Ciceronis de Imperio Cn. Pompei sive Pro Lege Manilia ad Quirites oratio, with introduction, notes, etc., by W. J. W. (Blackie's Illustrated Latin Series. Edited by R. Y. Tyrrell). 7½" × 4¾". Pp. x1 + 128. London, Blackie and Son. 1905. 2s. net.

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- Fraenkel* (Ernst) *Griechische Denominativa in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung und Verbreitung*. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6". Pp. vi + 296. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1906. M. 10.
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- Henry* (R. M.), see *Liry*.
- Henson* (Rev. J.), see *Plantus*.
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- Jordan* (Hedwig) *Der Erzählungsstil in dem Kampfszenen der Ilias* (*Degree Dissertation, Zürich*). 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 141. Breslau, Max Woywod. 1905. M. 4.
- Legras* (Léon) *Etude sur la Thébaidé de Stace* (*Les Légendes Thébaines en Grèce et à Rome*). 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 356. Paris, Édouard Cornély et Cie. 1905. Fr. 6.
- *Les Légendes Thébaines dans l'Épopée et la Tragédie grecques* (*Les Légendes Thébaines en Grèce et à Rome*). 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 192. Paris, Édouard Cornély et Cie. 1905. Fr. 4.50.
- *Les 'Puniques' et la 'Thébaidé'* (*Revue des Études Anciennes, Tome VII. No. 4, Octobre-Décembre, 1905*). 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 31. Bordeaux and Paris. 1906.
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- Marchant* (E. C.), see *Xenophon*.
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- Plantus*. Henson (Rev. J.) *The Captivi of Plautus with introduction, notes and vocabulary by the Rev. J. Henson* (*Blackie's Illustrated Latin Series*). Edited by R. Y. Tyrrell. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. xxiv + 136. London, Blackie & Son. 1905. 2s.
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- Schwarz* (Eduard) *Charakterköpfe aus der antiken Litteratur. Fünf Vorträge von E. S. Zweite Auflage*. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. vi + 125. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1906. Geh. M. 2. Geb. M. 2.60.
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- Wainwright* (L. D.), see *Cicero* and *Horace*.
- Winer* (G. B.), see *Moulton*.
- Woodhouse* (W. J.), see *Cicero*.
- Xenophon*. Marchant (E. C.) and Underhill (G. E.). *Xenophon Hellenica*. Text by E. C. M., notes by E. G. U. (Re-issue, bound in one volume. Text and notes can still be bought separately, price 3s. (75 c.) and 7s. 6d. (\$1.90). 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5". Pp. civ + 660. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1906. 7s. 6d. net (\$1.90).



The Classical Review

APRIL 1906.

A NEW CLASSICAL QUARTERLY.¹

THE first number of the American periodical to which reference was made in our issue of February, p. 1, has now appeared. The place of the preface in which the scope and aims of a new undertaking are commonly set forth is occupied by a tribute to the memory of President Harper, whose death at the age of 49 on the 10th of January last perhaps accounts for the delay in the publication of this first number. President Harper's early interest in Classical studies was continued to the last, and the Editors record with gratitude that 'until within a few weeks of his death he lent his influence in securing from citizens of Chicago the funds needed to guarantee their undertaking.' Pages 1-20 are occupied by the first of a valuable series of articles upon the manuscripts of Aristophanes by Prof. John William White. An introductory sketch both interesting in matter and attractive in style is followed by a very full and probably all but complete list of the extant MSS. The next paper, by Prof. W. G. Hale, is 'On an unrecognized construction of the Latin Subjunctive: the Second Person Singular in general statements of Fact.' The paper consists in part of a collection of instances, in part of criticisms on the utterances or the silence of other grammarians upon this 'indefinite' use of the second person and in

part of the development of a theory upon its origin. This Professor Hale would seek in its employment in subordinate, not in principal sentences. 'To express the generalizing idea in the dependent clause, the verb in any person or number except the second singular indefinite was in the Indicative; but if it occurred in *this* form, then the mood was, by fixed force of habit, the Subjunctive. The Subjunctive would then seem to be a natural mood to use *wherever* the generalizing force was intended, if the second singular indefinite were employed.' Again: 'The Subjunctive of the second singular indefinite had become merely the *sign of universality*. Why, then, should it remain confined to the subordinate clause?' Prof. M. Warren contributes a note on 'A New Fragment of Apollodorus of Carystus.' A MS. of Donatus' Commentary on Terence which the writer discovered in Prince Chigi's library in Rome and which he designates by the letter K presents the following comment on *Hecyra* 620 *Nos iam f. s. παρ* (crossed out) *Πάν ἀρσομοδο ρο μύθος ἔσμεν δὴ πάμφιλε γραυς γιρον*, which Prof. Warren would read as *nos iam f. s. 'Απολλόδωρος ὁ μῦθός ἔσμεν Πάμφιλ' ἤδη γραυς γέρον*. The fourth paper (fifth in the table of contents) is on 'Syllabification in Latin Inscriptions' by Mr. Walter Dennison. The writer has industriously collected the evidence afforded by some 80,000 inscriptions of Italian *provenance* and has arrived at the conclusion that the current rule (based on a misunderstanding of the Roman grammarians, as was shown by Prof. Hale in *Harvard Studies* vii. (1896), pp. 249-

¹ *Classical Philology*. A Quarterly Journal devoted to research in the Languages, Literatures, History and Life of Classical Antiquity. Chicago: the University of Chicago Press. London: David Nutt. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz. Subscription \$3 (foreign \$3.50). Single numbers \$1. Vol. I. No. 1. Jan. 1906. 10" x 7". Pp. 96.

71), that in dividing the syllables of a word the Romans placed with a following vowel as many consonants as might stand at the beginning of a word in Latin or Greek, stands in need of revision. At the end of the paper it is pointed out that the stone-cutters followed as a rule the phonetic and not the orthographic or formal division of words. The fifth paper on 'The Septimontium and the Seven Hills' is an examination of the topographical and other difficulties raised by Wissowa's theory of the Septimontium and Subura published in *Satura Viadrina* (1896 Breslau) which the writer, Prof. S. B. Platner, would accept. Three notes follow: On Themistius ap. Aristot. *Phys.* vi. 9 where for ἀλλ' ἴσον δήποτε λόγον read ἀλλ' εἰς ὃν δήποτε λόγον (Paul Shorey), in Tac. *Dial.* 20. 10 for 'inuitatus et corruptus est' read 'i. e. correptus est' (G. L. Hendrickson), and a brief criticism of 'Schlicher on the Moods of Indirect Quotation,' *Am. Journ. Phil.* xxvi. pp. 60 ff. (Tenney Frank). The last fourteen pages are devoted to

book reviews, which with one exception are favourable: L. Whibley's *Companion to Greek Studies* (C. B. Gulick), Kornemann's *Kaiser Hadrian* (Henry A. Sanders), Mahaffy's *Progress of Hellenism* (W. S. Milner), University of California Publications, Classical Philology, vol. i. including Clapp's *Hiatus in Greek Melic Poetry* (John A. Scott), Nutting's *Studies in Siclauses* (Tenney Frank), Wheeler's *Whence and Whither of the Modern Science of Language* (C. D. Buck), Merrill's *Influence of Lucretius on Horace* (G. L. Hendrickson), Hauvette's *Archilogue* (H. W. Smyth), *Reden u. Aufsätze v. Th. Mommsen* (F. G. Moore), Cingini's *Index Phaedianus* (John C. Rolfe), Merguet's *Handlexicon zu Cicero A.-M.* (the same), Munro's *Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus* (E. T. Merrill), Bonner's *Evidence in Athenian Courts* (A. Carruthers). The whole forms a first number upon which the Managing Editor, Professor Edward Capps, and his colleagues may be heartily congratulated.

THE RESTORED PRONUNCIATION OF LATIN.

THE following scheme has been approved by the Philological Societies of Oxford and Cambridge for adoption in University teaching. It has already received promises of support from a very large proportion of the most influential teachers at the two Universities.

It will be observed that the scheme confines itself to the pronunciation of native Latin sounds.

Quantity.

In pronunciation the quantities of the vowels must be strictly observed: e.g. *lābor*, not as English *lābour*; *minor*, not as English *mīnor*; *nōta*, not as English *nōte*. This is essential for the proper appreciation in prose, of sound, rhythm, and distinctions of meanings (e.g. *lābor*, *lābor*), and in verse, of metre also.

Vowels.

The following is approximately the pronunciation of the vowels.

- ā (prātum), as *a* in *fāther*, not as *a* in *māte*.
- ă (răpit), the same sound shortened, as *a* in *ăha*.

ē (mēta), as Ger. *e* in *nehmen*, not as *ee* in *mēet*.

ē (frēta), as *e* in *frēt*, not as *ee* in *mēet*.

ī (fīdo), as *ee* in *fēed* (Fr. *ie* in *amie*), not as *i* in *fine*.

ī (plico), as *i* in *fit*, not as *i* in *fine*.

ō (nōtus), as Italian *o* in *Rōma*.

ō (nōta), as *o* in *nōt* (Fr. *o* in *botte*), not as *o* in *nōte*.

ū (tūto), as *oo* in *shoot* (Ital. *u* in *lāna*), not as *u* (*yoo*) in *acūte*.

ū (cūtis), as *u* in *full*, not as *u* in *accūrate*, nor as *u* in *shūn*.

Diphthongs.

The sounds of the diphthongs may be arrived at by running the two component vowel-sounds rapidly together, the second being pronounced lightly. The most important are:

ae (portae) = *a + e*, nearly as *ai* in *Isaiah* (broadly pronounced), Fr. *email*, not as *a* in *late*.

au (aurum) = *a + u*, as *ou* in *hour* (as Ital. *au* in *flauto*), not as *aw* in *awful*.

oe (poena) = o + e, nearly as oi in boil, not as ee in feet, nor as a in late.

In recommending these sounds for ae and oe, the Societies are guided mainly by practical considerations, since it has been found by experience that this pronunciation is of great convenience for class purposes. This was the pronunciation given them in early Latin, and they were still clearly distinct from the long ē in the time of Cicero, though their precise sound then is difficult to determine, and would probably be still more difficult to inculcate in an English school.

Consonants.

c, g, t, s are always hard.

c (cepi, accipi), as c in cat, not as c in acid or accept.

g, (gero, agger), as g in get, not as g in gibe or exaggerate.

t (fortis, fortia), both as t in native, fortia not as potential.

s (sub, rosa, res), as s in sit, or ce in race, not as s in rose or raise.

i and u consonantal.

i (j), e.g. jacio, as y in you, not as j in Jack.

u (v), e.g. volo, practically as w in we (Fr. ou in oui), not as v in very.

r is always trilled, even in the middle and at the end of words.

rarus; parma, datur (not pronounced as in English palmer, hatter).

Doubled consonants as in vac-ca, Metel-lus to be pronounced as in Italian.

ON κυβιστηγῆρες AND THE RELATION OF ILIAD II 750 TO II 615.

II 745 'ὁ πόποι, ἦ μάλ' ἐλαφρὸς ἀνήρ, ὥς ρεῖα κυβιστᾶ.

εἰ δὴ πον καὶ πόντῳ ἐν ἰχθυόεντι γένοιτο, πολλοὺς ἂν κορέσειεν ἀνὴρ ὅδε, τήθεα διφῶν, νηὸς ἀποθρώσκων εἰ καὶ δυσπέμφελος εἴη.

ὥς γὺν ἐν πεδίῳ ἐξ ἱππων ρεῖα κυβιστᾶ.

750 ἦ ῥα καὶ ἐν Τρώεσσιν κυβιστηγῆρας ἔασιν.'

So Patroklos speaks ironically of Kebriones whom he has just slain.

The word κυβιστηγῆρες is often translated *divers*, but the use of the verb κυβιστᾶν and its cognate noun are limited to vv. 745-749-750, in which the translation *diving* is not necessary. The idea of diving is contained rather in ἀποθρώσκων; Kebriones κυβιστᾶ (*tumbles*) from a horse, but ἀποθρώσκει (*leaps*) from a ship. The verb κυβιστᾶν as used by Homer elsewhere is not limited to the single act of *diving*, and the implication in vv. 746-7 seems to be that Kebriones has the easy motion, the *flexibility* of a fish in the water. So the verb is used φ 353-4 :

τείροντ' ἐγγέλυνες τε καὶ ἰχθύες οἱ κατὰ δίνας, οἱ κατὰ καλὰ ῥέεθρα κυβιστῶν ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.

Comparing this use with that of II 745 ff. it does not seem likely that the emphasis is on diving, for the motion of fishes is not so limited. It is preferable to take the

alternative translation of κυβιστηγῆρες as *tumblers*.

But this word as used by Homer has some further connotation. Compare Σ 604-5 :

δοῖω δὲ κυβιστηγῆρε κατ' αὐτοὺς
μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες εἰδένουν κατὰ μέσσοις.

Of this passage Lucian says (περὶ ὀρχήσεως, 13) : τοὺς ὀρχηστὰς δὲ τοὺς δύο, οὓς ἐκεῖ ὁ ποιητὴς κυβιστηγῆρας καλεῖ, ἡγουμένους τοῦ χοροῦ. Lucian evidently regarded κυβιστηγῆρας as dancers merely. The Greek dance of which we know most was the pyrrhic, and it is certain that in later times the name covered not only war dancing but various milder forms of dance, and sometimes covered all dancing. So Artemidorus *oneiro*. 1. 78 says : τὸ πυρρικήειν τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ ὀρχεῖσθαι σημαίνει. This habit, however, of applying the name of a special dance to dancing in general, probably began in early times, and it is not unlikely that in Σ 604, Homer is using κυβιστηγῆρες in a general sense.

The Lang translation of II 750 reads : 'Verily among the Trojans too there be diving men.' But why too (καί)? We have had no *divers* among the Greeks. Admitting, however, for the technical word κυβιστηγῆρες the connotation of *dancers* or *professional dancers*, as Homer's use at Σ 604 warrants, we have a distinct reference to II 615 where Aeneas taunts Meriones :

‘Μηρίωνη, τάχα κέν σε καὶ ὀρχηστήν περ ἔοντα
ἔγχος ἔμὸν κατέπανσε διαμπερές, εἰ σ’ ἔβαλόν
περ.

Here, from earliest times, commentators have seen a reference to Cretan skill in dancing, so that the word ὀρχηστήν as applied to Meriones acquires the force of *professional dancer*.

Both κυβιστήγῃρ and ὀρχηστής, then, meet on the common ground of meaning *professional dancer*, and taking into consideration, in addition to this, that reference of

Π 750 to Π 615 would give force to the καὶ of 750, and that Patroklos was close at hand when Aeneas uttered his taunt, so close that he called Meriones away immediately afterwards, such direct reference seems likely, and we should translate ‘*Verily among the Trojans too there be dancing men,*’ although of course the English word cannot have for us the connotation of *tumblers* that κυβιστήγῃρες had for the Greeks.

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NOTES ON GREEK ORATORS.

I.—ANTIPHON.

The question of the authenticity of the tetralogies that bear Antiphon's name is not an easy one. It should be distinguished from the question of their date; for, though if late in origin they cannot be his, they may be of his date and yet not of his writing. We are not bound, if we think them early, therefore to pronounce them authentic, nor, if we think them unauthentic, therefore necessarily to consider them late. Herwerden has impugned authorship and date at once (*Mnemos. N.S.* 9). Dittenberger (*Hermes* 17) equally disputes Antiphon's authorship, but he holds them to have been written just after or during the Peloponnesian War by an Ionian who atticised without complete command of Attic idiom. Blass (*Att. Bereds.*² Vols. 1 and 3) still inclines to think them authentic.

The offences against pure Atticism adduced by Herwerden are ἐπεξερχόμενοι (2. 1. 2), καταδοκείσθαι (2. 2. 2 and 3, and *ib.* 3. 7), ἀναγινώσκω in the sense of *persuade* (2. 2. 7), πειρασόμεθα ἐλέγχοντες (2. 3. 1), εἰκότερον (2. 2. 3 and 8: *ib.* 3. 5 and 4. 4: 4. 3. 2): ἀπελογίσθην (2. 3. 1: *ib.* 4. 3: 3. 3. 2: 4. 3. 1): καταλαμβάνω *find guilty, convict* (often in all three tetralogies, e.g. 2. 4. 4 and 11). It will be noticed that the first four of these expressions occur in T.1¹ only, the fifth four times in the first and once in the third, the other two in all three, and the last of them repeatedly.

Ἀναγινώσκω *persuade*, καταδοκῶ (not the

¹ In the usual order of Antiphon's speeches the T.'s (tetralogies) are 2, 3, 4. Thus 2. 2. 2 means the second section of the second speech of the first T. 5. 2 is the second section of Antiphon's speech 5, which is not a tetralogy.

passive), and περιῶμαι with participle are familiar in Herodotus. The last, though not the former two, does just occur elsewhere in Attic (Plato *Theaet.* 190 E: cf. ἀρχομαι with *part. ib.* 187 A and a few other places of Plato and Xenophon, and νόμιζε ἀποκτείνων Xen. *An.* 6. 6. 24: also φιλῶ and μισῶ in Aristophanes *Vesp.* 1535: *Plut.* 645: *Eccl.* 502). καταλαμβάνω *find guilty* is not cited from any other author. The aorist form ἀπελογίσθην occurs in a passage of Xen. (*Hell.* 1. 4. 13) which is indeed doubtful, but Xen. is just the Attic author who, if anyone, might use it. It occurs again in a Middle Comedy fragment and, though rare itself, has of course many Attic parallels in διανοήσθην, ἐπορεύσθην, ἐδυνήσθην, etc. Herodotus has other such forms not found in Attic. In the undisputed Antiphon speeches however the ordinary aorist ἀπελογισάμην occurs five times. ἐπεξερχόμενοι is almost unparalleled, but Xen. *An.* 2. 4. 25 ventures upon παρερχομένους. (cf. Rutherford, *New Phrynichus*, p. 109). The conjecture οἱ ἐπεξερχόμεθα is by no means convincing in view of the other irregularities, especially frequent in T. 1. Finally εἰκότερον is a surprising form, since Greek, unlike Latin, hardly ever compares participles and ἐρρωμένος has perhaps no other companion in this respect.

Van Cleef's *Index Antiphonteus* (Cornell, 1895) makes it much easier to study the language of all the speeches ascribed to Antiphon. A few notes may be contributed here in answer to three questions that suggest themselves.

A. In the vocabulary of the T.'s as compared with that of 1, 5, and 6 are there any other noticeable things?

The following words may be remarked as occurring in the T's and not in 1, 5, or 6. Among them are three or four pointed out by Dittenberger.

ἄγχιστα 2. 1. 6.
 ἄδολος 3. 3. 4.
 ἀλιτήριος (five times in 4).
 αἰαγνος 2. 1. 10.
 ἀνακλαῖω 2. 4. 1.
 ἀνακρίνω *question* 2. 1. 9 : 2. 3. 2.
 ἀναποκρίτως 3. 3. 2.
 ἀναχωρεῖ (εἰς ἡμᾶς ἢ πουνή, τὸ μῖασμα, 2. 1. 3).
 ἀπεικῶς 2. 2. 5.
 ἀρκεῖν 2. 2. 2 : *ib.* 3. 3 : *ib.* 4. 10 : 4. 3. 6.
 ἀσπαίρω 2. 4. 5.
 ἀτρεμίζω 2. 4. 9 : 3. 2. 5 : *ib.* 4. 4 and 5.
 ἄωρῃ 2. 1. 4 : *ib.* 2. 5. and 4. 5.
 ἄωρος 3. 1. 2 : *ib.* 2. 12.
 γεραίος, γηραίος 3. 2. 11 : 4. 1. 2 and 6.
 διαγνωμων 3. 3. 3.
 δρῶ often, esp. in 3 and 4.
 δισμένεια 4. 1. 3.
 δίσμορος 3. 2. 11.
 ἔγγιστα 2. 1. 6.
 ἐθέλω, θέλω = βούλομαι 3. 4. 3 and 5 : 4. 2. 1 and 7 : *ib.* 3. 1.
 ἐκ = ὑπό 2. 4. 1 : cf. 3. 3. 10 (ἐξ ἀμφοῖν).
 ἐλασσόνως 4. 4. 6.
 ἐλεγκτήρ, or -τής 2. 4. 3.
 ἔμπνους 2. 1. 9 : *ib.* 3. 2.
 ἔμφρων 2. 3. 2.
 ἐνθύμιος 2. 3. 10 : 3. 1. 2 : *ib.* 4. 9 twice.
 εὐπετώς 3. 4. 7.
 εἰσεβοῦμαι pass. 3. 3. 11.
 θανασίμως 4. 3. 4.
 θερμός of a person 2. 4. 5 : cf. *ib.* 1. 7.
 θυμούμενον, τό 2. 3. 3.
 κηλῖς 3. 3. 8 and 11.
 κρεισσόνως 4. 4. 6 and 7.
 μέτοχος 3. 3. 11 : *ib.* 4. 6.
 μῆνιμα 4. 2. 8 : *ib.* 3. 7 and 4. 10 ?
 μαιίνω 2. 1. 3 and 10 : *ib.* 2. 11 : 3. 1. 2.
 μιάρια 2. 3. 9 and 11 : 3. 3. 12.
 νήπιος 3. 2. 11.
 οἶδαμεν 2. 1. 3.
 ὀνίνημι act. 2. 2. 1.
 ἐκ παλαιοῦ 2. 1. 5.
 παραφέρω νόμον 3. 4. 8.
 πένθος 4. 4. 1.
 περιδύω 2. 2. 5.
 ποιή 2. 1. 3 : *ib.* 4. 11.
 πράκτωρ *doer* 3. 2. 6.
 προσβολή 3. 3. 8.
 προστρόπαιος 2. 3. 10 : 3. 4. 9 : 4. 1. 4 : *ib.* 2. 8 and 4. 10.
 πρότερον ἢ with subj. 2. 1. 2.
 σίβομαι 2. 4. 12.
 συλλήπτωρ 3. 3. 10.

σύν 2. 1. 4 : 3. 4. 6.
 τρέμω 2. 3. 8 : *ib.* 4. 9.
 ὑπαίτιος 2. 2. 6 : 3. 3. 11 : 4. 1. 4.
 ὑπουργῶ 4. 3. 4.
 φροντίς 2. 2. 2.
 φύλον (*v.l.* γένος) 4. 1. 2.
 ψαῖω 3. 3. 5.

Many of these words hardly call for special comment. They belong to the large class which we find seldom or never in ordinary orators, but (sometimes or even frequently in Thucydides and Xenophon, Plato and Aristotle, and often in the Ionic of Herodotus. In Antiphon (see below) we should quite expect to find some such : the only question is as to their number.

Neither ἄγχιστα nor any word connected with ἄγχι belongs to standard or even to unusual Attic prose, and in the same way ἔγγιστα for ἐγγύτατα is only cited from a document in the *De Corona*. ἀρκεῖν is less used in Attic than ἐξαρκεῖν : here we observe that it occurs (four times) in the T's only, while ἐξαρκεῖν occurs (twice) in the other speeches. We note the religious or semi-religious terms ἀλιτήριος, προστρόπαιος, κηλῖς, μαιίνω, προσβολή, to which may be added ποινή and ἐνθύμιος. γηραίος *death in old age* is a decidedly poetical phrase, nor is γηραίος itself, though Xenophontean, a word of ordinary Attic. It is very noticeable that δρᾶν, which is not really a common Attic word (see *C.R.* xiv. 393, where I overstated its use by Demosthenes), abounds in these speeches, though it is completely absent from the others. ἐθέλω is used = βούλομαι (of a decided wish) several times, but in 1, 5, and 6 only in its common sense of *am willing*, for in 1. 8–12 this is all that it appears to mean. In 3. 4. 3 and 5 ; 4. 3. 1 notice the form θέλω. τῶν ἐξ ἐμοῦ πραχθέντων seems the only instance of this use of ἐκ, which is however Thucydidean, Xenophontean, and Platonic as well as Herodotean. ἐλασσόνως and κρεισσόνως have been noticed as quite unusual adverbial forms : Thucydides however has μειζόνως twice, Xenophon once, Isocrates three times : Plato μειζόνως often, καλλιόνως and βελτιόνως. νήπιος is rare in any prose. οἶδαμεν for ἴσμεν is the reading of the four best MSS. in Xen. *An.* 2. 4. 6 and occurs also *Alcib.* ii. 141 E. Herodotus has it a few times. πρότερον ἢ with subjunctive is found Thuc. 7. 63. 1 and in Herodotus. σύν used in the poetical and Xenophontean way is quite noticeable. φύλον (on which γένος is no doubt a gloss) is rare in prose, and ψαῖω extremely so.

It will be observed that T. 1 has a

decidedly longer and more remarkable list of peculiarities than either of the others.

B. What noticeable things, if any, occur in the other speeches only?

ἀκεστός 5. 91.
ἀκλεῖς 1. 21.
ἄξαι (aor. inf. ἄγω) 5. 46?
ἄπαρνος 1. 9 and 10.
ἀπελέγχω 5. 19, 21, and 36.
ἀποδικάζω 6. 47.
βλάβος 5. 91.
γνωριστής 5. 94.
δοξαστής 5. 94.
εἰμαρμένη 1. 21.
ἐρευνῶ 5. 29.
εἰρόπῳς 5. 76?
ἤκοντα, τὰ εἰς τοὺς κινδύνους 5. 81.
κτείνω 5. 11 : 6. 4.
κυβερνῶ metaph. 1. 13.
λυσιτελῶ 5. 10.
μηχάνημα 5. 16 and 22.
μηχανῶμαι 1. 3 and 28 : 5. 25 and 55 : 6. 9, 36, and 38.
νέμω 5. 10 and 66.
ὅδε ὁ ἀνὴρ = ἐγώ 6. 9.
οἱ (dative) 1. 16 : 5. 93, and σφίσι 1. 13 : 6. 35.
ὀπτῆρ 5. 27.
ὀρθούμενος 5. 7.
πανουργῶ 5. 65 twice.
παρὰ τῆς βασάνου εἰδέναι 1. 6.
ἐκ προβουλῆς 1. 3 and 5.
προῖνοησάμην 5. 43.
ἀπὸ πρώτης 5. 56.
σαφήνεια 1. 13.
συμφέρομαι agree 5. 42 and 56.
τοῦτο μὲν . . . , τοῦτο δέ . . . , several times in 1 and 5.
ὑποθήκη 1. 17.
φροῦδος 5. 29.
χειρουργῶ 1. 20.
χωροφιλῶ 5. 78.
ὥς = ὥστε 1. 28 : 5. 63.

Some of these, like some in the former list, call for no further remark. ἀποδικάζω, ἀπελέγχω, and especially ἄπαρνος (Herodotus) are unusual words. ἄξαι for ἀγαγεῖν is strange, and the parallel of προσῆξαν (Thuc. 2. 97. 3) uncertain, partly because the aorist seems not to be the tense there wanted : here ἄξαι and παρόντι hardly harmonise, and ἄξαι may need emendation (ἐλέγξαι, ἐξετάσαι, etc. are suggested). It reminds us however of ἀπελογήθην, etc. above. προῖνοησάμην for προῖνοήθην is unusual, but occurs in Ar. Eq. 421 and in Euripides. τὰ εἰς τοὺς κινδύνους ἤκοντα = τὰ περὶ τοὺς κινδύνους is quite an unusual phrase, and ὅδε ὁ ἀνὴρ = ἐγώ belongs

rather to tragic Greek, as does also φροῦδος. παρὰ with genitive of a thing or action is against ordinary Attic usage, cf. Plato Rep. 461 E βεβαίωσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ λόγου. ὥς = ὥστε is Xenophontean and poetical ; little known otherwise, except in Herodotus who has it often.

C. What noticeable things, if any, are common to the T.'s with the other speeches?

I have observed but few. It is perhaps not as well known as it should be that Attic orators are chary of using such parts of λέγω as ἔλεξα, λεχθείς, λεχθήσεται, etc., much preferring εἶπον, ῥηθείς, ῥηθήσεται. Thus Demosthenes uses τὰ λεχθέντα twice at most and no part of ἔλεξα at all, Lysias λέξαιμι and λεχθέντα perhaps once apiece. Antiphon's speeches 1 and 6 have ἔλεξα or ἔλεξε three times and λεχθέντα once : T. 2 has ἔλεξα, λέξας, and λεχθήσεται. δοκῶ think occurs both 5. 65 and 2. 4. 5 : 3. 2. 3 : this again is a use almost unknown in orators. The curiously frequent use of καθίστημι with a predicative word, make, render so and so, with a similar use of καθίστηκα, κατέστην, is found in all the speeches except 1. ζητῶ with an infinitive is remarkably frequent and found everywhere but in 3. Neither of these uses is noticeable in itself, but their frequency is. ἐκουσίως and ἀκουσίως, which are by no means common, because as a rule ἐκὼν and ἀκὼν take their place, occur in the T.'s several times and in 1. αὐθέντης, ἀγνεύω, τιμωρῶ (active) and τιμωρός perhaps deserve mention. Final ὥς occurs in 6. 15 and probably in 3. 3. 6. In all the speeches, T.'s and others alike, there is a marked tendency to use new or at least unusual compounds with privative ἀ, e.g. ἀναγνος, ἀδολος, ἀνελιγμένως καὶ ἀνοικτίστως. [Speeches 1 and 5 as well as the T.'s use σσ, not ττ ; 6 appears to have ττ. But all six have συν, not ξυν, in compounds, and εἰς, not ἐς ; in these two points differing from Thucydides.]

Do these lists—which no doubt other scholars might extend—help us at all? We cannot, I think, attach very much importance to the fact that both sets of speeches have in them some unusual things, nor even to some of these being identical or very similar in the two cases. Assuming that the two sets were composed roughly about the same time, it would be only natural that they should present similar features. It can hardly be said that the identity or similarity is very decidedly marked, and no doubt the greater accumulation of abnormal things in the T.'s is a difficulty. It is however only in 2 that they occur very markedly. We

might perhaps say that in this respect 2 stands to 3 and 4 as 2, 3, 4 together stand to 1, 5, 6. Even in 1 only *ἐπεξερχόμενοι* and *εἰκότερον* need cause us any great searchings of heart. It may indeed be asked why we should boggle very much over *ἐπεξερχόμενοι* itself, when we find *παρερχόμενος* in Xenophon, and generally why we should not accept some irregularities from a writer older than Thucydides, who seems undoubtedly to have influenced Thucydides' own style, when in Thucydides himself and still more in Xenophon we find a good many things that Lysias, Isocrates, and Demosthenes never allow themselves. To this it must be answered that besides any influence or tendency that might affect Antiphon as it affected Thucydides and Xenophon there was a reason for peculiarity of diction in the two latter that did not, as far as we know, apply to the former. They spent much of their time, Xenophon in fact most of his life, abroad, and their speech might naturally be coloured by this. We have no reason to think that Antiphon ever lived away from Athens, though there is probably nothing to prove that he did not. Anyhow three things may fairly be said. (1) The recognised speeches do display some inclination to the sort of vocabulary which the T.'s employ in a more marked manner. (2) The general style as distinguished from the precise vocabulary, a style akin to that of Thucydides, is certainly similar in the two cases and again more marked in the T.'s. (3) The T.'s are rhetorical exercises, not genuine speeches like the others, and this may very well account for some of the difference. In works composed to order for actual delivery in ordinary Athenian courts peculiarities might naturally be fewer than in specimens of oratory written as models or suggestions with a sort of professional purpose and used educationally we do not know quite how. We cannot call them exactly epideictic, but their very brevity and compression show that they are not altogether matter of fact and business-like.

Remembering then that these speeches are probably as early in date as anything we have in Attic prose except the old *Respublica Atheniensium*, or even earlier—for there is really no reason to say with Herwerden that they belong to late times: apart from a few things the Greek is both excellent and unmistakably of an early stamp—and remembering how little we know either of the conditions under which at that date they might be written or of the individual tastes and circumstances of Antiphon, we ought

perhaps to regard them with some doubt, but by no means at present to condemn them.

1. 1. ἀναγκαίως ἔχει.

ἔξει would agree better with *ἐπέξαιμι* preceding, and the mistake is very common.

3. δέομαι δ' ὑμῶν . . ἐμοὶ μόνῳ ἀπολελειμμένῳ βοηθῆσαι. ὑμεῖς γάρ μοι ἀναγκαῖοι. οὓς γὰρ ἔχρην κ.τ.λ.

The imaginative logic requires, I think, <οἱ> ἀναγκαῖοι or ἀναγκαῖοι. It requires, that is, that he represent them not only as close friends, but as the only close friends he has. So in 5. 32 Blass corrects αὐτοῖ τοῖ αὐτοῖ. Cf. on 11 below.

6. ἐν οἷς μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐξουσία ἦν σαφῶς εἶδέναι, παρὰ τῆς βασιάνου, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν· ἐν οἷς δ' οὐκ ἦν πυνθέσθαι, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ προϋθυμήθη. καίτοι αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔχρην, ὃ καὶ ἐγὼ προῦκαλοῦμην, προθυμηθῆναι, ὅπως τὸ πρᾶγμα ἦ ἀληθές, ἐπεξελθεῖν.

The last six words are obscure and awkward. Blass mentions the conjectures ὅπως τὸ πρᾶγμα ἦν καὶ τὸ ἀληθές, ἐπεξελθεῖν and ὅπως τὸ πρᾶγμα ἦν ἀληθῶς, ἐπεξελθεῖν. It is strange that anyone should have come so near the truth as the latter suggestion and not have seen the truth itself, ὅπως τὸ πρᾶγμα ἦν ἀληθῶς ἐπεξελθεῖν, 'so that it might have been possible really to investigate what had taken place,' ὅπως being used idiomatically with the indicative (as in *Ar. Peace* 135 ἔχρην σε Πηγάσου ζεῖξαι πτερόν, ὅπως ἐφαίνου κ.τ.λ.: *Plat. Rep.* 378 A. ὦ μὴν δεῖν . . . ἀκούειν δι' ἀπορρήτων, ὅπως οὗτοι ἐλαχίστοις συνίβη ἀκούσαι: *Dem.* 36. 20, etc.) and ἦν with infinitive like οὐκ ἦν just before.

8. τὰ γὰρ γενόμενα ἐν τούτῳ ἀφανισθῆναι ψήθησαν.

As this refers to the future, an ἄν must be added to the infinitive.

10. It may deserve consideration whether here and in 11 τὸν φονέα should not be τὴν φονέα, as in 3 ἀποδείξω . . τὴν τούτων μητέρα φονέα οὖσαν. In 20 (τὸν ἑαυτῶν φονέα μεταχειριζόμενοι) ὁ φονεύς is of course the poisoned bowl, as in *Ajax* 815 ὁ σφαγεύς is the sword, and φονεύς *ib.* 1026.

11. Perhaps <ὁ> τούτους αὐτοὺς κελεύων to match ὁ θέλων in the parallel clause. ὁ would easily fall out after ε. So in 3. 1. 2 ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐλάσσω τοῦ ἐκόντος ἄκων τὴν συμφορὰν κατέστησε we ought perhaps to read <ὁ> ἄκων or ἄκων. Cf. on 3 above.

23. ἂν ἡμᾶς πείθῃ.

πίσῃ? Cf. 5. 95 ἂν μόνον . . . πείσσωσιν.
But the present tense is not wrong.

2. 1. 1. ὅποσα μὲν τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἐπιβουλεύεται, οὐ χαλεπὰ ἐλέγχεσθαι ἔστιν· ἂν δ' οἱ ἱκανῶς μὲν πεφυκότες, ἔμπειροι δὲ πραγμάτων ὄντες, . . . πράσσωσι, χαλεποὶ καὶ γνωσθῆναι καὶ ἐλεγχθῆναι εἰσι.

The use of πράσσωσι without an object is awkward and has suggested the improbable conjecture πανουργῶσι. Should we not for ἂν at the beginning of the clause read ἂν or ἂ ἂν? It forms at the same time a more direct antithesis to ὅποσα κ.τ.λ. There is no difficulty about χαλεποὶ . . . εἰσι going along with it.

2. 2. 4. οὐδὲν γὰρ πικρότερον τῆς ἀνάγκης ἔοικεν εἶναι.

Dobree's ἰσχυρότερον is likely enough. Cf. 6. 25. Possibly however κυριώτερον.

2. 3. 9. λέγομεν δ' ἡμῖν <ὅτι> εἰ κ.τ.λ.?

2. 4. 10. ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰκότων προσποιούμενοι με ἐλέγχειν, . . . φονέα μέ φασι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι· τὰ δὲ εἰκότα ἄλλα πρὸς ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον ἀποδεδείκται ὄντα.

Mätzner's explanation of ἄλλα is unsatisfactory, *alia esse s. aliam vim habere*. . . *atque a meis potius partibus stare evici*. Schöll ἅπαντα. Should we not read αὐτά? The pretence (προσποιούμενοι) is contrasted with the real εἰκότα.

3. 2. 1. ἥκιστα τοιοῦτος ὢν καὶ βουλόμενος εἶναι.

Perhaps ἦ for καί. The confusion is not uncommon.

3. 2. 3. συμβέβηκε δέ μοι πολὺ παρὰ γνώμην τοῦτον (neuter).

Cf. Plat. Rep. 490 A ἐν μὲν τοῦτο σφόδρα οὕτω παρὰ δόξαν τοῖς νῦν δοκουμένοις περὶ αὐτοῦ.

5. 16. κακοῦργος ἀπέφυγον ἄλλ' οὐ τοῦ φόνου τὴν δίκην.

There seems no parallel for such a phrase as κακοῦργος ἀπέφυγον, *I was acquitted on the charge of κακοურγία*. Reiske suggested κακοურγίας. Perhaps a word has been lost and we should read something like κακοῦργος <ἐνδεδειγμένος>. So in 9 κακοῦργος ἐνδεδειγμένος φόνου δίκην φεύγω.

21. ὅτι μὴ προνοίᾳ μᾶλλον ἐγένετο ἡ τύχη.

For the impossible μὴ Blass adopts Jebb's οὐ τῇ ἐμῇ. I much prefer a simple οὐ, as

Mätzner suggested. But he failed to point out the probable origin of the error, namely the fact that in late Greek nothing is commoner than μὴ following a ὅτι in this ordinary sense. How the use, or abuse, sprang up, we hardly know, but there is no doubt of it. Here τῇ ἐμῇ would rather spoil the contrast of πρόνοια and τύχη.

46. δὲ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα ἐνθυμίσθε . . . μὴ οὖν ἐξέλγεται τοῦτο ὑμῶν μηδεῖς.

ἐνθυμίσθε is the imperative. Can it really be attached to the relative pronoun, when that relative refers to something not preceding but still to come? We should certainly expect δεῖ ἐνθυμίσθαι, which has some MS. support, but may of course very well be conjectural. Blass compares the imperative with a relative in 1. 22 δὲ καὶ ποιήσατε, but there the relative is retrospective, which makes all the difference. Possibly for δὲ δὲ we should read τόδε δέ. There is no objection to the repetition of the syllable δε. Cf. Dem. 24. 5 τόνδε δέ; Plat. Rep. 449 B τόδε δέ; Meno 70 c ἐνθάδε δέ; etc. or ἐν δέ; We might indeed think of μάλιστ' ἂν ἐνθυμίσθε, but that seems less probable.

48. πολλῶ ἂν δικαιότερον ὑμῖς ἐκρίνεσθε ἢ ἐγὼ νῦν φεύγω ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀδίκως.

ἀδίκως makes nonsense of the sentence and Cobet would simply omit it. But why should anyone have put in what is much worse than a mere superfluity? We might reduce the last words to such a superfluity—superfluous they would still be—by reading φεύγων for φεύγω. Perhaps φεύγω . . . ἀδίκως should all be omitted.

62. ἀπεστέρει δὲ αὐτὸν ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἅπερ μέγιστα καὶ περὶ πλείστον ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις.

ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσίων are of course things sacred and profane, and, since everything must be one or the other of these, what is left to be comprised in τῶν ἄλλων? Could you divide Englishmen into clergy, laity, and the rest, or the human race into male, female, and the rest? It is not ἄλλων, I think, that is wrong, though one might have expected somebody to suggest ἀπάντων, like ἅπαντα for ἄλλα in 2. 4. 10. I would rather suggest that ὁσίων is a mistake for θυσίων. Cf. Antiphon himself 6. 4 εἴργεσθαι πόλεως ἱερῶν ἀγώνων θυσίων (where θυσίων ought probably to come next to ἱερῶν) and Xen. Hell. 2. 4. 20 μετεσχίκαμεν ἡμῖν καὶ ἱερῶν τῶν σεμνοτάτων καὶ θυσίων καὶ ἱερῶν. In 6. 4 Dobree actually wished to read ὁσίων for θυσίων, but the change we need is in the present passage and the other way.

66. εἰ μὴ προσήκει μοι μηδὲν ὥστ' ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν.

Logically it should be a past tense and probably Antiphon wrote προσήκει.

6. 21. ἔλεξα ὅτι τὸν μὲν νόμον οὐ δίκαιον οὐ προκαθισταίη Φιλοκράτης κατηγορῶν καὶ διαβάλλων εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι μοι ἀγώνων . . . ὥνπερ ἔνεκα τοὺς λόγους τούτους λέγου· ἃ μέντοι αἰτῶτο καὶ διαβάλλοι, ῥαδίως ἐξελεγχθήσονται ψευδόμενος.

No one can be said to have made much of the obviously corrupt words at the beginning of this sentence. The prevailing idea has been to alter at any rate *προκαθισταίη*, and all sorts of words (*προσῆγον ποιεῖ*, *προαγαρεύοι*, *προφασίζεταί*) have been proposed. It is so peculiar a word that in its case corruption is most unlikely. It should be recognised as a probably technical expression and the error sought elsewhere. Those critics have been on a better track who removed the *οὐ* before it, an obvious course to take, but this is not enough. What is meant by *προκαθιστάναι νόμον*? and what law is referred to? The sense still remains very doubtful and obscure.

As soon as one begins to consider the sentence and look for something in it that may easily be wrong, we remember that *νόμος* and *λόγος* sometimes get interchanged in MSS. and we find that *τὸν μὲν λόγον* here will go far to restore an excellent sense. *τὸν λόγον προκαθιστάναι* suits admirably the remainder of the sentence, the *μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι μοι ἀγώνων* and the *ὥνπερ ἔνεκα τοὺς*

λόγους τούτους λέγου, which latter is almost *τὸν λόγον προκαθιστάναι* repeated. The *λόγους* in question is advanced beforehand with a view not to the occasion on which it is put forward but to one soon coming. The speaker is paving the way for something subsequent, prejudicing his audience in advance. The *μὲν* and *δέ* mean that such a *λόγος* would be unfair, even if it were true, but that as a matter of fact it was not even that.

Having got thus far *a priori*, we are gratified to find that the very phrase we have conjectured actually occurs in the *Ars Rhetorica* which goes under the name of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. In 5. 2 then the writer is speaking of the art of constructing conciliatory exordia so as to win over beforehand the goodwill of your hearer, in this case an individual; and when you have done that, he says, *οὕτω δὲ προκαταστήσάμενον τὸν λόγον, ἐξῆς ἰτέον ἐπὶ τὸ ἐγκώμιον τοῦ βασιλέως*, and so on. The two uses tally almost exactly.

As for the double negative in *οὐ δίκαιον οὐ προκαθισταίη*, it may arise from a confusion or mixture of *οὐ δ. π.* and *δ. οὐ π.*, either of which would be possible here.

40. αὐτός would perhaps be better than οὗτος. οὕτως αὐτός has already been proposed, but there is no need for both words.

41. ἃ . . . κατηγοροῦσι . . . , τοῦτο δέ (or δὴ) . . . , ἔσται τεκμήριον.

Probably ὅ for ἄ.

H. RICHARDS.

WHEN DID ARISTOPHANES DIE?

The year 385 seems to be agreed upon as the approximate date of Aristophanes' death.

'Il composa encore' (after the second *Plutus*, 388) 'le *Cocalos* et l'*Éolosikon*, pièces perdues, mais il les fit représenter comme des œuvres de son fils Araros, auquel il voulut ainsi gagner la faveur du public . . . Il mourut peu de temps après.'—Croiset, *Hist. de la Litt. Grecque*, iii.² p. 531.

'Die letzten zwei Stücke gab er schon nicht mehr unter seinem Namen, sondern unter dem seines Sohnes Araros, um denselben empfehlend bei dem Publikum einzuführen.² Den uns erhaltenen *Plutos* dichtete er noch für die Dionysien von 388; bald nachher aber muss er gestorben sein; sicher war er

Ol. 101, wo nach Suidas sein Sohn Araros mit eigenen Stücken auftrat, schon tot; wahrscheinlich enthält das 384 geschriebene Gastmahl des Platon ein Gedenkblatt für den kurz zuvor gestorbenen Dichter.'—Christ, *Gr. Litt.—Gesch.*² p. 292 (3d. ed. p. 300).

² Vgl. Arg. Plut.; vielleicht auch, weil Aristophanes zu alt war, um selbst noch als Schauspieler die erste Rolle zu spielen.'—*ib.*, footnote referred to in previous quotation.

'Das letzte Stück, das A. selbst zur Aufführung brachte, war der zweite *Plutos* (388, vgl. Hypoth. iv), zwei weitere Stücke, den *Kokalos* und den *Aiolosikon* übergab er seinem Sohne Araros zur Aufführung. Er

kann also etwa bis in die Mitte des 2. Jahrzehnts des 4. Jhdts. gelebt haben.'—Kaibel in *Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encyc.* ii p. 972, s. v. *Aristophanes* 12.

This conclusion is based on

I.-IV. *Aristoph. Plut.* τελευταίαν δὲ διδάξας τὴν κωμωδίαν ταύτην (i. e. *Plutum*) ἐπὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ ὀνόματι, καὶ τὸν νῦν αὐτοῦ συστήσαι 'Αραρότα δι' αὐτῆς τοῖς θεαταῖς βουλομένους, τὰ ἐπόλοιπα δύο δὲ ἐκείνου καθῆκε (sc. 'Αριστοφάνης). Κώκαλον καὶ Αἰολοσίκωνα.

II.—*Anon. Vita Aristophanis* § 12. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ δράματι (i. e. *Kwakálon*) συνέστησε τῷ πλήθει τὸν νῦν 'Αραρότα, καὶ οὕτω μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον, παιδας καταλιπὼν τρεῖς. . .

III.—*Schol. ad Plat. Apol.* 19c. τρεῖς δ' ἔσχεν υἱούς, Φίλιππον. . . καὶ 'Αραρότα ἰδίους τε καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς δράμασι διηγωνισμένους, καὶ τρίτον. . .

IV.—*Suidas* s. v. 'Αραρός, 'Αθηναῖος, υἱὸς τοῦ 'Αριστοφάνους τοῦ κωμικοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς κωμικός, διδάξας τὸ πρῶτον 'Ολυμπιάδα ρα'.

V.—The fact that *Aristophanes* appears as a character in *Plato's Symposium*, written not before 385.

From the first three of these, three facts are established. First: the *Kώκαλος* and the *Αἰολοσίκων* were the only plays which *Aristophanes* composed after the second *Plutus*. Second: *Aristophanes* gave these plays to his son *Araros* for presentation.¹ Third: his motive in so doing was to bring *Araros* favourably before the public.² Now from the fourth passage it is seen that *Araros* first appeared as *chorodidascalus* of a play in *Ol.* 101—hence not before the *Lenaea* of *Ol.* 101, 1 or *January* 375. *Christ's* interpretation of ἐδίδαξεν here as 'mit eigenen Stücken auftrat' is unjustifiable³; with πρῶτος, the word means simply

¹ *Platonius de div. com.* § 8 τὸν γοῦν Αἰολοσίκωνα 'Αριστοφάνης ἐδίδαξεν, ὅς οὐκ ἔχει τὰ χορικά μέλη, does not contradict this, for ἐδίδαξεν is here, as the context clearly shows, used loosely and inaccurately in the sense of *composed*.

² *Christ's* note, quoted above, is not to the point; *Aristophanes*, he says, died probably before 384, certainly before 376/5, and had presented the *Plutus* in his own name in 388; but the lapse of these few years could hardly have caused him on the score of advanced age, as *Christ* thinks, to give up the active work of presenting a play, for he had always been in the habit of giving many of his plays to others for production, notably to *Callisthenes* and to *Philonides*, and even if he had desired to present it himself he would not have been obliged to take the part of the first actor.

³ So also *Kaibel* in *Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encyc.* ii p. 381 s. v. *Araros* 2, 'Selbständig als Dichter ist er nach *Suidas* zuerst *Ol.* 101 aufgetreten, also mindestens 13 Jahre nach dem *Plutos*.'

presented for the first time a play in his own name.

Hence this refers either to the *Cocalus* or the *Aeolusicon*, or to an early attempt of his own, preceding them. In view of his father's desire to bring him favourably before the public the latter is hardly likely, so that one of the other two is probably the play referred to.⁴ In either case these two plays of *Aristophanes* did not appear before 375.

The next question is, was *Aristophanes* alive when these last plays of his appeared? *A priori*, if he wished to commend his son to public favour as a *chorodidascalus*, he would have had the plays brought out in his own lifetime that he might assist the inexperienced young man with practical advice in the matter; but there is also a much stronger reason for answering the question in the affirmative.

The *Aeolusicon* appeared in two versions, and both of these versions are credited to *Aristophanes*.⁵

* *Codex Ambrosianus* L 39 ('*Novati Life*'). Αἰολος ἦ ἐκὼν β', *legendum* Αἰολοσίκων β'.

Athenaeus 372A καὶ 'Αριστοφάνης Αἰολοσίκωνι δευτέρῳ.

Schol. ad Hephaest. i p. 56 *Gaisf.* Αἰολοσίκων δράμα γέγονε πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον 'Αριστοφάνους, ὡς καὶ ὁ *Πλοῦτος* πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον.

Now there are several instances on record where a play has been worked over by another comic writer, as the *Ἀντεια* of *Antiphanes*, reworked by *Alexis*, *Athen.* 127 B.C. 'Αντιφάνους . . . ἐξ . . . Ἀντίας . . . τὸ δ' αὐτὸ δράμα φέρεται καὶ ὡς 'Αλέξιδος ἐν ὀλίγοις σφόδρα διαλλάττον, and the *Δύσπρατος* of *Antiphanes*, reworked by *Epicrates*, *Athen.* 262 'Αντιφάνης δ' ἐν *Δυσπράτῳ* . . . (fr. 89 *Kock*) . . . 'Επικράτης δ' ἐν *Δυσπράτῳ* . . . (fr. 5 *Kock*) . . . ἐκ τοῦ παραθέσεως τῶν *ἱαμβείων* δηλὸς ἐστὶν ὁ 'Επικράτης τὰ τοῦ 'Αντιφάνους μετενεγκών. Other instances of revision are probably concealed, at least in some instances, under disputes as to the authorship of plays, as the *Ἀλείπτρια* and *Ὑπνος* of *Antiphanes* or *Alexis* (*Athen.* 123 B, 671 D), the *Ὅμοια* of *Alexis* or *Antidotus* (*Athen.* 642 D), and the *Καμπυλιὼν* of *Araros* or *Eubulus* (*Athen.* 471 E, 562 C). But in no case where the revision belongs to one not the original

⁴ It is immaterial here whether the *Cocalus* preceded the *Aeolusicon* or not; *Hyp. IV. Plut.* names the *Cocalus* first, while *Anon. Vita Aristoph.* § 12 implies that the *Cocalus* was *Aristophanes'* last play.

⁵ In fact, of the thirty odd passages in which the play is mentioned, all expressly state or by the immediate context imply that *Aristophanes* is the author of the play.

author, is that revision attributed to the original author. A view therefore that the second *Aeolosicon* is due to a revision by Araros cannot be accepted, for no passage suggests in the slightest way that the revision was due to any one but Aristophanes himself. Moreover, the two versions of this play, as well as the *Cocalus*, are needed to fill out the full list of Aristophanes' forty-four plays (cf. *Didot edition of Aristophanes*, pp. 445 sq.). We may accordingly regard it as certain that Aristophanes was the author of the second *Aeolosicon* as well as of the first. It follows as a corollary that he survived the performance of the first *Aeolosicon* at least long enough to revise the play for a second production.

The *Cocalus* is likewise of unquestioned authority. Wherever mentioned, it is stated or clearly implied to be a play of Aristophanes. Once only do we find it attributed to another, and then by a late author, who assigned it to its chorodidasculus, a not unnatural error.

Clem. Alex. Strom. vi 752. τὸν μέντοι Κώκαλον τὸν ποιηθέντα Ἀραρότι τοῦ Ἀριστοφάνους νιέ¹ Φιλίμων ὁ κωμικὸς ἱπαλλάξας ἐν Ὑποβοκίμαϊ ἐκωμώδησεν. It cannot have been given before 375, for the same reasons which govern the dating of the *Aeolosicon*. Perhaps the two plays were given at the two festivals of that year, and the second *Aeolosicon* in the next year; but this must remain a mere surmise, for the twenty-eight fragments of the two plays (given by Kock, *Frag. Com. Att.* i) give no clue whatever to their dates. Certainty is assured only for the statements that that one of them which was first produced appeared in Ol. 101, or 376-2, and that Aristophanes was alive during a great part of the year 375, if the *Aeolosicon* was produced at the earliest date possible in that period, and otherwise longer.

It remains to consider how his appearance

¹ This is Casaubon's correction for the manuscript reading ἀραρότως τῷ Ἀριστοφάνει ποιέι.

as a character in Plato's *Symposium* affects the question. Christ (*loc.*) suggests that it was meant as a tribute to the poet soon after his death, and that he therefore died before 384. But the date of the composition of the dialogue is by no means certain, the only clue being the year 385 as a *terminus post quem* (p. 193 A), and the poet's appearance as a personage does not necessarily mean that he was no longer living at the time of its composition. Furthermore, the fantastic views upon the origin of love may be put into the poet's mouth as a species of gentle retort for the satire upon the Platonic state in the *Ecclesiastusae* (if that play be indeed hitting at Plato's communism of family, cf. Rogers, *Aristoph. Eccles.* xxiv-xxviii), and for the reference to Plato himself in the *Τελεμῆσις*.²

Aristophanes' death may therefore be set in 375 or the next few years. He was accordingly, at the time of his death, about seventy years of age, if he was born in 445/4, the generally accepted date, or eighty, if as the writer believes (*Class. Rev.* xix pp. 153-155) he was born in 455/4. Even eighty years is not an unlikely age for him to have reached, for Epicharmus, Cratinus, and Alexis, to mention comic poets only, all far surpassed fourscore.

May it be permitted to hazard a conjecture as to the reason for the appearance of the *Aeolosicon* a second time? Possibly, like the *Frogs*, the play received such a hearty reception that a second performance was demanded, for the public had not forgotten that it was Aristophanes, the old champion of morality, who was speaking again in his old age after a silence of many years.³

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² He is there spoken of as Ἀρίστουλλος, which is a nickname of Aristotle, the philosopher's real name (cf. Kock, *Frag. Com. Att.* i p. 528, *Aristophanes fr.* 538).

³ From the second *Plutus*, 388, to this play, 375 at the earliest.

THE PERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE, OPTATIVE, AND IMPERATIVE IN GREEK.

PROF. HARRY'S *Duplik* fortunately requires no long *Triplik* from me. I expect that if he were to lay his hand to the practical task of writing a Greek Grammar he would come to the same result as others who have laboured in this field: *i.e.* he would find it necessary to include the Perf. Subj. and

Optat. (labelled 'rare') in his paradigms, and also to call them by their ordinary names, *e.g.* πεποιθοῖ¹ Perfect Optat. (though of course it has present meaning, like πέποιθα)—and this not from any regard for 'the Roman

¹ I am sorry that I missed seeing this in Prof. Harry's article.

point of view,' but simply because the terms of *Accidence* are based not on meaning but on form: at the same time he would translate *πέποιθα* 'I trust,' *memini* 'I remember,' etc.—It was certainly my impression that Prof. Harry meant to say that the Perf. Opt. never had perfect meaning.¹ If not, *cadit quaestio*.—I am glad to find that Prof. Harry has nothing more serious to urge against 'parallelism' in grammars than that it is wrong to attempt to force the idiom of one language into artificial similarity to the idiom of another. Parallelism involves no such absurdity: it is not synonymous with 'identity' or 'similarity.' On the contrary the advantage of it is that it brings out in clear and intelligible relief the differences just as much as the likenesses of the languages under treatment, though of course it is most fruitful when applied to languages which are closely akin. The principle is simply to find a *common point of view* (i.e. a common

grammatical scheme), from which the pupil may regard the phenomena of the different languages which he learns, and so discover their relations of identity and difference—relations which are merely concealed from view by 'separatism' of terminology and classification. How many pupils, for instance, remain only half conscious of the simple fact expressed in the following rule? 'In Latin, Greek, and French the Predicate Adjective agrees, but in German does not agree, with the word of which it is predicated.' The rule is impossible unless we agree to employ some common term such as 'Predicate Adjective' in dealing with all these languages. E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN.

[In noting that this controversy is closed, we take occasion to draw our readers' attention to the lists of Subjunctive and Optative Perfects in La Roche's *Beiträge zur Griechischen Grammatik*, 1893, a reference for which we are indebted to the courtesy of a correspondent.—Ed. C.R.]

¹ See p. 351 'Practically the same remarks apply to the perf. optat. act. as to the perf. subj.'; and the examples on that and the following page.

ACCENT AND QUANTITY IN PLAUTINE VERSE.

It is not the object of the present article to criticise in detail the interesting paper of Prof. Exon in the February No. of this *Review* (pp. 31–36), in which he proposes a new law governing the resolution of arses and theses in Plautine verse. Whatever the final judgment of scholars may be as to his proposed law, it is clear that it is a practically convenient substitute for some, at least, of the special laws which he desires to supersede; and it cannot be denied that the first syllable of a resolved thesis is, like that of a resolved arsis, in most cases an accented syllable. Whether the accent is the *cause* or explanation of the resolution is another matter. What I desire to do in this article is to consider the proposed law from one point of view only, viz. that to which Prof. Exon himself calls attention on p. 36 in the words 'we do not find its *raison d'être* in the supposed, the oft asserted preference of Plautus for coincidence of the verse-accent (ictus) with the prose-accent.' In other words, it is clear that Prof. Exon's proposed law involves a far-reaching discrepancy between word-accent and ictus, and thus runs counter to the tendency, visible in much recent Plautine work, to recognize an accentual element in the structure of early Latin verse.

The doctrine that Plautine verse is 'accentual' has often been over-stated since the time of Bentley, who declared that in the whole of the second dipody of the senarius there is a coincidence of accent and ictus, and who seems to have held that in other parts of the verse the accent was over-ridden by the ictus, this conflict being in his view a *sine qua non* in the construction of Latin iambic or trochaic lines. Still less is it possible, in my opinion, to prove that the verse of Plautus is accentual throughout, by way of a theory of sentence accents. The case is also over-stated, for example, by Christ, 'Metrik der Griechen und Römer' p. 335, where he says that in the third foot of the senarius word-accent and verse-ictus coincide 'almost without exception'; and in the second foot to a large extent. My observations point to a modification of this rule which I would state as follows, without attempting to decide whether the formula is strictly speaking a law of Plautine verse or rather the resultant of other laws; it may, I think, in any case be regarded as a test of correct structure.—*The third rise¹ of the iambic trimeter, and*

¹ I use the words 'rise' and 'fall' instead of 'arsis' and 'thesis' (or 'thesis' and 'arsis'); these terms are used in such a confusing manner

the fifth of the trochaic septenarius, is normally introduced by a syllable bearing, or capable of bearing, a word-accent, either principal or secondary; and if the accent fails here, this defect in the accentual rhythm is either compensated by a word-accent on the next rise but one (i.e. the fifth of the iambic trimeter and the seventh of the trochaic septenarius), or else there is synaloepha of the offending word. I propose to call the third rise of the iambic trimeter and the fifth of the trochaic septenarius 'critical rises,' as standing on a different footing from other rises in respect of the accent.—It should be borne in mind that syllables capable of receiving a word-accent, even a weak one, are naturally qualified to have that accent intensified in verse, i.e. to receive a verse-stress.

I regard monosyllables as always capable of receiving a word-accent in verse,¹ and I agree with the doctrine that words ending with four short syllables have normally a word-accent on the first of the four, e.g. *fácilis*. I also regard words of the value of $\cup\cup\cup$ as capable of receiving a secondary accent (') on the first syllable, especially if they are compounds—*pèrpétior*, *fàlstdicus*, *làtómia*, *pàncràtica*, *Mnèsilochus*. Similarly words of the value of $\cup\cup\cup\cup$ e.g. *pàrasitus*, *uoluptàtem*. In a few words, I should admit the possibility of two different accentuations (1) according to the strict law of sound ('lautgesetzlich') (2) according to analogy, e.g. *ístic*, *ístic*.

EXAMPLES.

(1) Normal lines.

- Most. 431. *Habeo Neptune gràtiam magnam tibi*.
 „ 438. *Edepol Neptune peccavisti largiter*.
 „ 50. *Meum bonum me, tè turum maneat malum*.
 „ 777. *Qui solus facio fácinora immortalia*.
 „ 216. *Perfacile ego ictus pèrpétior argenteos*.

(The law is also maintained where there

by different writers as hardly to suggest any definite idea to the reader until he has found the place in his book in which they are defined. 'Rise' and 'fall' I find convenient to denote the crest and the trough of a wave of sound, like the German terms 'Hebung' and 'Senkung'; and some corresponding terms I feel to be badly wanted in English.

¹ Words like *eum*, *meum*, etc. may be scanned either with synizesis or without it (*eum*, *méum*) in lines like Bacch. 769, Stich. 457. It makes no difference to my rule which method is adopted.

is no penthemimeral caesura, e.g. Most. 20, 28, 67, 452, 523, 531, 543, 569, 594.)

For parallel examples in the trochaic septenarius, see Most. 248, 259, 262, 256, 1174, and 1178.

(2) Lines with accentual compensation on the next rise but one.

Trin. 410. *Quam si tu obicias formicis papáuerem*.

So Aul. 375, Capt. 192, Men. 102, Mil. 502, Most. 656 (or perhaps *pèrturbā*, Perfect), Poen. 959, Rud. 14, 1195, Truc. 64, etc. Without penthemimeral caesura: Bacch. 257 *Quamne Archidemidem?* *Quam, inquam, Archidemidem*, ibid. 344, Merc. 777, Pers. 410, Rud. 1341 (perhaps enclisis), Stich. 300, etc.

In troch. septen.: Capt. 258 *praesenti pecúnia*, 820, 822, Bacch. 675, Merc. 451, Rud. 651, 987, 1394, Trin. 648, 886, etc. Without the ordinary caesura:—Epid. 626 *pingent pigmentis úlmeis*, Trin. 604, etc.

(3) Lines with synaloepha of the offending word.

Most. 26. *Hocine modo hic rem curatam offendet suam*.

So 440, 453 (?), 688 (also accentual compensation). In troch. septen.:—Most. 263, 959 (but I suspect the reading²), Curc. 591, etc.

There are very few exceptions to this rule, so far as I have observed. Some cases like Merc. 10 *Eadem Latine Mercator Macci Titi* (emended by Ritschl) are lines which every Plautine scholar will recognize as defective in rhythm, cf. Rud. 1132 (emendation by Camerarius and Gulielmus). Some cases like Mil. 828 *procede huc; periisti iam nisi verum scio* may probably be explained by enclisis (*periisti iam*), cf. Capt. 580 (*praetèr se*), Pers. 456 *prouenturam bene*; Terence Andr. 540, Haut. 429, Eun. 836 (?). In Asin. 233 *relicius* may perhaps have the first syllable long (hence *relicius*); and so forth. In Capt. 668 I feel tempted to propose the reading *Tuos sum*: <tu> *tuas quidem*, etc. (*tuas* B, *tu has* JF). The sense would be quite good; the hands of Tyndarus are the property of his master.—Cases like Trin. 794 *apud portitorem eas* are more difficult, but perhaps explicable; and there are after all only two or three of them. It should be borne in mind that even the best

² The negative is wrongly placed: perhaps we should read *unum haud intermíssum hic esse et bibi*. Is it Latin to say *est haud intermíssum* for *haud est interm.* or *haud interm. est*?

poets occasionally write verses which are not perfectly rhythmical.¹

I hold, then, that while it is an overstatement to say that the verse of Plautus is accentual throughout, it is a fact that it is accentual at certain points of the dialogue metres. This doctrine is quite consistent with phenomena observable in widely different kinds of Latin verse: e.g. the last two feet of the Latin hexameter begin normally with an accented syllable: *primus ab óris, Atlántides abscondántur, prognátae vértice pinus, fines Aetéos, imbuít Amphitriten*. The second half of the Latin pentameter in its most perfect form begins with two accented feet: *órtaque signa canam; saépe legéndus eras; quó tuéditur habet; ófficiúm-que meum; cúm tulit arma reis*. The disyllabic ending I regard as merely a necessary sacrifice in order to secure coincidence of ictus, as it is called, and accent in the immediately preceding feet. The rule might therefore be given that the second colon of the pentameter should be as accentual as possible, provided always that the monosyllabic ending (without elision) is barred. In the limping iambs the last syllable but one is normally an accented syllable, and I therefore regard the accentual rhythm as being

⏏ — — | ⏏ — — | ⏏ × — — (× denoting an unaccented syllable)

ridete quidquid est domi cachinnórum.

It will be noticed that the doctrine here advanced does not go so far as that which I advocated on a former occasion for the Latin Sapphic (*C.R.* 1903, pp. 252 ff.). For I am only maintaining an accentual element at one particular point of each kind of verse.

Facts like these are only obscured by our traditional method of teaching versification, which, as Mr. Robert Bridges has said, merely gives rules for 'counterfeiting the rhythms.' A simpler and more intelligible method would be to replace some of these rules by a direction to make the verse accentual or unaccentual, as the case may be, at particular points. Verse thus produced would be not only correct, but also written with intelligent understanding and a 'right intention.'

¹ Lines like the following, which are exceptional according to the Dipody Law, are legal according to my law: Aul. 336, Merc. 988, Poen. 402, Rud. 595, to say nothing of lines like Rud. 507, Amph. 592, etc.; so too lines like Asin. 529, 800, Bacch. 438, Epid. 400, Merc. 860, Cas. 426, etc. Note the secondary accent and cf. Klotz, *Grundzüge*, pp. 333 ff.

But even a limited doctrine of accented rises (or, as it is commonly called, coincidence of word-accent with verse-ictus) will meet with opposition from those who hold that such coincidence is due merely to the fact that the Latin poets observed the metrical structure of their Greek models in respect of the *caesura*; and no doubt much coincidence may be explained in this way, as may be easily seen by writing out some Greek iambs and trochaics in Latin characters and noticing how often the word-accents fall as postulated by the accentual rhythm. On the other hand it must be remembered that Plautus and Terence observed the *caesura* more strictly than any of their Greek models, and the reason why they did so has yet to be explained.

Notwithstanding, I feel that if even a limited accentual theory is to be established it must be supported by further evidence. Now it appears to me that there is a whole set of facts, the bearing of which has not been sufficiently appreciated in this connexion. It is generally stated that the verse of Plautus is quantitative, like that of his Greek models. I would suggest that this statement should be amended by the substitution of the word 'semi-quantitative' for 'quantitative.' The main fact to which I would call attention is that the purity of the 'inner falls' (*i.e.*, the theses which come immediately after the principal ictus) is just as important to quantitative rhythm as that of the arses. Now in the dialogue metres of Plautine verse the inner falls are more frequently long than short, excepting at one specified point. The true formulae for the ordinary Plautine iambs and trochaics are therefore, so far as quantities are concerned:—

× — × — | × — × — | × — — — |
— × — × | — × — × | — × — × | — — — ×

in which × stands for a syllable of indeterminate quantity. If this is true, Plautine verse is, in respect of its falls, on a level with modern English verse, always excepting, of course, the last fall of the verse.²

There are many other phenomena of Plautine verse, which, if this general position is accepted, seem to present themselves in a new light. The phenomena coming under the head of the law of 'Breves Breviantes'

² I might add that in good English verse the rises are formed by long syllables or two equivalent shorts to a much greater extent than is recognized by the current theory of English verse—the longs being, of course, also accented: e.g. 'And chiefly thou, O Spirit that dost prefer.'

may very possibly require to be re-interpreted, if it be admitted that some sacrifice of quantitative rhythm (*i.e.* of 'time') is not to be ruled out of court. Again, the scansion of words like *nempe*, *ille*, *unde*, etc. by way of complete suppression of the second syllable (the doctrine of Professor Skutsch) also comes up for re-consideration.¹ It would even be possible to argue that in semi-quantitative verse there is no *a priori* objection to a 'rise' being occasionally formed by a short syllable, the quantitative defect being supplied in some cases by a slight pause after the syllable in question, *e.g.* *igitur insania* (Amph. 719), *lampadibus ardentibus* (Men. 842), *uenimus in Cariam* (Curc. 438), *facinora promittere* (Pseud. 563), *ingere fallaciam* (Asin. 250), *a patre si petimus* (Stich. 71), etc. The phenomena coming under this head will be greatly extended in number, if Prof. Exon succeeds in establishing his scansion of cases like *aedibus habitat* (Most. 402), *auribus oculis* (ibid. 1118).

But if the verse of Plautus is only semi-quantitative, this fact may be appealed to as a new argument in favour of an accentual element in it. For any kind of verse must have some kind of rhythm, and in proportion as quantitative rhythm fails, accentual rhythm may naturally be supposed to enter the field; for any third kind of rhythm can hardly be appealed to in verse of the Greek and Latin type. My argument then is that the early Latin poets would not have been able to make their iambic and trochaic verses semi-quantitative, had they not consciously realized the accentual character which arose *de facto* from an imitation of their Greek models in respect of the caesura. In other words, either there was a pre-established harmony between quantitative Greek rhythm and Latin accents, or else accent must have been regarded by the early Roman poets as a structural element in their verse. This is not quite the same thing as saying that a coincidence of accent with ictus was aimed at: it presented itself of its own accord, but it was *utilised* by the early poets so as to secure a freer hand in their dealing with quantities. Plautine verse might therefore be described as a kind of verse in which a defective quantitative rhythm was compensated at certain points by an accentual rhythm, or a kind of verse which was semi-quantitative and locally accentual. The accentual prop in the middle of the iambic

trimeter and the trochaic septenarius upholds the structure of the verse even when it consists almost entirely of long syllables, as in lines like *ut indotatas ducant uxores domum* Aul. 480 (which would be spoilt by transposing *uxores ducant*); *ut tempestas est nunc atque ut noctu fuit* Rud. 901; *ecceator, qui subrupturum pallam promisit tibi*, Asin. 930. I do not mean that such lines 'read themselves' as verse in virtue of their prose accents, but only that they admit of being read as verse, with the help of a not-misplaced verse-stress.

I have not spoken above of the fact that the second rise of the iambic trimeter and the fourth of the troch. septen. are also normally accentual, for this is the direct result of the caesura; but I am inclined to think that the strict observance of the caesura by Plautus and Terence was due mainly to its effect in securing accentual rhythm at this point of the verse.

Professor Exon's doctrine comes into collision in a considerable number of verses with the rule which I have stated above; for it involves a secondary accent on the second syllable of words of the value of $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ *e.g.* *aduénientem*, *intégumentum*, *commóditatem*, *esúriales*; but such words often come immediately after the caesura, *e.g.* Bacch. 197, 601, Pers. 255, Capt. 468, where my rule postulates the accents *aduénienti*, *intégumentum*, *commóditatem*, *esúriales* *suppeditare* (Asin. 819); and in so far Professor Exon's law seems to me to represent Plautine verse as less accentual than I believe it actually to have been.²

E. A. SONNENSCHIEIN.

² I have counted 24 instances of the word *aduénientem* (-is, -i, etc.) in Plautine senarii and trochaic septenarii: possibly a few have escaped me. But of these 24, 18 (three-quarters of the whole number) make the line accentual at some point or another, if we assume the accents *aduénientem*: in 6 of these 18 (one quarter of the whole) the first syllable comes at the critical rise of the verse: viz. Amph. Prol. 150, 714, 978, Bacch. 197, Epid. 435, 662. In all these passages the accent *aduénientem*, involved in Prof. Exon's theory, makes the line unaccentual at the place where all normal lines are accentual. In 6 instances (a quarter of the whole) the two syllables *-ueni-* form a rise, but only at points of the verse where, according to my theory, accentual rhythm is not necessary: viz. Amph. 706, Bacch. 538, 769, Capt. 1004, Stich 422, 740. [The other passages are Amph. 711, Bacch. 101, 186, Epid. 126, Men. 724, Most. 389, 430, 1124, Poen. 1151, Stich. 457, Trin. 869, 997: total 12, in which the first syllable occurs at other rises than the critical ones. Here too, of course, Prof. Exon's theory makes the rises unaccentual; but I do not claim that these rises are necessarily accentual.]

¹ On this point see Prof. Radford in *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 1904, p. 44.

CATULLUS ONCE MORE.

No one can regret more deeply than I do my enforced delay in publishing my collation of the codex R of Catullus. The cause lies partly in the pressure of prior obligations, and partly in the small amount of time which an American professor, even of the more fortunate class, can command for the more important part of his work. But it also lies in part (as I trust will some time appear) in the careful study devoted to a manuscript which is easily read wrongly. No fewer than eight hands, at any rate, have worked upon R. It is by no means always easy to distinguish among certain of them, especially where a change has been made, by erasure and fresh writing, in the body of the text; and, indeed, it is in many places easy to mistake the work of correctors for the original readings. This has in fact been done.

While, then, I am confident what the final estimate of R must be, I have felt that certain readings that have been published might for a time cause difficulty. This feeling is confirmed by Magnus's very interesting review of Ellis's 'Catulli Carmina,' *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, September 30, 1905.

From the readings published by Ellis, Magnus divines the importance of a careful study of the manuscript ('*folglich verdient R die sorgsamste Prüfung*'). He correctly characterizes these readings, however, as '*sehr verschiedenartig*.' It would seem to be at the points which cause him most trouble that my report differs from Ellis's. Thus I find that in 4, 4 and 5 the original reading was not *siue-siue* but *sine-sine*, and that the *u's* are the work of a hand which went over the MS a hundred years or more after it was written. Again, in 47, 4 the original reading was not *proposuit* but *proposuit*. A late hand, probably the one already referred to, erased the line curving around the lower part of the perpendicular of the *p*, and wrote a virgula above. In both these passages, then, R agrees with O and G. And indeed, from the apparatus at my command for the secondary MSS I should even go so far as to say that no manuscript which had the readings *siue* and *proposuit* in the passages cited could be of value. A third passage mentioned is 97, 8, where R is reported as reading *meientis*. But R originally had *me gentis* (separated), the reading of O G. A corrector has changed

g to *i*, partly filling up the space. In 4, 20, R is reported as reading *vocare^t ura*. My report will be that the original reading was *vocare cura*, and that the change to *vocare^t aura* is by a late hand, probably the one first referred to above. Again, in 102, 1 *ab amico* is reported for R. I distinguish, not easily but nevertheless surely, the original reading *ab antiquo*, as in O G. The emendation—for such it is—is the work of a later hand, probably the second.

These readings set R in a different light. There are other places also in which my report will differ from Ellis's. I could wish that he might have had the use of my published collation before editing the new volume, since I have both felt exceptional responsibility, and made for myself exceptional opportunities, through the help of photographs, for the study of R. I should also have preferred that he should be a critic of my collation, rather than I of his. But circumstances forbade his waiting longer. I beg to thank him publicly for the great courtesy which he has shown me, and am glad to see that Magnus recognizes it.

One question which Magnus raises can easily be answered from my collations. He notes that Ellis reports *Cui* for the first word of the first poem, and surmises that the error hitherto committed in reporting *Qui* may have been committed in the case of the other MSS as well. The reading is in fact unmistakably *Cui* in O and G, as also in R. To the witnesses adduced by Ellis (Merrill and Nicholson) may be added Omont and Madan for G and O respectively, whose judgment, though in a matter of which there could be no question, I asked in 1896. Neither could understand how any one could have read *Qui*. Magnus is not quite right, however, in thinking that *Cui* has not been reported before. It stands in the edition of Catullus (1893) by my countryman E. T. Merrill. The general state of affairs with regard to this reading is rather amusing than encouraging. One collator after another must have seen *Qui* merely because he expected to see it. It stands in Lachmann's edition, as in general in the editions of his predecessors, from the undated first edition down; and it seemed therefore as if the manuscripts must all have it. O and G were accordingly read wrongly. But the reading in the later manuscripts is not as it

occurred to Magnus it might be. D has *Qui*, changed to *Quoi* by a later hand. *Quoi* stands in the text, to my knowledge, in H, Pal. 910, Pal. 3291, Ottob. 1799, and vii. 8, 1054 and vii. 9, 1158 of the National Library in Florence. In Ottob. 1799 one even frequently meets *quor* and *quom*. So far as the fifteenth century Catullus MSS are concerned, these are simply learned spellings of the day, and have no place in the genuine tradition. I strongly suspect that the *Qui* reported from Pastrangicus is due to the same cause, and was not written by him.

Of a very different character from Magnus's review is that of Schulze, *Woch. f. Klass. Phil.* Nov. 30, 1904. I am here concerned only with the general judgment passed upon R, and the critical principles underlying it. The judgment, already passed elsewhere by Schulze (*Hermes*, 1897, and *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1899, pp. 442-444) and already discussed by myself (*Hermes*, 1898), is that R is of no special value—is, indeed, of much less value than M (= Lat. lxxx., xii. of the St. Mark's Library in Venice). Of the critical principles, one seems to be that a manuscript is good in proportion to the excellence of its readings, estimated according to our convictions of what the author is likely to have written. Thus Schulze says of D and a (= 11, 915 of the British Museum) 'beide sind stark interpoliert, bieten aber hie und da Beachtenswertes.' And again, 'nicht nur G O R sind für die Kritik massgebend; viel eher als R war hier neben O G der cod. Venetus als bedeutungsvoll zu nennen. Dieser steht allerdings, wie Hale und Ellis richtig erkannt haben, R sehr nahe; aber er bietet mehrere wertvolle Lesarten allein. Und woher weiss Ellis, dass R älter ist als der cod. Ven.? Vgl. hierzu *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1899, S. 442 ff.' But the question is not whether D, a, M, and others offer good readings: the question is whether the readings which they offer belong to the genuine tradition. Otherwise Schulze's own text, for example, would be a better guide to the readings of the lost Verona MS than either O or G. The second critical principle, displayed in the second quotation above, is much harder to state. It would seem to be that it is not the business of the textual critic to decide upon the relative age and exact relation of two closely related MSS. Schulze asks, 'how does Ellis (and he might have added Hale) know that R is the older?' But this means nothing, unless it means that no man can know.

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Now in point of fact a novice who has been studying palaeography a month can know with certainty. R is the older. A person who has never seen a Latin MS, or a facsimile of one, could at once read M, apart from its (generally simple) abbreviations, with ease, while he would at first find R difficult. M in fact, though probably written early in the fifteenth century, is well on the way to the late humanistic style on which the first books printed in Italy were modelled.

But Schulze has not only seen both MSS—he has studied them. It should lie within his power to determine their exact relationship. The task is easy. One of them is mainly based upon the other, with an occasional selection of readings from G. To say nothing of the evidence at point after point in the text (as at 77, 4, where OG have *Si*, while R M have *Si al' Mi*) there is most obvious evidence of another kind. In many places in the margins (many more than in G), R has braces, and at many it has outlines of hands or the letters *Nō.* (= *Nota*) calling attention to certain verses. M in general has the same, place for place and style for style. At many points in the margin, R has two light crossing strokes, demonstrably by the first corrector (since one of them underlies a metrical note which is clearly by him), and apparently meant to mark the presence of difficulties in the text; and M nearly always has the same marks in the same place. At many points R has a *deficit* (variously abbreviated) in the margin; and M regularly has the same, generally even with the same form of abbreviation. Given the greater age of R, the inference from this state of affairs is obvious. The copyist of M got these from R, or from a very exact copy of R. From which did he get them? There is exact evidence, at one point, in the mere arrangement of the text. In 64, verses 357 and 358 (*testis erat to diffunditur clesponto*) were omitted in M by the copyist, and supplied later in the margin. The supplement stands about a third of the way down the page. In R, the copyist skipped verses 353-356 (*Namque-currere fusi*), and finished the page with the two verses which M omits. The missing verses were afterward written below the work of R, *i.e.* at the bottom of the page, by the first corrector. The state of things in M will not explain the state of things in R. On the other hand it is easy from R to explain what happened in M. The copyist of M noticed the sign of omission, and, passing by the two verses

Testis erat—elesponto, copied the four verses below; then, forgetting what now lay four verses back, turned the page and went on with the rest of the poem. The division of pages in R would not be likely to be reproduced in a copy. Therefore M is probably not the copy of a copy of R, but of R itself. In view of these facts, Schulze's statement that the readings of M, much more than of R, deserved to be given in Ellis's apparatus, is supremely inconsiderate. It would seem as if, having collated M,¹ which at the time was of real value, he could not bear to have the discovery of a new manuscript dim its glory. Unquestionably, as Schulze himself has remarked, one conceives a fondness for a manuscript which one finds. I look upon R with affection. And yet, if Schulze will publicly acknowledge that M comes from R and not R from M, I will promise, in case the lost Verona archetype sometime turns up, not to contend that R is a better manuscript.

One more word upon M. Schulze, in the review mentioned, says that it contains the largest number of double readings. This is quite true. It contains, in general, the double readings of R. It contains a few more, which, in view of the evidence given above for the origin of the MS, must have been made up by putting together the readings of G and R where they differ. And it contains a number of doublets made up of a blunder in the text, with a correction above, generally preceded by an *al'*. Thus in 68, 144, where O G R have *uenit*, M has *uenilis* in the text, with an *al' uenit* written above; in 42, 17, where O G R have *ferre*, M has *ferrei* in the text, with *al' ferre* (wrongly reported by Schulze as *ferro*) above it; in 75, 4, where O G R have *desistere*, M has *desiflore*, with *al' desistere* written above; and other cases might be added. It would appear that M has no reading not in G or R, except a number that are due to errors in copying, and a number that are pure emendations.—Yet M is far from being without value. It is useful here and there as giving probable clues to the readings of G and R at the time when it was copied, in cases where changes were afterward made. And I may here record the opinion which I held of it before the discovery of R (an opinion outdoing even Schulze's), that, in spite of its errors, it

was the best representative of the third tradition (G and O forming the other two traditions) made up of the entire mass of secondary MSS, including D and its fellows; or, in other words, that M stood nearer than any other of the secondary MSS to the (then) lost main source of them all.

I have heard rumours that my silence with regard to Catullus has been interpreted as meaning that I have found my early impressions of R to be incorrect. In that case I should have made a public statement. The facts are the opposite. My early impressions (*Proceedings of the Amer. Phil. Association*, 1897, and *Class. Rev.*, Dec. 1898), not put out carelessly, have been confirmed by further study. I may briefly restate them. R belonged to Coluccio. It was probably copied by one of his amanuenses, from a now lost copy of the 'lost Verona manuscript,' sent him by Caspar of Venice (see the three well-known letters of Coluccio). The frequent agreement of G R against O shows that G likewise was copied from this lost copy. As I said in the article referred to, it was not G of which the copying was finished on the 19th of Oct. 1375, as Schanz, Schmidt, Schulze, Schwabe, Ellis, Postgate, Palmer, Benoist-Thomas, and others state,² even since the publication of Châtelain's suggestion (*Paléographie des Classiques Latins*, première livraison, 1884). The errors in the *scriptio* and the occasional bad spellings in the text do not seem to me to lead to the inference which Châtelain draws: but with regard to the closing words '*et cetera*' he appears unquestionably right. They are most naturally to be interpreted as written by a scribe who, having copied as far as the *quando consignorius laborabat in extremis* in a *scriptio* which lay before him, felt the rest to be unimportant, and closed with an 'and so forth.'³ The *original* of G was finished on the day named; and, in the added light now thrown by R, this original is seen to be the manuscript sent by Caspar to Coluccio,—the lost archetype of G R. O is probably a direct copy of the lost Verona manuscript. M was written by a scribe who had G and R before him, and based his copy mainly upon R, occasionally preferring readings from G, and in a few instances making up a double reading from the two MSS. All the other secondary MSS are descended from O G R, mainly from R, with occasional selected readings

¹ Not always with accuracy. Cf., e.g., Count Nigra's facsimile with Schulze's report at 42, 17; 49, title; 64, 11; 64, 66; 64, 169. See also Housman, *Class. Rev.* viii. (1894), p. 251 *seq.*, and Magnus, *Woch. f. Klass. Phil.* 1893, pp. 1173 *seq.*

² Nigra and Merrill make the date either 1375 or soon after, and thus include the probable fact.

³ Lindsay, in a private letter just now received, takes the same view.

descended from G, a little late crossing from O, and an ever-growing number of pure emendations. I differ here from Ellis and Schulze, though we have the same material before us. The proof of the descent of the secondary MSS (except in the case of M) is difficult, on account of the large amount of crossing which resulted from the increasing interest of scholars in the revived literature; but it will finally compel conviction. The later MSS, like the much-vaunted D, are in effect *editions*, constructed upon wholly uncritical principles, though often containing happy divinations of what Catullus wrote. Nothing that is not in O G or R belongs to the genuine tradition. Our ultimate critical apparatus will exhibit solely the readings of these three MSS.

Many of the double readings of G and R were in the the lost Verona MS. Here again I differ from Ellis, who thinks (Praef. x) they may have come, at any rate in part, from the comparison of various copies of the lost Verona archetype made between 1323 and 1375, and differing at points where the archetype was difficult to read.

In a number of cases, what has become a variant in R in the margin or between the lines, gives or hints at the *ultimate* tradition and the true reading. Thus the variant *al' mauli* written by R² in the margin at 68, 11 (in itself senseless, and therefore not an invention) restores for us the original *Manli*.

R, as I implied in the *Class. Rev.*, July 1896, and clearly said in the same journal, Dec. 1898, will not give us many readings which we did not possess before, which was also true of G when it was reported upon. But we were ignorant before how to estimate the readings which we had. One needs only to look at the critical editions of the last fifty years, with their intermittent citations from a variety of MSS, to see this.

It would be easy, however, to understate the value of R as an individual MS. If to-day all manuscripts of Catullus but one had to be swept from the world, R would best deserve to remain. It is the best representative known to exist, or probably existing, of the lost Verona archetype. It is a fuller copy than G of the lost original of G and R; and this lost original was a fuller copy than O of the Verona manuscript.

Moreover, R promises to throw light indirectly upon G itself. With all the care that has been bestowed upon this manuscript, as by Schwabe, Schulze, and especially Bonnet, certain things have escaped the collator. Thus everybody has reported *tam*

as the second word in 64, 276. Yet any one who will look carefully at Châtelain's reproduction will see that what has been mistaken for the lower part of the *t* in the variant *tibi* above is a virgula over the *m* of *tam*, making the word *tamen* (as in O with different abbreviation, and as in R, before a late corrector changed it to *tum*). Something more, even without the help of R, could be done with G; but with this help, an important additional amount can be accomplished. In effect, a new collation of G is necessary.

I am brought here to the statement of something further, which I have not yet mentioned in print. There are many corrections in common in G and R,—too many for chance. One of these MSS, then, was corrected upon the other, or both together upon some third MS, or both together by some scholar working without reference to any particular manuscript. There is evidence that the first hypothesis is the true one, and that G was corrected upon R. Thus in 14, 16, *fit* (wrong) is the reading of O and stood originally in G, but was corrected to *sit* (likewise wrong); and *sit* is the original and untouched reading of R. I of course give this single case not as proof, but as a specimen of proof. The importance of such evidence for the determination of the relationship of G and R where both have been corrected to a common new reading is obvious.

Now many of these corrected readings of G and R are in the original *text* of M. This is of course perfectly intelligible upon the theory that the two MSS had been corrected before M was written. But one must also provide for the possibility that the scribe of M, having G and R before him, here and there made up what he thought a better reading than either gave, wrote it in the text he was making, and then corrected one or both of his originals. The style of a hand shows itself less clearly where a single letter or sign is inserted over an erasure, with a definite space to be filled, than in free writing. It happens, however, that in one place, at 61, 18, where R has *frigium* in the text, there was not room to write the spelling *phrygium* which a corrector desired, and it was accordingly put into the margin. Now the word in the margin of R and the word in the text of M are strikingly alike in style, and the inks, as described by students of mine, appear to be the same. Moreover, there seem to be one or two clear cases in which the second hand of M has made a change (right or wrong) in

one of the MSS from which he was working. Here is a still further source of possible danger. Which of the early corrections in the text of G and R, or of one or the other of them, are by G² or R², and which by M or M²? The determination of the attitude of G² and R² toward their work is of course the matter of prime importance. Were they aiming merely to make G and R conform to their (common) archetype, or were they emending the text by conjecture, or was their purpose a mixed one? Whatever the answer to these questions may prove to be, it is demonstrable that the work of M and M² upon G or R has no validity whatever; and it is therefore imperative that this work, whether considerable in extent or slight, be not mistaken for that of the other correctors.

It becomes necessary, therefore, to study the corrections in G, as well as those in R, with extreme care. The colour and the character of the ink of the corrections will of course have much weight. The matter will be difficult, since the differences in colour involved are not great; but I believe that a pretty certain result can be reached.

I have one more strong inclination toward a conviction to express, not important for the restoration of the text, but of distinct interest. I have long believed that O has been dated something like a half-century too late,—that O, not G, is the earliest of our MSS. It has always seemed to me clear from Petrarch's letters, in spite of the arguments made to the contrary, that he possessed a copy of Catullus. I think it altogether probable that O was this copy. In a later paper, I shall present further evidence, of a different kind, for consideration.

One more inquiry, which may prove entirely illusory, is suggested. O came from Venice with the Canonici collection in 1817. I have at present no means (though I have a possible clew) for determining when or how it found its way to Venice, or how it came into the possession of the Abbot Canonici. But if it did belong to Petrarch, it may have had companions from his library in its migrations. I hope before long, with the consent of Mr. Edward W. B. Nicholson, the Librarian, to look in the Canonici collection for other possible MSS

once owned by Petrarch, to add to the list reached by De Nolhac and Delisle; for a year's leave of absence in Europe, beginning in September next, has been granted me by my University, for the study of the Catullus tradition, and the preparation of my results for the press.

Since the above was written, Magnus's *Bericht über d. Literatur zu Catullus für d. Jahre 1897-1904* (*Jahresbericht*, cxxvi, pp. 108-148) has appeared.

While there is no sure change of tone about R, I nevertheless feel an underlying attitude which has betrayed itself in other quarters also; and upon this I wish to add a few words.

The attitude is that O and G have made good their claims to a primary position, and that R must prove its right to enter their company. My own attitude is that, in the processes of scholarship, *nothing* is ever finally settled as against the introduction of new evidence of a pertinent kind; and that scholarship should work wholly without presumptions. R is a MS which, both by the evidence of its style of writing (I published a facsimile of 1^r in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, i, 1, 1897), and by the evidence of the fact that it belonged to Coluccio, is of the same general age with O and G. The entire question of the Catullus tradition is thus again opened, and is to be taken up in a wholly dispassionate manner. In point of fact, some of the tests to which it has been proposed to subject R would make it impossible to admit G to primary rank, if R had happened to be discovered before it.

The actual facts with regard to the relation of G and R will prove to be so dramatically overwhelming in favour, not only of R's position as a primary MS, but of its high position, that I am enabled easily to bear the present prevailing scepticism. Moreover, I am confident that, by a way which has not been employed before, I shall reach a practical solution of the almost hopeless-looking crossings of the later MSS; so that R will also have rendered a new service to the development of the science of textual method.

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REVIEWS.

HEADLAM'S *CHOEPHOROË OF AESCHYLUS*.

The Choephoroe of Aeschylus. Translated from a revised text by WALTER HEADLAM, Litt.D. London: Geo. Bell and Sons, 1905. Post 8vo. (The third of a series.) Pp. 55. 1s.

THIS is the third volume of the series of annotated translations from Aeschylus which Mr. Headlam has issued. He disclaims any attempt to achieve 'artistic form in the translation'; and he makes quite clear that his double aim is to recover where possible what Aeschylus wrote, and to render in plain prose the poet's meaning. The first, as every one knows, is a task of exceptional difficulty; but no one who has at all followed Mr. Headlam's Aeschylean studies for a long time past, and particularly in recent years, will fail to recognize the learning, the patience, the acuteness, and the originality, which qualify him for this arduous work. We sometimes hear a human and excusable groan from students of Aeschylus at the regularly growing number of conjectural emendations. In Wecklein's first attempt to collect and sift this mass (in 1885), besides the 'certain' emendations given in his text, and the 'most probable' in the footnotes, there are 315 *octavo* pages of others, proceeding from nearly 100 sources: and the last twenty years have added many more. But even the humblest scholar who attempts to study, however imperfectly, the history of the text cannot fail to be convinced that from the clash of conflicting guesses and suggestions (and the discussions thus generated) the fittest do in the end survive, and a real if slow advance is steadily made towards the recovery of what the poet wrote. Among the English scholars contributing to this end Mr. Headlam undoubtedly takes a very high place.

In regard to the textual work he makes in the Preface one remark which must command assent, though it is not always kept sufficiently in view. 'Readings' he says 'are important according to the significance of their idea.'

No one would deny that the detection and correction of errors, whether great or small, is equally the critic's business: nevertheless Mr. Headlam is perfectly right in insisting on the real distinction between the import-

ance of errors obscuring the general sense, and those that do not affect it. Unfortunately in the *Choephoroe* there are plenty of both kinds. A selection is all we can attempt: Mr. Headlam's book is referred to (for the sake of brevity) as H.

l. 32. The MSS. reading *τορὸς γὰρ φοῖβος ὀρθόθριξ* was long ago emended (both in sense and metre) by Heath to *τορὸς γὰρ ὀρθόθριξ φόβος*. H. supports this correction against recent attempts to revert to the MSS. reading (Wecklein, Verrall, Tucker). At first sight *Φοῖβος* is tempting, as it appears to suit *μυχόμεν, ἔλακε, and δνειρόμαντις*: but the lines, truly considered, are more poetic and effective with *φόβος*. The crowding images—the evil dream, the cry of Klyt., the impending evil—characteristically appear personified as 'Terror with lifted hair, loud prophet in dreams to the house, uttering shrieks from within at the dead of night.' And H. rightly lays stress on the schol. on 35 [*ὁ σαφὴς φόβος δι' δνειρῶν μαντενόμενος*] as proof that the writer read *φόβος*, though *φοῖβος* is now in our texts, and confirms it with 929 *ἢ κάρτα μάντις οὐδ' δνειράτων φόβος*.

l. 65. H. adopts Schütz's *ἄκρατος* for the MSS. *ἄκραντος*, retained by most edd., which he (rather roughly) rejects as 'nonsense.' *ἄκρατος* is easier and may be right: but the other still seems to me more characteristic and suggestive, the sense being briefly as Verrall gives it: 'day, twilight, darkness, typical of three possibilities in punishment, soon, late, and (in this life) never.'

l. 73. H. has before suggested for the corrupt *βαίνοντες* the apt and beautiful word *φοιβαίνοντες* [so Tucker independently], known to Hesychius, and E. M., and illustrated by *φοιβάω* 'to cleanse.' This (he argues) points to *καθαίροντες* (74) as being a gloss: though the full restoration of 73-4 remains doubtful.

ll. 78-80. In these difficult lines H. seems right in rejecting with H. L. Ahrens *βίᾳ φερομένον* for *β. φρενῶν*, and possibly also in suggesting that *ἀρχή* means 'power' [and *βίω* therefore an intruding adscript]: though *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* is rather strange as 'from authority,' and exact wording at present is uncertain.

l. 131. H. agrees with Wil.-Möll. in adopting the (anonymous) suggestion *φῶς ἀναψον ἐν δόμοις omitting the τ after φῶς*. This gives a new sense, 'And dear Orestes kindle thou as a light.' The phrase sounds to a modern ear rather artificial; but the common use of *φῶς* in Epic, e.g. *ἦν πού τι φῶς Δαναοῖσι γένωμαι* (Π 39), would justify it to a Greek; and it is decidedly attractive.

l. 145. H. follows Schütz in reading *καλῆς*: surely right.

ll. 152-5. H.'s interpretation of this very obscure passage seems hard to accept: 'in tune with this forbidding to avert things evil and things good—the abominable wickedness of outpoured libations.' *ἔρμα τόδε* is far more naturally used of the *visible mound* than of the *libations intended to avert*: and *ἀπότροπον ἄγος* 'averting the pollution' (construction like *χοὰς προπομπός* 23). What pollution? they were sent to avert the evil omen of the dream; but in their hearts it is the *χοαί* they pour which is the pollution. Also *πρός* in H.'s version is rather unnatural. But in any case doubt remains.

l. 197. *ἀλλ' εὖ σαφηνῇ* codd. *εὖ σάφ'* ἦδη H. The emendation is no nearer the MSS. than Paley's *εὖ 'σαφήνει*, which (with *εἶχε* following) is surely more natural; and *εὖ σάφ'* would require support.

ll. 205-11. H. adopts Wecklein's rearrangement: there is certainly ground for suspicion, and the rearrangement is possibly right. But as Electra says she is *distracted*, the disorder may be intentional.

l. 224. H. follows Verrall in interpreting *προυνέτω* as 'bid thee [hail]': but it seems to fit better if it is read (with Bamberger and others) as a question; for Orestes reproaches her as 'slow to learn.'

l. 279. H. well retains Hermann's brilliant *τάσδ' αἰνῶν νόσους* (for MSS. *τὰς δὲ νῶν*, corrupt) which some recent editors have abandoned.

l. 290. *πλάστιγξ* = 'scourge' is very doubtful, though recognised by Hesych. and E. M. as Aeschylean. Elsewhere it always means *a scale*. Wecklein reads *μάστιγι*, in view of Lycophron's *ἀγῆλάτῳ μάστιγι* (436): and H. suggests the adjective also is Aeschylean. If either is right, the corruption is a very old one. [In this long sentence H. thinks two lines (*καὶ λύσσα κτλ.*, and *δρῶντα κτλ.*) are illustrative quotations, such as elsewhere have crept into the text. They are at least both Aeschylean in force and sound.]

ll. 315-331. The discussion of these difficult lines would lead us too far: but the

distinction drawn by H. between *γῶς εἰκλῆς* (the ordinary song praising the dead) and *γῶς ἔνδικος* (the 'righteous' cry for help) is certainly deserving of consideration.

l. 375. H. approves Schömann's *οἶαι· συγερὸν τούτων | παισὶ τί μᾶλλον γεγένηται*; The order of the words is harsh, but no better correction has been suggested.

l. 389. MSS. *φρενὸς θεῖον ἔμπας ποτᾶται*: H. reads the (surely impossible) *φρέν' ὁ σείον* 'which making my heart quiver.' Far better is Hermann's *φρενὸς οἶον* 'what thought flits within my soul.'

l. 415. MSS. *πρὸς τὸ φανείσθαι κτλ.* H. rejects Bamberger's *προσφανείσα*, as an unknown compound; treats the MS. reading as an intrusive scholium, illustrating the use of *πρὸς τό* by schol. to explain the infin. epexegetic. Even if his suggested reading seems dubious, the force of his argument against the text is unaffected.

l. 440. Portus' correction *ἄπερ* H. rejects, restoring MS. *ἄπερ* ('she who'). The scholiast agrees: and the position of the relative is certainly more natural.

l. 454. MSS. *αὐτοῖς* (corrected to *αὐτός*) *ὄργῃ*. For Scaliger's emendation *αὐτὸς ὄργα* H. gives *αὐ τις ὄργῃ*, meaning 'there are other deeds one fain would hear of,' i.e. finish your task. The sense is good, and the correction easier than Scaliger's.

l. 482. MSS. *φυγεῖν μέγαν προσθέσαν Αἰγίσθω . . .* (last word lost). H.'s ingenious *μ' ἐς ἀνδρός* certainly arrests attention in view of (487) *γαμηλίου*: but the schol. on both 482 and 487 clearly had our text, with some word for 'vengeance' or 'destruction' in the vacant foot.

l. 490. H. justifies *δέ γ' for δέ τ'* (MSS.).

l. 534. MSS. *ἀνδρὸς ὄψανον πέλει*: H. follows Martin (and Weckl.) *ἀν τόδ' . . . πέλοι*.

l. 544. In the famous MS. corruption *οὐφείσειπᾶσασπαργανηπλείετο* H. gives reasons (derived from scholium *ἐπιμελείας ἡξοῖτο*) for believing the line ended *σπαργάνη 'κομίετο*, and suggests *ἔπειτα* for MS. *ἐπᾶσα*. Porson's correction (following and improving Turnebus') *ἰμοῖσι σπαργάνοις ὀπλίετο* is only in one place further from the corrupt text; and the scholium gives the general sense of *σπ. ὀπλ.*

l. 593. *κάνεμοέντων αἰγίδων φράσαι κότον* MSS. H. translates 'consider also the fury of tempestuous hurricanes.' He defends *ἀνεμοέντων* fem. in spite of the common Homeric *ἡνεμόεσσα* (with *Ἴλιος*, *ἄκριας*,

πύχες, ἐρίνεος, etc.): and he seems to ignore the improbability of the tense φράσαι imper. for 'consider' or 'beware' (regularly φράζου); though he admits Blomfield's *κάνεμέντ' ἄν* as possible.

ll. 624-8. ἀκαίρως δὲ . . . σέβας a well-known difficulty, but corruption need not extend beyond σέβας. H. boldly assumes 'an interrupting voice' at ἀκαίρως δὲ, and reads the rest as a *question* 'But not to the purpose' . . . 'do you regard with honour and approval?' Probably few will accept this unexampled interruption and controversy in lyric stanza: for the broken and excited cries, e.g. of the Furies on the trail of Orestes (*Eum.* 140 sqq.) or the two bands of sailors searching for Aias (*Soph. Ai.* 866 sqq.), are not at all similar cases. More probably the speaker *begins as if she would* tell of Klyt.: then checks herself: 'Twere unfitting [to relate] of the hapless marriage, and wife's plot, etc.'—just as an orator says 'I won't refer to . . .' Herwerden's ψέγω for σέβας suggests the general drift best.

ll. 639-45. . . H. reads οὐτᾶ διαὶ Δίκας, τὸ μὴ θέμις [omitting γὰρ οὐ] λὰξ πέδοι πατούμενον τὸ πᾶν Διὸς σέβας παρεκβάντ' ἐς οὐ θεμιστά. His translation [. . . 'stabs him that doeth what is unlawful, leaving God's reverence wholly trampled under foot and turning aside unto iniquity'] gives a fine, and simple general sense, but for once the notes do not make clear how he gets it out of the Greek. The last correction (παρεκβάντ' ἐς οὐ θ.) has much to be said for it; and H. gives an apt parallel (or echo) from *Anthol.* xvi. 243, ἣν δὲ παρεκβαίης ἐς ἃ μὴ θέμις.

l. 691. MSS. κατ' ἄκρας ἐν πᾶσ' ὡς πορθούμεθα. Most edd. follow Bamberger's εἰπας ὡς. H. reads νηλεῶς with Schmidt, and quarrels with the Greek of εἰπας ὡς. I cannot understand his objection. 'Thou sayest how utterly we are undone' seems perfectly natural in any language for 'thy tidings are of ruin to us.' And if another adverb were concealed in the corruption I should much prefer Bamberger's other suggestion ἐμφανῶς (nearer to the text) to νηλεῶς, which is too much of a repetition.

ll. 696-9. This notorious crux cannot here be fully discussed. I can only say I am not convinced that παροῦσαν is not a corruption of a word for 'lost' or that H.'s ἣν παροῦσαν ἐγγράφειν 'might have been registered' is at all a clear or effective end to the passage. A sentence which begins 'Orestes was safely away: he was the Hope to cure the revelry: but now——' must end with 'that hope

is lost' or something which conveys that sense, and conveys it clearly and forcibly. The general question remains whether it is Klyt. or Electra to whom the speech should be assigned. H. has followed Turnebus and a few of the earlier scholars in giving it to Electra: everybody else gives it to Klyt.

l. 707. ἀξίως (MSS.) can be defended with κυρεῖν, by cases like πῶς κυρεῖτε; but Pauw's ἀξίων, which H. adopts, gives the same sense more naturally.

l. 738. H. follows Conington (after Erfurd) in reading θεοσκυθρωπῶν 'eyes of pretended gloom,' and there is perhaps a *prima facie* case for this. But (1) no compound with θεο- is known; and (2) if there were, such compounds would be formed of adjective-and-noun stems, not two adjectives. Thus all the compounds of ψευδο- in the best Attic are adjective-and-noun formations. Perhaps some other word is corrupted into θεο-: W.-M. for instance reads οὔτω.

l. 773. H. follows Verrall in believing this line to be an adscript illustration which has crept in. He reads κυρτός, with Weil, the regular word for 'bent,' which certainly makes better sense than κρυπτός of MSS., and is a more likely word than the variant κυπτός not found in the dictionaries.

ll. 794-99. The whole stanza is difficult; H.'s arrangement is this: *πημάτων ἐν δρόμῳ προστιθεὶς μέτρον τις ἂν σωζόμενον ῥυθμὸν δάπεδον ἂν τοῦτ' ἴδοι κτλ.*, which is a great deal less violent than some recent edd., and makes very fair sense: and the chief misgiving one has is that ἴσθι addressed to Zeus is strange, and the reasonable reflective tone of the general remark 'It is by imposition of measure in his running, that the stride of steps . . . may be seen preserving over this course an ordered pace' is hardly like the feeling of a lyric prayer. I much prefer ἴσχε in 794, and τίς ἂν in 797, which give the tone of entreaty and longing.

ll. 812-18. Of this stanza I will only say that H.'s handling shows much thought and ingenuity, particularly the suggestion to delete 814 and read for 815 πολλὰ δ' ἀμφανείθελων: and he is very likely right in reading (after Bamberger) in 817 νύκτ' ἂντ' ὁμμάτων for the improbable *πρό τ' ὁμ.* of MSS., which is commonly accepted.

Of the rest of this chorus the only part that can be restored with tolerable confidence is 827-830 σὺ δὲ θαρσύν-ἄταν: and here H. with Seidler rejects πρὸς σέ and πατρὸς αἰδᾶν (one an error and the other an

explanation), and accepts Auratus' *πέραν*, making a very clear and fine verse. In the remainder, though the sense generally is not obscure, the verbal restoration is quite uncertain.

ll. 864-5. MSS. ἡ πῦρ καὶ φῶς ἐπ' ἔλεν-
θερία | δαίων ἀρχάς τε πολισσονόμους | ἔξει
πατέρων μέγαν ὄλβον. Here the difficulty is
the τε: ἀρχάς can hardly be taken by a
zeugma with δαίων (as Tucker): nor is ἀρχαῖς
after ἐπὶ (Porson and Verrall) likely. Weil's
πατέρων θ' ἔξει is better, but it breaks the
MS. order, and so is a larger change than it
looks. H. ingeniously proposes to read
before ἔξει a half-line καὶ δώματ' ἀνὴρ | which
settles the τε difficulty, gives a nom. to ἔξει,
and mentions the house, otherwise only in-
directly referred to in ὄλβον. Of course the
insertion of new words can never be more
than a guess: but all guesses are helpful
which draw attention to the real conditions
of the problem, as this does.

l. 915. διχῶς ἐπράβην, if it were sound (as
some maintain), must have been followed by
explanation of the 'two ways.' The choice
lies between αἰκῶς (Bothe) and αἰσχροῶς
(Heath). H. takes the former.

ll. 952-961. Full discussion is impossible.
I will only say (1) it must be Ἀεξίας who
ἐποίχεται, not 'the remedy proclaimed by
Loxias' (H.). (2) H. makes a strong case for
κρατεῖ as against κρατεῖται, following Portus,
Grotius, H. L. Ahrens, Rossbach, and others.
(3) H. rightly rejects παρὰ before τὸ μῆ, which
is not classical Greek.

ll. 997-1004. The transposition of these
lines to follow 982, suggested by Scholefield,
and adopted by Meineke, Hermann, and
Hartung, has not been approved by recent
edd. and is not referred to by H. It still
seems to me a great improvement, and par-
ticularly in view of τοιάδ' ἐμοὶ ξύνοικος (line
1005).

In regard to the translation, I am not
quite able to agree with Mr. Headlam. I

feel (with him) that the 'true spirit and
effect' of the Greek drama 'are only in the
power of verse to convey': but that a good
prose translation may come much nearer to
conveying the spirit of poetry than he
appears to admit, is sufficiently shown by
Jebb's Sophocles, not to speak of the
Authorised Version of the Hebrew poets,
familiar to all English-speaking nations.
Mr. Headlam's translations, which contain a
great deal of matter most helpful and in-
structive to students, and which fully carry
out his explicit and clearly defined purpose,
nevertheless to my mind would have been
still more useful, without losing any of their
manifold merits, if his theory of translation
had been slightly modified. A few illu-
strations will suffice. 'I beat my breast for
dismal happenings' (p. 2), 'this petitionary
mission' (p. 5), 'in tune with this forfend-
ing to avert things evil' (p. 8), 'I could be
well certified to spurn the tress away from
me' (p. 12), 'pitifully mummified by a
death of utter wasting,' . . . 'the lack of my
estate that pinches' (p. 16), 'a true and
rightful lamentation for a father, for a
parent, goes a-hunting, when stirred up
thoroughly with both hands' (p. 18), 'all
may come off pat exactly' (p. 29), 'proceeds
without fail against the mischief become
chronic' (p. 49), 'a foot-donned coffin-curtain
for a corpse' (p. 51). . . all these are in no
way typical of Mr. Headlam's forcible
lucidity and literary sense, but are the
results of a mistaken theory.

And I cannot part from Mr. Headlam
without an emphatic recognition of the
value of his work on Aeschylus,—the close
and learned scrutiny he has directed upon
the immensely numerous difficulties of the
text, the new evidence he has brought to
bear on them, and the combination of wide
learning, independent thought, and original
illustration, which have done so much to
stimulate, enrich, and illuminate the study
of one of the greatest of poets.

A. SIDGWICK.

JEBB'S BACCHYLIDES.

Bacchylides: The Poems and Fragments.
Edited, with introduction, notes, and
prose translation, by SIR RICHARD C.
JEBB. Cambridge: The University Press,
1905. Pp. xviii + 524. 15s.

THE plan of the present edition of Bacchyl-

ides had taken shape in the mind of the
late Sir Richard Jebb even before the ap-
pearance of the *editio princeps* in 1897. He
saw the proofs of Dr. Kenyon's edition
'from the earliest appearance of the text in
type and contributed suggestions and advice
in all subsequent stages'; and Dr. Kenyon,

in making acknowledgment of the value of Jebb's assistance, added: 'it is satisfactory to know that there is a good prospect of his undertaking an independent edition, in which his admirable scholarship will be free from the trammels of an *editio princeps*, and in which he may do for Bacchylides what he has done for Sophocles.'¹

In due course the edition thus foreshadowed has appeared; and has been almost immediately followed by the death of Sir Richard Jebb. The loss of one of the foremost Greek scholars of our time has been deeply mourned by all who have at heart the welfare of Classical studies, both here and abroad.

Of Jebb's work in general this is scarcely the occasion to speak at length; but reference may be not unfittingly made to the eloquent tribute paid to him by Mr. S. H. Butcher at the annual meeting of the 'Classical Association' in January last. Mr. Butcher referred to Jebb's distinguishing characteristics: his instinct of divination, his luminous power of literary exposition, his fairness in stating the arguments on both sides of a question, and also to his brilliant gifts in the sphere of Classical composition: 'his writings' (he said) 'would remain an abiding monument of a great scholar and a great humanist.'²

If we now turn to the edition of Bacchylides, in which Jebb's latest work is contained, we find that sanity of judgment and clearness of exposition are no less conspicuous here than in his Sophocles. The problems, indeed, which have to be faced by editors are different in the case of these two authors. In some respects Bacchylides presents greater difficulties than Sophocles, owing to the condition of the text. But the present edition successfully surmounts those difficulties; and is likely to hold its ground unless and until fresh manuscript evidence is forthcoming.

Jebb was equipped for the task of editing Bacchylides both by previous study of Pindar and also by his Bacchylidean researches, continued through eight years, and testified to by the Bibliography given in his edition. This work consists of an Introduction (pp. 1-240), which deals with the life of Bacchylides, his position in the history of the Greek Lyric, his relations to Pindar, his character as a poet, dialect and grammar, metres, the papyrus (it may be noted that Jebb gives three autotype plates of different portions of the MS.; and also prints the text of the papyrus

as it stands when the smaller fragments have been fitted into their places; and thus in the condition in which it was left by the ancient correctors, before any modern hand had touched it). Then come introductions to the several odes, forming one of the most valuable sections of the whole work.

The text is accompanied, as in the case of Sophocles, by critical and explanatory notes, and by an English prose translation. It is followed by the fragments of Bacch., with commentary thereon: these in turn by an Appendix, in which the more difficult passages in the text of the poems are discussed. Finally there is an *index Graecitatis*, and a subject index.

In the introduction, the points which will probably be thought to possess most interest are the relations between Bacch. and Pindar, the history of the Greek lyric before and after Bacch., the relation of Bacch. to Greek art. In discussing the first of these questions Jebb inclines to the view that the well-known lines in Pindar's second Olympian (*Ol.* ii. 86-88: *σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φησὶ κ.τ.λ.*) allude to Simonides and Bacchylides, though he would 'welcome a proof that this impression is erroneous' (p. 21). He also thinks that Bacch. *fr.* 4 (*ἔτερος ἐξ ἑτέρου σοφὸς τό τε πάλαι καὶ τὸ νῦν*, 'poet is heir to poet now as of old') is a quiet reply to Pindar's proud assertion of his own originality. In tracing the earlier history of the Greek lyric Jebb is on well-worn ground; but the rapid decline of taste after Bacch. is a theme which gives him more scope; and here, for example, he utilizes the fragment of Timotheus' *Persae* (discovered in 1902, and edited by Wilamowitz) to illustrate this period of decadence. He also breaks new ground in tracing the influence of earlier poets (Homer, Hesiod, Theognis, and others) upon Bacch.; and the influence exerted in turn by Bacch. upon Roman poets of the Augustan age, notably Horace (p. 77). Dealing with the relation of Bacch. to Greek art (pp. 72-3) Jebb concludes thus: 'Bacchylides did not innovate like Stesichorus, or boldly recast his material like Pindar. He adhered to the forms of the myths generally current in his own day. When he and the vase-painters concur, it certainly is not because they have followed him.' In at least one case Bacch. probably followed the vase-painters (p. 73, notes).

The sections on the dialect, grammar, and metres of the poems and on the papyrus,³

¹ *Ed. princeps* (1897), p. lii.

² See *C.R.* xx. (1906), pp. 71-2.

³ Jebb distinguishes three hands to which corrections of the papyrus are due: he designates

are admirable. In the introductions to the odes in honour of Hiero, Jebb has been able to use for their chronology the Oxyrhynchus fragment of the Olympic register, which enables us to fix the date of Bacch. v. as 476. He has also made use of the agonistic inscription from Iulis in Ceos, which throws light on the subject of Bacch. i. (on Argeius).

The text, though not conservative, is based on close study of the special characteristics of the papyrus. The scribe, as Jebb notes, 'habitually worked in a mechanical manner, merely transcribing the letters which he seemed to see before him, without regard for the sense' (p. 127). And though the latest of the three correctors (called by Jebb A³) certainly improved the text, nevertheless he left the MS. still containing 'many errors destructive of the sense, and many flagrant breaches of metre' (p. 135). Hence the emendations of scholars have been received into the text of Bacch. much more freely than is the case with Sophocles. In this labour of correction Jebb himself has played a conspicuous part. He has also had the advantage of the work done by Prof. Blass in completing the text by assigning places to small detached fragments of the papyrus.

As the MS. is mutilated, gaps of various sizes are frequent in the text. Jebb has clearly stated his practice in filling up such *lacunae*. Wherever a supplement is suggested under conditions which justify this course, 'it is offered only as an *illustration* of the sense to which the evidence points, and not

them as A¹ (that of the scribe himself), A², and A³: pp. 132-5. The date of the papyrus he gives (after Kenyon) as the first century B.C.: pp. 125-6.

as a restoration of the text' (p. vii): it is, furthermore, printed in a Greek type smaller than that of the text. The best example of Jebb's skill and taste in this difficult part of his task is probably to be found in Ode viii. Of the commentary, it may be said that it is on a level with his best work: see *e.g.* the note on v. 160.

Some detailed criticisms may now be offered. In the printing of the text (pp. 241 foll.) the square brackets indicating missing letters are not to be trusted. See, for instance, ii. 2, where Jebb prints ἐς Κέον ἱερὰν without brackets: in the MS., however, there is now no trace of any letter in these words save the first three (cp. p. 150). Other examples of similar inaccuracy in this matter are at iv. 3, v. *init.*, xx. 5.

The critical notes are usually accurate in their attribution of corrections to their authors; but at v. 107, and ix. 47, Jurenka is more exact.

The translation is, it need hardly be said, faithful; and renders excellently the spirit of the original. At x. 30 πορτυρόφον is translated 'horse-feeding': but see note *ad loc.*

The *index Graecitatis* under Μοῖσα gives two instances of this Aeolic form: viz. v. 4 and fr. 27 A 2. See however p. 81, and note on v. 4: in both places it is stated that Μοῖσα occurs only once in Bacch. The attribution to him of fr. 27 A 2 is uncertain; but a slight discrepancy of statement remains.

A few misprints, but only a few, occur: *e.g.* Δαριᾶδα xiv. 6. Finally, it is noticeable that the references on philological matters are mainly to Curtius. These might with advantage be replaced by references to Brugmann.

J. ARBUTHNOT NAIRN.

BOAS ON SIMONIDES.

De epigrammatis Simonideis, pars prior: commentatio critica de epigrammatum traditione. Dissertatio inauguralis quam . . . in universitate Amstelodamensi . . . submittet MARCUS BOAS. Groningae apud J. B. Wolters, MCMV. Pp. xvi + 256. Fl. 3. 90.

If the Simonidean riddle was not solved in the nineteenth century, it was not for lack of solvers. Mr. Boas gives us a long list of recent works on Simonides, and the list is adorned by the names of Kaibel,

Reitzenstein, and Wilamowitz-Moellendorff. But Reitzenstein resigned most of the task of disentanglement to a more 'geduldige Feder' than his own, and Wilamowitz overcame difficulties with rather a high hand. It was left for the industry of Mr. Boas to reach a solution as acceptable and as adequate as the nature of the evidence allows. His work belongs to the field of Quellenforschung, and it has the faults of that questionable science, or art. He is largely concerned with lost authors; and if his arguments are not often open to formal refu-

tation, they seldom offer rigorous proof. His house is built on sand; but it is well enough built, and may hold together against the coming of a stream of new facts.

Since I have neither time nor room for a thorough investigation of his method, I will content myself with expressing a general approval and acceptance, and will attempt to give a summary of his chief results. But a few words of criticism must come first. Mr. Boas seems to me at times to support good argument by bad, as in the following points in his discussion of the inscriptions at Thermopylae. His sensible treatment of the oldest *fos* of the Simonidea (Herodotus vii. 228) is marred by the suggestion that Herodotus could not have expressed himself better if he had tried (pp. 11–12). Again, after arguing that there were more *στῆλαι* and inscriptions at Thermopylae than Herodotus records, he suggests that the historian's neglect of some of them may have been deliberate (p. 26). But since authorities differ hopelessly on the question whether Herodotus ever visited Thermopylae (p. 16), it is mere wantonness to bring against him so grave a charge of carelessness or bad faith. Thirdly, the belief that 'if a man had wished to invent a number of the slain, he would at least have invented a round number', betrays a defective acquaintance with the methods of fiction, or of journalism. My other complaint is about the Latinity of the book. Latin moods and tenses are plaguy things, but some principles ought to be observed in their use. Latin accident, at any rate, is easy to learn. Such things as *accensitus* (pp. 40, 81, 230) and *assentitus* (pp. 39, 204), *certamen* feminine (p. 16) and *gentes* masculine (p. 27), do not add to the charm of a style.

Mr. Boas starts from the obscure and scarcely grammatical passage of Herodotus (vii. 228) about the inscriptions at Thermopylae. It is well known that, though Herodotus quotes three epigrams, he attaches the name of Simonides only to the third. After a careful review of opinions, Mr. Boas concludes that the passage is not evidence for anything but this, that in one of the three cases (the *στῆλη* of Megistias) it was Simonides who caused the legend to be engraved. If we are to believe (as Mr. Boas believes) that Simonides also wrote the lines, it is only by an inference which Herodotus himself did not draw, or did not express; and a further inference of the same kind is necessary if we are to ascribe to him the first and second inscriptions, *μνησίην ποτὲ τῇδε* and *ὦ ξῖν' ἀγγέλειν*. Unless Herodotus is strangely reticent

he did not know the author of these famous lines. Now since there is much to show that in the time of the Persian wars the name of the writer of an inscription was neither engraved on the monument nor associated with it in common thought, Herodotus' ignorance is easily understood. But in later writers epigrams¹ are freely and confidently ascribed to Simonides, though in many cases the ascription is improbable and in some it is demonstrably wrong. Here lies the first and foremost *questio Simonidea*: when and why did this change from satisfied ignorance to the show of knowledge take place? In the absence of all trace of a collection of his epigrams published by the poet himself, we must suppose a later Sylloge. The aim of Mr. Boas is to investigate the date of this Sylloge, its sources, its history, and its influence on later times.

Kaibel argued for the time between Thucydides and Aristotle, Reitzenstein for a time before Lycurgus, as the date of the Sylloge's birth. Dissatisfied with these proposals, Mr. Boas derives a new date from the Corinthian epigram αἰδ' ὑπὲρ Ἑλλάνων, about which there is a good supply of evidence in a scholion to Pindar, in Plutarch, and in Athenaeus. He succeeds, in my opinion, in reconstituting the earlier anonymous form of the poem, and the later form, materially different from the earlier in words and meaning, which bore the name of Simonides and was quoted with that name by Timaeus, who thus provides a *terminus ante quem*.

That the compiler of the Sylloge drew from literature, not from actual inscriptions, can best be proved by a poem known to us not only from the stone, but also from two versions in literature of which the first approximates to the form given by the stone, while the second appears to be the outcome of changes made in the first. These conditions are fulfilled by the epigram ὦ ξῖνε εὐνδρον, of which the original was discovered in Salamis in 1897. The vulgate (as we may call it) can be shewn to be a variation on an earlier literary form, which can be traced to Ephorus. And if the poem αἰδ' ὑπὲρ Ἑλλάνων came into the Sylloge from an author, it was from this same Ephorus, who thus provides a *terminus post quem*. The limits are narrowed by the evidence of some quotations in the first book of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (which also yields the sole example of an epigram ascribed to Simonides independently of the Sylloge). To be brief, Mr. Boas holds that the Sylloge was compiled about

¹ The word of course is used throughout in its proper meaning of the legend on a monument.

the year 310, probably in Athens, and perhaps by a Peripatetic.

The application and cumulative confirmation of this hypothesis takes up the greater part of the book. Mr. Boas investigates minutely the authorities for the extant epigrams, distinguishing derivatives of sources older than the Sylloge from derivatives, direct or indirect, of the Sylloge itself, and giving from time to time an elaborate stemma to illustrate the tradition of a particular epigram. Among much interesting matter I note that he rightly agrees with Hiller and Wilamowitz in denying that the authority of Aristides can be adduced in support of the ascription to Simonides of epigrams 90, 104, and 132 (Bergk).

Passing over all this mass of detail, I come to the fourth chapter, in which the author sums up his conclusions about the way in which the Sylloge was formed. The compiler drew from literary sources, especially from historians, and above all from Ephorus, who was fond of illustrative quotations.¹ Of the thirty-four poems which can be said with more or less certainty to have had a place in the Sylloge, only two, so far as we know, were coupled with the name of Simonides in the compiler's authorities; in three other cases the lines themselves contain the poet's name; in the rest he was guided only by his private judgment. Whether he included as many epigrams referring to the Persian wars as he could lay hands on, or how many he rejected, we cannot say; but his inclusion of three poems which deal with events later than the death of Simonides shews no great caution or care. Other poems gained admission by virtue of their mention of persons with whom the poet was known to have had to do. In eleven poems the compiler seems to have altered

the text, wishing either to emend a corruption, or to bring the diction into harmony with other pieces of his collection, or to change the purport. An example of the last motive is the poem *φημὶ Γέλων' Ἰέρωνα*, written for the four tripods dedicated at Delphi after Himera by the four sons of Deinomenes; this he rewrote in sympathy with the tradition which spoke of one tripod only, the gift, not of the four brothers, but of Gelon. In such cases, where two versions are extant, editors usually offer us hybrid texts; and Mr. Boas utters a salutary warning: 'editors of the epigrams must keep the older tradition apart from that which is derived from the Sylloge'; to which he adds that 'editors of the authors in whom Simonidean poems are quoted must give the text which was used by the author himself.'

A short history of the career of the Sylloge from its birth to the time of Planudes concludes a book which is both 'constructively important and invaluable as a treasure-house of facts. The last page gives a welcome foretaste of what we are to expect from the second part of the work. 'In ea autem lectoribus me persuasurum esse spero Simonidem revera et fuisse summae artis epigrammaticum poetam et floruisse apud aequales summa poetae epigrammatici laude; quam ei viri clarissimi Kaibel atque Wilamowitz iniuria denegaverunt, cum epigrammata omnia, quae in traditione cum Simonide coniuncta sint, ei adimenda esse intellegerent.' The Sylloge will be found to have contained a few poems by Simonides; some written by other poets for inscriptions; and 'demonstrative' epigrams which were never engraved on stone. 'Epigrammata autem Simonidea, quae primo generi adiudicanda mihi videntur praeter tria epp. Thermopylensia, sunt octo.' We shall await with interest the credentials of these eight mice.

E. HARRISON.

¹ Strabo, p. 464 (x. ch. 3, § 5, last sentence).

ABBOTT'S JOHANNINE VOCABULARY.

Johannine Vocabulary. A Comparison of the Words of the Fourth Gospel with those of the Three. By EDWIN A. ABBOTT. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1905. Demy 8vo. Pp. xviii + 364. 13s. 6d. net.

DR. ABBOTT is able to continue the publication of his *Diatessarica* with enviable

regularity, and the latest volume of the series shows no falling off in the quality of his work. Indeed to say this only would be a crass understatement of the truth: for in this *Johannine Vocabulary* we have work that every clergyman and every one interested in the Greek Testament should at once procure and set to work to study. The author's theory of a Hebrew Gospel trans-

lated with variants and corrections and adscripts to make our Synoptists does not here creep out. We have only a solid piece of work on the vocabulary of the Gospels, distinguished however from the mere statistician's figures and lists by the subtle and ingenious reflexions continually made. A century ago Tittmann did good pioneer work on the synonyms of the New Testament, and Archbishop Trench's book is known, of course, to everyone. But Dr. Abbott shows—and once the reader has his eyes thus opened, he is astounded that he was so long blind—that there is an infinite deal still to be observed and interpreted in the very language of the New Testament writers. It would be unfair to the author to extract the fine flowers of his scholarship instead of sending readers to his book, but as a sample of what there awaits them may be mentioned that notice is called to the two constructions used with *προσκυνεῖν*, and the distinction in sense between them is then drawn out. That this is no trifling pedantry and hair-splitting scholarship will be seen by anyone who will take the trouble to look at St. John *Gospel* 4²²⁻²⁴ or St. Matthew 4⁹⁻¹⁰.

It must not be assumed, however, that Dr. Abbott is uniformly successful in his interpretations of the facts. His lists and stimulating comments will be found invaluable by many who will not be convinced by his statements. He is indeed a little hide-bound by the unconscious assumption (which he would as cordially reject as anyone if consciously brought face to face with it) that the Greek accessible to the Evangelists is confined to what we still have of ancient literature. It does no doubt require a distinct effort of the imagination to keep constantly in mind that these writers knew Greek more from hearing others speak it than from reading authors, and to use such authors as we have for testimony to the kind of Greek spoken or written when they wrote rather than for indicating the source from which this word or that has been culled. Yet students of the New Testament certainly do not always overcome the temptation to regard the sacred writers as virtually saying to themselves 'Go to, I will write another canonical book: for this end what words and phrases does the LXX supply?' An unconscious product of this naive conceit is to be found even in Dr. Abbott's book. He very rightly groups together Mark 15⁴⁶, Matt. 27⁵⁹, Luke 23⁵³, John 19⁴⁰, 20⁷ for the examination of the way in which *ἐντολίσσω* is used; but he unfortunately sees in these

passages a proof that St. John 'accepts the rare word of Matthew and Luke as expressing a fact, though not exactly the fact they describe.'¹ The truth of the matter is that such arguments from the known occurrences of any word or phrase in Greek literature need at least one correction, viz. a correction according to the evidence from the period and place of any writer that he had or had not at his command any other equivalent word or phrase. In the absence of such evidence conclusions are perilous. Dr. Abbott discusses the uses of *πιστεύειν*, of *ἐξουσία*, and of synonyms like *ἀγαπᾶν* and *φιλεῖν*, and his discussions are invaluable. But when we ask if his conclusions are entirely sound, we are brought up by the apparent neglect of the correction that must, as has been said above, be applied. It is here that the assistance of other students is required. If everyone interested in the subject would take one of Dr. Abbott's suggestive observations, and pursue it home, substantial advances in the knowledge of Biblical Greek would be possible. The necessity of such work will be seen from one instance.

Dr. Abbott makes much of the fact that in the Fourth Gospel, often within the limits of one verse, words of different root are used to express the idea of *Seeing*. Fourteen months ago, stimulated by his work, I set out to investigate St. John's use in this respect, but from a very different standpoint. It had occurred to me that amongst the other vast changes which a language with a long history might exhibit, one might conceivably be the death amongst irregular verbs or nouns of the root-forms used in one age and the consequent adoption of other roots. English, I believed, would illustrate this, and I now know that the comparison *bad*, *worse*, *worst* is a very late substitute for *evil* (or *ill*), *worse*, *worst*, while *bad* does not appear till the 12th century, and then till about the 17th gives *badder*, *baddest*. In Attic Greek *ὁρῶ*, *ὄψομαι*, *εἶδον*, *έώρακα* are used as if of one root. Scholars brought up on Attic grammar by force of prejudice transfer this paradigm to the New Testament, note any variations in the form of these words, and write elaborate exegesis of any divergence in root from it. As a test of the validity of this proceeding, I here give first the actual facts of St. John's use, and will then enquire what light, if any, those facts may throw on doubtful passages.

¹ Still we may take it to be established that the Fourth Gospel is written allusively to the traditions recorded in the other Gospels.

St. John in his Gospel uses :

PRES. βλέπει (τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐρχόμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν) 1 § 29. βλέπει τὸν λίθον ἡρμένον 20 § 1. βλέπουντι ἀνθρακίαν κειμένην 21 § 9. τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου τούτου βλέπει 11 § 9. παρακύψας βλέπει κείμενα τὰ ὀθόνια, οὐ μόντοι εἰσῆλθεν 20 § 5. ἐπιστραφεὶς ὁ Πέτρος βλέπει τὸν μαθητὴν 21 § 20. βλέπω (I have eyesight) 9 §§ 15, 19, 20, 25, 39, 41. ἂν μὴ τι βλέπη τὸν πατέρα ποιοῦντα 5 § 19. βλέπων (= with eyesight) (blind) 9 §§ 7, 39 (bis) in 2 *Ep.* 8 βλέπετε ἑαυτοὺς ἵνα μὴ κ.τ.λ.

and θεωροῦσιν (τὸν Ἰησοῦν περιπατοῦντα) 6 § 19. θεωρῶ (ὅτι προφῆτης εἶ σύ 4 § 19) 12 § 19. θεωρεῖ τὸν λύκον ἐρχόμενον 10 § 12. ὁ θεωρῶν ἐμὲ θεωρεῖ τὸν πέμψαντά με 12 § 45 14 § 17. ἔτι μικρὸν καὶ ὁ κόσμος με οὐκ εἶ θεωρεῖ, ἡμεῖς δὲ θεωρεῖτέ με 14 § 19, 16 §§ 10, 16 (see ὁψεσθε) 17, 19. εἰαν θεωρήτε τὸν νιὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀναβαίνοντα 6 § 62. ἵνα θεωρῶσιν τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἐμὴν ἣν δέδωκάς μοι 17 § 24. θεωροῦντες αὐτοῦ τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐποίει 2 § 23. οἱ θεωροῦντες αὐτὸν τὸ πρότερον ὅτι προσαίτης ἦν 9 § 8. πᾶς ὁ θεωρῶν τὸν νιὸν 6 § 40, 12 § 45. θεωρεῖ τὰ ὀθόνια κείμενα καὶ τὸ σουδάριον . . . οὐ μετὰ τῶν ὀθονίων κείμενον 20 § 6 (see βλέπει). θεωρεῖ δύο ἀγγέλους 20 § 12, θεωρεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐστῶτα 20 § 14 and 1 *Ep.* 3 § 17 ὃς δ' ἂν θεωρῇ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ χρεῖαν ἔχοντα. IMPERF. ἰδεῶν τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐποίει 6 § 2 (see ἰδόντες). ἔβλεπον εἰς ἀλλήλους 13 § 22.

FUTURE. ἐρχεσθε καὶ ὁψεσθε 1 § 38 (see εἶδαν). μελῶ τούτων ὄψῃ 1 § 50. ὁψεσθε τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεφύγῳτα 1 § 51 (see τεθέαμαι perhaps).

[? ἵνα καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ σου θεωρήσουσιν σου τὰ ἔργα ἃ ποιεῖς] 7 § 3.]

ὄψῃ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ 11 § 40 μικρὸν καὶ οὐκ εἶ θεωρεῖτέ με, καὶ πάλιν μικρὸν καὶ ὁψεσθέ με 16 § 16, 17, 19 (see θεωρεῖτε). πάλιν δὲ ὁψομαι ὑμᾶς 16 § 22.

AORIST. ἰθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ 1 § 14, θεασάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀκολουθούντας 1 § 38 (see εἶδεν 1 § 47), θεάσασθε τὰς χώρας 4 § 35, θεασάμενος ὅτι πολλὸς ὄχλος ἔρχεται πρὸς αὐτὸν 6 § 5, θεασάμενοι δὲ ἐποίησεν 11 § 45; and 1 *Ep.* 1 § 1 ὁ ἐώρακαμεν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἔθεασάμεθα.

and θάνατον οὐ μὴ θεωρήσῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα 8 § 51 (cf. εἶδεν Lk. 2 § 26 *Ep. Hebr.* 11 § 5).

and indicative ἦλθαν οἱ καὶ εἶδαν πού μένει 1 § 39 (see ὁψεσθε), εἶδεν τὸν Ναθαναὴλ ἐρχόμενον 1 §§ 47 (see θεασάμενος 1 § 38), 48, 50, 11 § 33 εἶδον ὅτι πλοιάριον ἄλλο οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖ 6 §§ 22, 24. εἶδετε σημεῖα 6 § 26, ἡγαλλιάσατο ἵνα ἴδῃ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ εἶδεν 8 § 56. εἶδεν ἀνθρώπου τυφλὸν 9 § 1. εἶδεν τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ 12 § 41. οὐκ ἐγὼ σε εἶδον ἐν τῷ κήπῳ μετ' αὐτοῦ; 18 § 26, 19 § 6 (cf. ἰδοῦ) εἶδον ἥδη αὐτὸν τεθνηκότα

19 § 33, εἶδεν καὶ ἐπίστευσεν 20 § 8 (see θεωρεῖ).

Subj. ἐφ' ὃν ἂν ἴδῃς τὸ πνεῦμα καταβαῖνον 1 § 33 (see τεθέαμαι 1 § 32 and ἐώρακα 1 § 34). εἰαν μὴ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἴδῃτε 4 § 48, 6 § 30, 8 § 56. ἦλθαν ἵνα καὶ τὸν Λάζαρον ἴδωσιν 12 § 9 [ἵνα μὴ ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς 12 § 40 from the LXX]. εἰαν μὴ ἴδω ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτὸν τὸν τύπον τῶν ἡλῶν 20 § 25 (see ἐώρακαμεν).

Imperat. ἔρχου καὶ ἴδε 1 § 46, 11 § 34, δεῦτε ἰδετε ἀνθρώπων 4 § 29, 20 § 27 ἐρευνήσον καὶ ἴδε σὺ 7 § 52. In 1 *Ep.* 3 § 1 (cf. *Gospel* 11 § 36) ἴδετε ποταπὴν ἀγάπην δέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ πατήρ and 5 § 16 εἰαν τις ἴδῃ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτάνοντα; and as an exclamation ἴδε ὁ ἁμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ 1 §§ 29, 36, 47. 3 § 26, 5 § 14. 7 § 26, 11 § 3, 36, 12 § 19, 16 § 29, 18 § 21, 19 §§ 4, 14, 26 (bis). ἰδοῦ ὁ ἀνθρώπος 19 § 5 (see εἶδαν) ἰδοῦ λέγω ὑμῖν 4 § 35 (12 § 15 from the LXX) 16 § 32.

Infinitive. οὐ δύναται εἶδεν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ 3 § 3. θέλομεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν εἶδεν 12 § 21, and 3 *Ep.* 14.

Participle. τοῦτον ἰδὼν κατακείμενον 5 § 6, 19 § 26, ἰδόντες ἃ ἐποίησεν σημεῖα 6 § 14 (see ἐθεώρουν), ἰδόντες τὴν Μαριάμ ὅτι ταχὺς ἀνέστη 11 § 31, ἰδοῦσα αὐτὸν 11 § 32, 20 § 20 (see ἐώρακαμεν) 21 § 21. ὅτι ἐώρακάς με πεπίστευκας; μακάριοι οἱ μὴ ἰδόντες καὶ πιστεύσαντες 20 § 29.

Besides ἐμβλέψας with the dative occurs in 1 §§ 36, 42.

PERFECT. Θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἐώρακεν πώποτε 1 § 18, 5 § 37, 6 § 46 (bis) and 1 *Ep.* 4 § 20, 3 *Ep.* 11, ἀπ' ἄρτι γινώσκειτε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐώρακάτε 14 §§ 7, 9, 15 § 24 and 1 *Ep.* 3 § 6. καγὼ ἐώρακα (see τεθέαμαι and ἴδης) 1 § 34, 3 §§ 11, 32, 19 § 35, and 1 *Ep.* 1 §§ 1, 2, 3. ἐώρακάτε [με] καὶ οὐ πιστεύετε 6 § 36, 20 § 29. ἃ ἐγὼ ἐώρακα παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ λαλῶ 8 § 38. καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ἐώρακας; 8 § 57, 9 § 37. ἐώρακα τὸν κύριον 20 § 18 (see ἰδόντες and ἴδω) 25, and 1 *Ep.* 4 § 20. *Participle.* Πάντα ἐωρακότες ὅσα ἐποίησεν 4 § 45. ὁ ἐωρακὼς ἐμὲ 14 § 9. and τεθέαμαι τὸ πνεῦμα καταβαῖνον ὡς περισσετέρην ἐξ οὐρανοῦ 1 § 32. θεὸν οὐδεὶς πώποτε τεθέαται 1 *Ep.* 4 § 12. ἡμεῖς τεθεάμεθα καὶ μαρτυροῦμεν ὅτι ὁ πατήρ ἀπέσταλκεν τὸν νιὸν σωτῆρα τοῦ κόσμου § 14.

The significance of these facts *prima facie* is this: ὥρῳ in the present is dead, and its place is taken by θεωρῶ or βλέπω; the future is unchanged; the aorist is still generally εἶδον, but sometimes ἔθεασάμην; the perfect ἐώρακα, sometimes τεθέαμαι.¹

¹ Since this article was in type, I have noticed in Jannaris *Hist. Gk. Gram.* p. 270 'In N(eo)-hellenic) ὥρῳ is replaced by θεωρῶ (i.e. θεωρῶ) and βλέπω.'

• Taking this as the correct paradigm, we may draw one or two inferences. In 6 § 2 ἑώρων of Ν is by analogy not so likely to be St. John's word as ἐθεώρουν of ABDL. In 7 § 3 θεωρήσωσι of the common text is more likely than θεωρήσονται, which presumably would be ὄψονται. In 19 § 26 ἴδε is more Johannine than ἰδοῦ of the common texts, and in 19 § 5 the common ἴδε should perhaps be read.

That the Johannine neglect of ὁρῶ is no isolated phenomenon may be seen by the fact that St. Luke uses it only thrice (*Gospel* 16 § 23, 23 § 49, *Acts* 8 § 23); *Epistle to the Hebrews* twice (2 § 8, 11 § 27); *St. James* 2 § 24; 1 *Peter* 1 § 8; *Apocalypse* 18 § 18. A doubtful example is St. Mark

8 § 24. Once or twice it has survived also in the phrase for 'beware.'

When we ask whether, as in Attic, ἀγαθός had several senses indistinguishable by the word while ἄριστος, βέλτιστος, κράτιστος expressed the distinction, so the parallel forms in our verb are distinguishable, there is more room for difference of opinion. To be brief, I suppose βλέπω always to imply the use of the eye, but to be conversational in tone, so that θεωρῶ is often preferred, though less specific: εἶδον to be conversational, but to be wide in meaning, ἐθεασάμην perhaps to insist on the use of the eye: and the perfects presumably to be distinguished similarly.

T. NICKLIN.

ARCHER-HIND'S GREEK VERSE AND PROSE TRANSLATIONS.

Translations into Greek Verse and Prose.

By R. D. ARCHER-HIND, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Large Crown 8vo. Pp. viii + 244. Price 6s. net.

THERE are probably very few scholars who after reading these versions will not be disposed to envy Mr. Archer-Hind not only his profound and extensive knowledge of Greek, but also his literary versatility. Not a few of the poems he translates are derived from German, Italian, and Spanish sources, and in his prose versions he shows himself as conversant with archaic English as with the style of Herodotus, in which he reproduces several quaint extracts from the works of Sir John Mandeville.

The prose versions cover a very wide field, ranging from simple narrative to philosophical disquisitions and dialogues from Berkeley, Shelley, Emerson, Edgar Allan Poe, Dr. George MacDonald, etc. As a further proof that the author's command of Greek is capable of coping with any theme however rebellious, we have a trade circular in which the 'Cambridge Scientific Company' intimates its removal to more commodious premises and informs prospective customers that it is,

'as it always has been, anxious rather to strike out or adopt and improve new forms of instruments than to direct its energies to the reproduction in a dealer's spirit of familiar and more or less stereotyped models.'

ἡ μὲν οὖν ἑταιρεία ἀεὶ τε καὶ νῦν πρόθυμός ἐστι καινουργίας τῶν μηχανῶν αὐτῇ τε ἐξευρίσκειν ἄλλων τε παραλαβούσα ἐξακριβᾶσαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ γινώμα καὶ δεδημευμένα εἶδη κατασκευάζουσα καπηλικῶς διαπνεύεισθαι.

A still more brilliant *tour de force* is the report of a meeting of Argentine bondholders under the presidency of Lord Rothschild (Πιρρασιπῶδης). This report bristles with commercial technicalities, through which Mr. Archer-Hind threads his way with consummate ease and even, one would suppose, with a positive enjoyment of their intricacy. Lord Rothschild assures his hearers that

'the scheme of debt settlement ratified by the meeting is very simple' (ἃ δ' οὖν τοῖς τότε συλλεγεῖσι κεκύρωται περὶ τῶν χρῶν τάξεως οὐδὲν χαλεπὸν διασαφῆσαι, . . . προζενήτῃ γάρ, ὃν ἂν οἱ δημόσιοι ἡμῖν τραπεῖται διὰ τῶν προβούλων καταστήσωσιν, ἀποστελεῖ ἐπὶ πέντε μὲν ἔτη ἡ Ἀργυραίων πόλις ἑπτακισχίλια τάλαντα κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν κ.τ.λ.), 'the Argentine Government will remit to an agent to be named by the Committee of the Bank of England the annual sum of £1,565,000 for five years.'

If anyone in fact wishes to realise the plasticity of ancient Greek and its adaptability to the most varied artificialities of modern terminology he cannot do better than study these versions. In only a single instance has the author coined a word (πεφωτογραφημένοι, p. 147), for even the expression ὁδοὶ σιδηρωμένοι ('railways') is good ancient Greek and much more descriptive than the modern Greek term σιδηροδρόμοι.

One of the most striking features of these versions is the effective way in which the sequence and correlation of ideas in the English original are elucidated in its Greek form by syntactical arrangement and the deft use of particles; with the result that

the Greek is often really more perspicuous than the English. The following extract from Emerson (p. 148) may serve as an illustration.

'The world then exists to the soul to satisfy the desire of beauty. This element I call an ultimate end. No reason can be asked or given why the soul seeks beauty. Beauty, in its largest and profoundest sense, is one expression for the universe. God is the all-fair. Truth and goodness and beauty are but different faces of the one all. But beauty in nature is not ultimate. It is the herald of inward and eternal beauty and is not alone a solid and satisfactory good.'

These detached statements, the correlation of which must be subjectively supplied, are thus welded into a coherent whole:

ἐκ τούτων ἅρα ξυνεστηκώς φαίνεται ὁ οὐρανὸς πρὸς γε τὴν ἐκάστου ψυχὴν ὡς κάλλους ἐπιθυμίαν ἀποπληρώσων· ὃ δὴ αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ τέλος ὀρθότατ' ἐν λέγοιμεν. τοῦ δ' ἕνεκα ἐπιθυμεί ἡ ψυχὴ, οὔτε διδόναι λόγον οὔτε δέχεσθαι δυνατόν. κάλλος γε μέντοι, ὅταν κυριωτάτᾳ τις ὑπολάβῃ, ἔστιν ὅπῃ τὸ πᾶν σημαίνει· θεὸς τε γὰρ τὸ πάγκοινόν ἐστι κάλλος, τό τ' ἀληθές, καὶ τὰγαθὸν καὶ τὸ καλὸν εἶδη μὲν πόλλ' ἐστὶ μία δ' οὐσία τοῦ ἐνός τε καὶ παντός. τὸ μὴ γεννητὸν κάλλος οὕτω καθ' αὐτὸ τέλος πέφυκεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς νοητῆς τε καὶ αἰσίου καλλοιῆς ὥσπερ προφητεύει, ὡς αὐτὸ οὐδὲν βέβαιον οὐδ' αὐταρκες ἔχον.

It is perhaps presumptuous to criticise Mr. Archer-Hind's selection of prose passages, but I confess that some of them, as for example a piece of elaborate mysticism by Edgar Allan Poe (pp. 215 *sq.*), seem to me hardly worthy of the translator's picturesque Greek style. Much the same might, I think, be said of an extract from Dr. George MacDonald's *Phantastes* (p. 224). Strongly contrasted with these presumably allegorical descriptions are the really exquisite translations of passages from the finest of all allegories, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. In these we have an elegance and clarity of diction worthy of Lucian. It might indeed be said that the study of such a contrast would very effectively suggest a theory of the Allegory as a form of literature, in which the profuse multiplication of designedly significant details is apt to obscure the ethical purpose.

Mr. Archer-Hind's originality and mastery of the Greek idiom are no less conspicuous in his verse translations. In using a poetical language like Greek there is always a tendency to introduce those *clichés* and 'tags' which poetic diction and convention have framed, and so to produce a cento rather than a fabric woven at the loom. But our author has no need to pillage the Greek Anthology or to cull phrases from Theocritus or Euripides; and, if we except one or two phrases, such as the Pindaric echo ἐς αἰθέρα δένδρον αἴσσει (p. 115), we have hardly a trace of conscious imitation.

A great variety of metres is employed, and in general the choice is singularly appropriate. Thus, in the version of Mr. Swinburne's 'Come with bows bent and with emptying of quivers' (p. 40) the impetuous dactyls suitably suggest the rhythmic sweep of the original. For example:

'Bind on thy sandals, oh thou most fleet
Over the splendour and speed of thy feet.'
εἰ' ἄγε, καλλιπέδιλ' ὑποδήματα
δήσας, ὃ ταχυτάτι κεκασμένα.
ἄρμεν' ἀελλόποδος βάσεως ἀμαρτυγαῖς.

Similarly, the musing melancholy of Matthew Arnold's 'And you, ye stars' (p. 32) finds fitting expression in the anapaestic rhythm.

'You too moved joyfully
Among august companions,
In an older world peopled by gods,
In a mightier order,
The radiant rejoicing intelligent sons of heaven.'
ἦν γε καὶ ὑμῖν βίος εὐγρηθῆς
ξυμβιωσάντων μετὰ σευνωτάτων
ἀρχαιοσπεπέσι ἰστιάσι χοροῦς·
ἐνθ' ἐδάμειον θεοί, καὶ ἀρελὼ
κόσμον ἐκοσμεῖτ' αἰὲν ἄλυστον
παμφαῖς αἰὲν

φρόνιμον γένος οὐρανόωνων.

The Sapphic and Alcaic stanzas are represented by the versions on pp. 57, 107, 112. Apart from their intrinsic beauty as translations they are studies in the grammatical forms of the Lesbian dialect and as such are practically more instructive than the information laboriously gleaned from the grammar and the lexicon. Mr. Archer-Hind does not hesitate to use such forms as *φόρεντες*, *σίγαντα*, etc., to which epigraphy at least lends authority. Whether he is equally justified in adopting the traditional Lesbian accentuation and in writing *ὥρανος*, *θύριδας*, etc. is a question which in the dearth of conclusive evidence every scholar must answer for himself.

Many of the poetic extracts are self-explanatory; sometimes however the psychological moment can only be discovered by a reference to the context, and one would be glad of a descriptive heading if this were not too puerile an expedient. The comity of an author need not extend so far as to impute to his readers a degree of literary knowledge and accomplishment equal to his own; and busy students may perhaps be excused for not knowing the Erechtheus of Mr. Swinburne as well as the Hecuba of Euripides. Fortunately the Greek versions generally orient the reader. Thus, in the extract from the modern play the line 'Turn from us (*i.e.* the Athenians) the strengths of the sea' is explained by *πόντου δ' ἀποστρεψόν*

σφιν ἀντίπνουν ἔβριν; and the vagueness of reference in the line 'For the cloud is blown back by thy breath' is removed by the rendering σκεδάννυνται γὰρ σῇ πνοῇ λύπης ἀχλὺς.

This epexegetic skill is perhaps most strikingly exemplified in the version of the gnomic utterance which concludes Goethe's *Faust*.

Alles Vergängliche
Ist nur ein Gleichniß;
Das Unzulängliche
Hier wird's Ereigniß;
Das Unbeschreibliche
Hier ist's gethan;
Das Ewig-weibliche
Zieht uns hinan.

In the last two lines the essentially feminine attributes of the 'Mater Gloriosa,' as raised to the transcendental sphere, are embodied in the word *Ewig-weibliche*, so often ludicrously and even profanely misapplied; and the entire purport of the passage is interpreted by this truly Euripidean inspiration:

εἰκὼν ἄλλως πᾶν τὸ φθινύθον·
τῇ δὲ τελείται τὰτελὲς ἦδη,
τὸ λόγῳ τ' ἄφατον κραινεται ἔργῳ,
τὸ δὲ θηλυγενὲς
σέβας αἰδίων τιν' ἐφέλκει.

The general quality of Mr. Archer-Hind's versions may to some extent be inferred from the quotations thus incidentally introduced; but those who still believe in the noble function of ancient Greek as a means of culture will, I hope, be induced to study the book for themselves. If in so doing they wish to see the author at his best, they may turn to his version of a Provençal song 'Magali, queen of my soul' (p. 8). They will thus find that the Sicilian Muse is not yet dead, and will, I venture to think, recognize in this version an almost ideally perfect reproduction of the quaintly graceful imagery of the original.

The Greek text is in general remarkably correct, but a few typographical errors may be pointed out. On p. 13 *μελιχίους ἀκτίνεσσιν* should rather be *μελιχίαις*; p. 15 *λὰξ πατεῦσα* should be *πατίουσα*; in the same version *ἀπαλαῖς* should be *ἀπαλαῖς*; p. 31 *ἐάν* should be *ἐάν*; p. 36 we have *πελειαί* instead of *πέλειαι*; on p. 39 *εὐφρόνῃ* has lost its accent; on the same page *ἄχθος* is probably a misprint for *ἔχθος* (corresponding to the Italian *ira*); p. 177 *ὀβόλοισ* should be *ὀβολοῖς*; on p. 187 there should be, I imagine, a full stop instead of a comma after *προέσθαι*; p. 201 we have *ἡ γὰρ*

ἀλήθεια, αἰ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτ' αἰ μὲν, αἰ δὲ καὶ καὶ καὶ θαυμάστ' αἰ μετενδομένην εἶδη for μετενδύεται. A metrical error occurs on p. 21 γραπτὸς κίνας μακάρων ἔδρας, which is doubtless an accidental misplacement of γραπτὸς κίνας ἔδρας μακάρων (like πολλῶ βρέματι προσνισσομένους).

I am not sure that I agree with the author's interpretation of the passage from Mr. Swinburne on p. 57.

'They filled his body with light,
Eyesight and speech they wrought
For the veils of the soul within.'

The version gives λόγον τε φροντῖδων καλύπτραν. But does not the poet mean that eyesight and speech are designed for the removal of the veils which envelop the soul? If so, by a slight change of metaphor we might say λόγον τε φροντῖδων κάτοπτρον.

As regards the phraseology one or two critical remarks may be submitted for the author's consideration.

On p. 39 we have the adjective ταχυπετῇ, which appears to be a scholastic word and θουρίαν might be better. On p. 19 and elsewhere *αιανός* occurs as a collateral form of *αιανής*: is this quite safe? On p. 15 we have *κλαδός* as a genitive on the analogy of *κλαδέ*. I doubt if this form occurs, and in any case *κλάδων* would equally well suit the metre. On p. 29 we have *πρὶν μὲν ἑμὰς στέναχόν σοι οἰζύνας*, *Ἡλιοδώρα*, where *στέναχον* is an imperfect of very doubtful occurrence (*στενάχισκον* being apparently the usual form). We might slightly modify thus: *πρὶν μὲν ἑμὰς δούνας σοι ἐκώκνον*, *Ἡλιοδώρα*. On p. 187 *ἐδιατᾶτο* occurs: would not *διητᾶτο* be better? On p. 225 *ἱκρίον* is used for 'plank'; is it quite certain that the singular of *ἱκρία* is used in good Greek, and why not *σανίς*?

In his use of the Greek idiom Mr. Archer-Hind can hold his ground against all comers; but one or two turns of expression suggest doubt. On p. 15 the pleasantness of an autumn evening is thus indicated: *ἀδὺ τὸ διειλανὸν θέρεος γάνος*—*ἀδὺ καὶ Ἀώς*. Apparently *γάνος* here means 'brightness'; but the word seems always in a physical sense to mean a surface lustre, like that of metals or liquids. If Shelley refers to the mellow light of an autumn evening we might say: *ἀδὺ θέρευς μὲν φέγγος ἀκρέσπερον ἀδὺ δὲ τ' Ἀώς*. On p. 129 we have a translation of Heine's poem 'Mit deinen blauen Augen,' which ends with the couplet

Ein Meer von blauen Gedanken
Ergiesst sich über mein Herz.

ἔσσε με τῷ γλαυκῷ πάντῃ φρεσὶ βαστάζοντα
ἐννοιῶν τὸ κέαρ γλαυκὸν ἔχει πέλαγος.

The connotation however of γλανκός is not the same as that of the German *blau* and our *blue*. Blue eyes were to a Greek something abnormal, and suggested, when applied to persons or animals, combative ferocity rather than sweetness, the brightness eclipsing, so to speak, the colour (cf. γλανκῶπις, γλανκίων, etc.). But the Greeks had no objection to a 'dark blue' or 'blue black,' κνάνεος (cf. κνανῶπις, etc.). If therefore it is permissible in such a connexion to apply any precise designation of colour we might make this slight alteration:

ῥοσε με κνανέω πάντῃ φρεσὶ βαστάζοντα
ἐννοιῶν κατέχει κνάνεον πέλαγος.

Again on p. 45 the last four lines of Shelley's poem 'Music, when soft voices die' run thus:

Rose-leaves, when the rose is dead,
Are heaped for the beloved's bed;
And so thy thoughts, when thou art gone,
Love itself shall slumber on.'

ὡς ἀνθεύντα τεῶς ῥόδα φροντίδος, εὐτ' ἂν ἀποίχῃ
αὐτὸς Ἔρως αὐτῷ κοῖτον ὑποστορέσει.

When one remembers how Aristophanes ridicules the expression ποῦς χρόνου one is a little doubtful whether ῥόδα φροντίδος would have been regarded as a permissible metaphor. Cases like this raise the wider question with what limitations and modifications a metaphor may be transferred from one language to another. This is not the place for the discussion of comparative tropology, but a word or two may suffice. In Greek the metaphorical nexus of two substantives assumes several forms: for example, concrete *plus* concrete, as θέναρ βωμοῦ, νῶτον γῆς, χεῖλη ποταμοῦ, etc.; abstract *plus* concrete, as στάσις ἀνέμων 'the riot of the winds'; concrete *plus* abstract, as πέλαγος πλούτου, κλύδων κακῶν, χερσὶν ἀνάγκας, πρὸς Ἔρωτος, etc. But as regards the last category it will be observed that a logical similarity of operation is implied: there exists an intrinsic

not a fortuitous association of ideas. In the expression ποῦς χρόνου the association of ideas is more arbitrary and accidental. But I have neither the wish nor the right to dogmatise on such a subject.

Another small point. On p. 100 we have a Spanish poem by Valera on Sleep, which is compared to a sea. The two lines

'dando al cuerpo y al alma
dulce frescura'

are rendered

ψυχάν τε κραδίαν τ' ἐμὴν
βέλγων γλυκεραῖσι παρηγορίαις.

where *cuerpo* is ignored. Perhaps we might substitute:

νωθρὸν σῶμα κέαρ τ' ἐμὸν
τέγγων μαλακαῖσι παρηγορίαις.

Although I fear I have outrun the limits of space assigned, I cannot resist the temptation to give Mr. Archer-Hind's version (*matre pulchra filia pulchrior*) of Henry Constable's dainty lyric 'Venus fair did ride.'

Venus fair did ride,
Silver doves they drew her
By the pleasant lawns,
Ere the sun did rise.
Vesta's beauty rich
Opened wide to view her:
Phyllomet records
Pleasing harmonies.
Every bird of spring
Cheerfully did sing:
Paphos' goddess they salute.

Ἀργυροπέφαν Ἀφροδίταν
ἀργυροπτέρυγες πελειαί
πὰρ λειμῶνας ἐπηράτους
ἄγον Ἀελίου μόλις φανέντος.
Γὰ μὲν εὐθαλὲ ὤραν
ἐκκάλυψε θεᾶς χάριν,
μολπαῖσιν δ' ἐλελίζετ' αἰθῆρ
ἀδίστασιν ἀηδόνων,
εἰαρινὸν δ' ὄρνιθες ἄμ' εὐστομοῦσιν
τὰν Παφίαν πρὸς ἄνασσαν.

G. DUNN.

A THESAURUS OF EPIGRAPHICAL LATIN.

Thesaurus Linguae Latinae Epigraphicae.
A Dictionary of Latin Inscriptions.
By GEORGE N. OLCOTT, Ph. D. (Columbia University, New York.) Volume I, fascicules 1-4. A-ADIP. Pp. 1-96. Rome: Loescher & Co. 1904, 1905. 2 fr. 50 c. each fascicule.

THERE are here the first instalments of a work to which every public library that regards the needs of students of Latinity and every scholar who can afford it should subscribe. The Latin of inscriptions has claims on our attention to which no other Latin can pretend. Of this at least we may

be sure, that it is genuinely antique. The line of copyists and correctors which casts shadows so deep and so elusive over so much of our Latin literature is at any rate absent here, and between the ancient who wrote and the modern who reads there is nothing interposed beyond a stonecutter's honest and contemporary mistakes. On the value of inscriptional evidence to the student of the language we need not dwell: the reader has but to turn to the second page of this number of the *Classical Review* for an illustration. And it is a very great convenience to have this separated from other evidence of doubtful or derivative importance.

Professor Olcott's dictionary is printed in double columns of fifty-three lines each. It is well and clearly printed and its arrangement is sensible and methodical. One may perhaps regret that the lines were not numbered between the columns—a convenient device adopted in the *Latin Thesaurus*. To give an idea of the book we reproduce two articles as closely as different typographical conditions will allow.

ABVNDANTIA. "Abundance", "plenty". Edict. Dioclet., *Introd.* I 23; VT QVI DETRIMENTVM SVI EXISTIMENT CAELI IPSIVS TEMPERAMENTIS ABVNDANTIAM REBVS PROVENIRE; III 352 = 7000 (Orcistus, 4th): AQVAREV[M I]BI ABVNDANT[IA T]ANTA X 1492 (Neapolis): LIBERALITATIS ABVNDANTIA(M) VNIVERSIS EXIBVIT (*sic*): V 6202 (Mediolanum, †): QVAE IDEM VIXIT ABVNDANTIA SAECLO TER DENOS AEO.

ADANA [Τὰ Ἀδανα]. A town of Cilicia on the river Sarus, east of Tarsus. Now *Adana*. As birthplace of a soldier,

VIII 3159 (Lambaesis): M. IVLIVS COL. PROCVL(VS) ADAN(A).

Of the work the prospectus says that 'while based primarily on the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* it is an attempt to gather and systematize the whole vocabulary of the Latin inscriptions thus far published. The scope includes geographical and mythological names, but not those of living or historical personages; with the exception of old biblical proper names, as AARON, ABRAHAM, which, without regard to biblical interpretation, very properly take their place, with names of classical and oriental mythology.' The *C.I.L.* now includes about 165,000 inscriptions, in addition to which the editor has been able to read and include 'the great majority of published Christian inscriptions.'

In point of completeness it will stand a comparison with the *Thesaurus*. To give some instances, it has *absidata*, 'alcove,' 'niche,' omitted in the *Thesaurus*, eight examples of *abstinentissimus*, a common laudatory epithet, against four, some new quotations for *acetabulum* and *adclinis* and a much fuller treatment of *accensus*. I have only noticed one case where the *Thesaurus* appears to have the advantage: the list of instances of *ac* in unusual combinations, for example with a vowel immediately following the *c*.

The spirit and magnanimity both of editor and publisher which such an undertaking implies deserve and should command the most liberal encouragement.

J. P. POSTGATE.

LEHMANN'S *THE THREE BARCIDAE'S INVASIONS OF ITALY*.

Die Angriffe der drei Barkiden auf Italien; drei quellenkritisch-kriegsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen. Von KONRAD LEHMANN. Pp. x+310. Leipzig: Teubner, 1905. M. 10.

THIS study of the attacks of Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Mago on Italy is an exhaustive analysis, not only of the eternal question of the routes taken by the Punic generals, but of the strategic motives which animated their conduct and that of their Roman enemies. The three campaigns are considered in their natural chronological sequence; but the study of each is divided

into two parts. The first part deals with the minutiae of the campaigns—with the details furnished by the ancient authorities, with topographical data, and with the manifold interpretations of details and data presented by the modern theorists whose names are to be found in the ample bibliography prefixed to this work. After this course of painful analysis and detailed reconstruction, we are rewarded in the second part by a flowing narrative of the events of each campaign—a narrative based on the results secured by the preceding investigation. No one who reads this book is likely to doubt the author's

capacity for dealing with the subject. To an exhaustive study of the modern views he adds a fine sense of scholarship and of the literary background that may lie behind the extant accounts of the ancient historians. He approaches these historians in a sympathetic spirit, and, while generally agreeing with Polybius, seeks and gives honourable reasons for the errors of Livy. But, although the renewal of an old controversy does not necessarily need a new method as its justification, the question may not unnaturally be asked whether the author has any special criterion for testing the validity of the rival traditions. In his treatment of Hannibal's passage of the Alps, where the discrepancies in the traditions are most acute, he advances the view that a purely topographical treatment of the question is not likely to be successful, and that a truer method depends upon a critical examination of the sources. In this way there is some hope of 'solving the contradictions between the different traditions.' The author does not of course profess to eliminate the topographical element; but there is in this profession an implication that it shall be subsidiary to the critical investigation. His effort apparently is to raise the discussion above the plane to which it has so often been reduced. Hannibal's passage of the Alps is one of those historical problems that seem never likely to lose their primitive vitality; for its solution seems to lie at the feet of any Alpine resident or tourist. It is not the exclusive property of the scholar or the professed historian. It is never likely to lose this character, nor is there any reason why it should; for here as elsewhere in science the amateur may intervene to good purpose to enlarge the narrow range of vision of the specialist. It is doubtful whether any attempt to give the question primarily a literary significance can ever be successful. In the treatment before us it is difficult to see that the topographical data are not of first-rate importance and the study of the sources of subsidiary value—a study which is rather an explanation of divergencies in the traditions than a guide to the truth. The author's views that Hannibal may have crossed the Rhone near St. Étienne-des-sorts, that the *insula* may be the territory round Valence, that the beginning of the Alpine crossing was on the south bank of the Isère near Bec de l'Échaillon, and that the descent was made by the valley of the Isère and the Dora Baltea, are all inevitably based on the alleged suitability of these sites to the account preserved in the Greek tradition. To the

identification of the details of the journey are added more general considerations which are also topographical. Such are the suitability of the valley of the Isère and the Dora Baltea, from the point of view of fertility, for supplying an army, and the unsuitableness in this respect of the passes by the Mont Cenis and Mont Genève, together with the facts that of all the passes the Little St. Bernard is the easiest and that it formed in antiquity the usual road between the Isère and the Dora Baltea. To these arguments is added a strategic consideration which is intended to meet the objection of those who hold that Hannibal, had he taken this route, would never have turned back upon Turin. It is urged in defence of this movement that it was of importance for him to subdue the hostile race of Taurini in his rear. Where the Polybian account is occasionally rejected, this rejection is also based on grounds of topography or general probability. The prospect of the plains of Italy, the numbers of the army with which Hannibal began his march, are disallowed respectively on the grounds of non-correspondence with fact or likelihood.

In all these conclusions there is, and can be, no real appeal to the validity of sources. The appeal only begins when we reject Livy's account and try to explain its peculiarities. And in this respect the work has a very distinct value. The author's view of Livy as an employer of sources is both generous and just. If we understand him correctly, we may paraphrase his view by saying that Livy's mistakes are due to his conscientiousness. Livy's position in relation to his sources is, in fact, very much like that of the modern historian. He is no more inclined to pin his faith to one source than we should be, and one of the elements of value in his work is that it is so late. It is not a mere reproduction, but a reasoned combination of materials which he had carefully studied. Sometimes his reasoning may be faulty, and the author thinks that it was so in this particular case. He regards Livy's view that Hannibal emerged by the land of the Taurini as an inference from the fact that these were the people with which he first came into conflict. This idea, combined with a tendency to supplement Polybius from other sources, has directed the course of his description. The introduction of the Druentia into the narrative is shown to be a not unnatural result of his preconception. To hold, however, as the author does, that the Druentia, as he describes it, is really the Rhone-delta of

some earlier writer, is one of those efforts of explanation that are almost as difficult as the puzzles which they seek to solve. It is barely credible that Livy was responsible for this error; for it could scarcely have been the consequence of the most careless skimming of his sources. The author hints that the confusion may have already existed in Coelius or his authority. However far back we take it, its existence is more likely to be due to a copyist than to a historian; and a conjectural appeal to the unlikely mistake of a copyist suggests possibilities of historical reconstruction which are too infinite to be regarded with equanimity. But the strength of a remedy is proportionate to the gravity of the disease, and we are far from denying the occasional likelihood of a generally unlikely hypothesis. It is to be noticed, however, that what the hypothesis mainly explains is the alleged unsuitableness to the Druentia of Livy's description, and not the introduction of this river as an obstacle in Hannibal's route. For this introduction we are referred to Livy's inference from his opinion that Hannibal entered Italy by way of the country of the Taurini. Yet it is true that Livy's inference might have been strengthened if some one had described why the Lower Rhone was impassable and some one else had transferred the details of this description to the Druentia.

Although this view does not represent Livy's capacity as a compiler in a very favourable light, it at least absolves him from the charge of picturesque invention, and even from that of an unthinking adherence to the inventions of others. There may be cases in which a curious fact, that has struck the imagination, has been given too wide an application. The old objections relative to the prospect of the plains of Italy, to the snow that lay all the year round (details which Polybius shares with Livy), and to the use of vinegar for dissolving rock, have been removed, but only in part. It is difficult to attribute a view of Italy to any point which could have been passed with large numbers of men; the persistence of snow can apparently only be illustrated for a comparatively small space near La Thuille; and the use of vinegar for dissolving rock (a practice amply attested by two excellent authorities, one of the ancient, the other of the modern world) presents a difficulty only from the extensiveness of its employment in this particular case. In other parts of the story of the Punic campaigns the trustworthiness, or at least the carefulness, of Livy's treatment is maintained

against hostile criticism. In the account of the battle of the Metaurus the conclusion is drawn that Livy made a conscientious use of all his authorities instead of pinning his faith to one, and that for the events in Southern Italy which led up to this battle he depends ultimately on a contemporary source which was to be found in Nero's environment.

The invasions of Hasdrubal and of Mago are treated as conscientiously as that of Hannibal. The problem here is different: it is chiefly that of lack of evidence and of inferences from extremely slight data. The author adopts the tentative conclusion that Hasdrubal crossed the Mont Genève and takes the view that the conflict of Mago with the Romans in the land of the Insubres in 203 B.C. does not rest on invention but bears the clear impress of the record of a real and important event. In these closing scenes of the Punic attack the topographical interest has always been slighter; but where it exists, it is bound up with a more important question than that of the route which an invader chooses to take while crossing the Alps into Italy; for it is concerned with the strategic issues which confronted a Punic commander when he found himself planted on Gallic soil. The topographical interest in Hannibal's crossing of the Alps, although perfectly natural, has reached dimensions which must be pronounced excessive. The determination of the facts connected with it has become important chiefly in consequence of the professed indication of details furnished by our ancient authorities. A value of a different kind attaches to the discussion of the strategic plans followed by Punic and Roman generals; and this is the subject on which the judgments pronounced in the work before us are particularly illuminating. A reason always plausible and often convincing is given for almost every scene in the great drama; and events that at first sight seem accidents are shown to be parts of a design. It is shown how carefully Hannibal's movements from Spain to Italy were timed. He intended his departure to be as late as possible, so that the Roman government might not have knowledge of the movement, and his arrival in Italy also to be late, so that winter should have hindered the mobilising of the enemy's forces in the North. Yet the whole movement was to be carried through at that period of the year when little hindrance was to be looked for from the weather. The very probable view is taken that the complete supplies, with which the Punic army

was refurnished at Valence, had been previously sent from New Carthage and accumulated in that quarter. The fact, if accepted, illustrates the defectiveness of the Roman intelligence department in these regions and shows how little Massilia was in touch with the tribes of the central Rhone. It is an ignorance which does much to explain the bewilderment of Scipio. Amongst the hypotheses offered for the fact that he did not attempt a forced march from his base at Massilia is the suggestion that he may possibly still have held the view that Hannibal would take the coast-route. The judgement on Hasdrubal's capacity rests on a rejection, not of the facts, but of some of the inferences, of our authorities. His delay in the region of the Po was due, not to the fact that he wasted time before Placentia, but to the desire of securing provisions and Gallic recruits. His supposed retreat through fear of the combined Roman armies was a flank movement undertaken for the purpose of winning the Via Flaminia and joining Hannibal. The exaltation of the strategy of the Punic commanders does not lead to a depreciation of the skill of the generals of Rome. The sceptical view which would destroy the central fact of Nero's famous march—the interception of the messengers at Tarentum—is rejected, although there is an admission of the possibility of the two consuls having been long in communication and having anticipated the desirability in

certain contingencies of the support of the Northern army by a portion of that of the South. It is pointed out that, if Nero seems to have been neglected in spite of his great success, it was not because he was regarded as incompetent, or because the story of his initiative is untrue, but because, as Livy says, he was regarded as too bold and fiery a general for a government which intended to finish the war by a process of wearing down.

We may sum up the impression left by this book by saying that in its topographical aspects it presents an excellent guide through the literature of the subject, and an attractive case for the conclusions arrived at; and that even the advocates of other views, who may refuse to be convinced by the arguments advanced on these particular points, are likely to admit the excellence of the examination which is devoted to the policy and strategy of the protagonists in the great struggle. The maps which illustrate the text are on an adequate scale and clear in respect of details.

A. H. J. GREENIDGE.

[It is with deep regret that we record the sudden death of Dr. Greenidge while this review was passing through the press and before the proofs could be read by its writer.—ED. C.R.]

DOUGAN'S *TUSCULAN DISPUTATIONS*.—A REPLY.

I HAVE to thank Mr. A. C. Clark for a long notice of my edition of the *Tusculan Disputations* i. ii. in the *Class. Rev.* for March, containing many friendly observations and some well-meant advice. I am sorry at the same time to note several inaccuracies of statement with regard to the contents of the book and one very serious, though of course unintentional, misstatement of fact. I must therefore claim from your courtesy the space required for a very brief reference to the points in question.

On p. 120² it is incorrectly stated that my *stemma codicum* is not contained on one page and that the reader has to turn over in order to find the second half. The *stemma* consists of group α , group β , and some MSS. that partake of both groups. These are all

on p. xxvii in one table; what the next page contains is group β in further detail.

In the middle of p. 121¹ referring to the MS. reading in i. § 98 *iudicio iniquorum uentos* Mr. Clark writes 'The editor remarks that -rum must have arisen out of some abbreviation for *circum*. He does not draw atten-

tion to the reading of K *iniquorum uentos* (*sup. lin. m. l.*), which shows us what this abbreviation was.' Now in the first place I make my remark in a note under this reading of K, on the same page with it, and I have confidence that the intelligence of the reader will enable him to connect the remark with the reading, and secondly I distinctly write in the *Introd.* p. xxxvii, in stating noteworthy points about K, 'The

abbreviation *cum* for *circum* written over *uentos* in i. § 98 is significant.' Surely the reader wants no more. What further *stimulus* would Mr. Clark apply to him?

Lower down in the same column your reviewer states that my notes do not sufficiently recognize the significance of the fact that V² very frequently supplies MS. evidence for the corrections of scholars. By way of proof he gives a list of six passages, in every one of which I cite the reading of V² and name the scholar who first put forward the same reading by conjecture.

My critic next takes up a passage where I have failed to state the name of the originator of an emendation which I accept, viz. the insertion of *ille* in i. § 51 'ut ait *ille* in synephebis,' and he goes on to observe 'It is necessary to refer to Orelli where we find that it was supplied by Wolf.' Mr. Clark does not say by which Wolf, and he is very unfortunate in his attempt to supply my omission, for the emendation in question was made by Gebhard, two hundred years before the time of F. A. Wolf, who is the Wolf to whom Orelli refers. See Moser *ad locum*. It is to me almost incomprehensible that a Ciceronian scholar of Mr. Clark's deserved repute should not have long ago discovered how little Orelli is to be depended upon for information of this kind. I have found a considerable number of emendations

in the Tusculan Disputations credited by editors to the wrong man: Davies especially has been a loser in this way. I have restored a good many to their rightful owners.

Mr. Clark winds up his remarks on this point with a misstatement to which I regret to have to enter a very strong objection. He says 'In such cases he (Mr. Dougan) generally contents himself with saying *non inueni* where a very little research would have discovered the author of the reading.' There is absolutely no foundation for this assertion. From one end of the book to the other not an instance will be found where I use the words *non inueni* with reference to the author of a conjectural reading, or in a case where 'a very little research' would have enabled me to make a definite statement. The only cases in which I use these words are those in which I have made the most diligent search for a *manuscript* reading and have failed to find it.

If Mr. Clark has only noticed two original contributions of mine to the text, this is not due to the fact that the book contained no more. Amongst others there is one on i. 44, 105 which I published in *Philologus* of March 1905. Others will be found by those who read the notes through.

T. W. DOUGAN.

BELFAST, March 24, 1906.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE DOLONEIA.

I HAVE read with interest Mr. Henry's new remarks on the *Doloneia*, but a reply to them could only touch the fringes of the curious topic. Since writing my remarks in *The Classical Review* I have returned to the study of the Homeric poems, and hope to publish the results, including an essay

on the *Doloneia*, and a new view of the archaeology of the poems, in which the theory of Reichel is opposed on the grounds of a comparative study of the evolution of arms and defensive armour.

A. LANG.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

ON THE TEMPLES OF CASTOR AND OF CONCORD.

I WISH to add a few words, by way of amplification and modification, to my article on 'The Temples of Castor and of Concord in the Roman Forum' which appeared in the *Classical Review* for February, 1906, pp. 77 ff.

In that article, I omitted to discuss a point of some interest in connexion with the ground-plans of the first, second, and third temples of Castor—namely, the question as to *anta*-walls and side columns in the *pronaos*. It seems advisable to take up the matter briefly now, although in the absence of accurate measurements I cannot speak with the precision which I should wish.—Fig. I. of my article shows that in Castor I. portions of the foundations of two rows of columns are preserved; the distance between them is roughly equal to that between the inner row and the front wall of the cella, and is somewhat less than one-third of the width of the temple. Accordingly Castor I. had two rows of four columns each in the *pronaos*; if it had any *anta*-walls at all, they must have been extremely shallow.—Fig. II. shows that in Castor II. the inner row of columns was discarded. As there were probably still four columns in front of the *pronaos*,¹ and the depth of the *pronaos* is considerably greater than the distance between two centres, we must assume distinct *anta*-walls for this period.—Fig. III. shows that we know the distance on centres for the front columns of Castor III., and that the depth of the *pronaos* was more than twice this distance; therefore we must assume either very deep *anta*-walls, or a second pair of columns on the sides of the *pronaos*, with shallow *anta*-walls.

The view expressed in my article as to the ground-plan of Concord I. was a mistaken one. As the point *Im* (in Fig. V.) is obviously the corner of the *pronaos*, or of its approaches, and the wall of the cella at the point *Ia* extends much further to the S., so on the N. also the cella must have projected further than the *pronaos*; the concrete at *Ic* cannot be the outside wall of the cella, but is probably the wall of a corridor resembling that between *Ia* and *Ib*; and the

¹ If the architecture was still of wood, there was presumably no reason for adopting a narrower intercolumniation.

ground-plan of Concord I. cannot have been very dissimilar to that of the later temples.

ALBERT W. VAN BUREN.

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL
STUDIES IN ROME.
March 1906.

MACDONALD'S COIN-TYPES.

Coin Types: their Origin and Development.
By GEORGE MACDONALD, M.A., LL.D.
Glasgow: J. MacLehose and Sons, 1905.
8vo. Pp. x + 275. Ten plates and twenty cuts. 10s. net.

THIS book embodies six lectures, given on the Rhind Foundation at Edinburgh. The treatment is thus more diffuse than it would have been in a work written wholly for publication. This however is, in these days of hasty reading, rather an advantage than a defect, concise writing requiring more attention than most readers are inclined to give. Dr. Macdonald has evidently tried to interest as well as to instruct, and has well adapted himself to an educated audience. He is known to numismatists as a careful and accurate writer who makes few mistakes. He has done well to try to take some of the more interesting of numismatic questions beyond the small circle of specialists into the field of archaeologists and indeed of all lovers of history in a broad acceptance of the word.

Dr. Macdonald deals with the coin-types of all ages, but especially with those of Greece and Rome. He does not consider coins in all their aspects. For the artistic side of ancient coins he is content to refer to Mr. Head's works and my *Types of Greek Coins*; nor does he attempt any complete survey of ancient coin-types, though he treats of most of those which have special interest. He takes up characteristic examples, and tries to shew their origin, their meaning, and their place in the history of money.

A large place is given in the lectures to the question whether the types of early Greek coins are religious in character, or whether, as Prof. Ridgeway has maintained, they are rather indications of the value of the coins, succeeding a currency in cattle or other goods. The question is perhaps not in itself very important; but its discussion leads one through a very interesting field. In the event Dr.

Macdonald accepts a modified version of what may be called the received view, that the coin-types are of religious meaning. He is on the safe side, for all recent investigation, especially the fascinating study of Japanese customs, shews more and more how religion lies at the basis of every product of civilization. Nevertheless, the notion that all Greek types are religious had been perhaps somewhat strained, and I, as an adherent of that notion, am quite ready to modify it in the direction suggested by Dr. Macdonald. His view, briefly stated, is that the original types of Greek coins are usually the arms or *παράσημον* of the cities which issued them. In the fifth and fourth centuries types are usually taken from the cultus of the civic deities; but in the earliest period there is more variety. Canting devices he admits somewhat freely; perhaps he does not sufficiently consider that what seems to us a canting device need not have been originally such. Can any one doubt, for example, that the connexion of Phocaea with the seal (phoca) was justified by some religious legend?

I am not sure that Dr. Macdonald has made up his mind as to what is religious and what is not, for at p. 106 we read 'The interest of this particular group lies in the tendency it displays to choose subjects that are mythological rather than purely religious.' This is said of the coins of Arcadia, which do often no doubt represent scenes of local or heroic legend rather than the figures of deities. But if mythology in Greece is to be distinguished from religion, we shall drift very far from the Greek point of view. Dr. Macdonald is on safer ground in maintaining that mere imitation is often the cause of the adoption of a coin-type. This is unquestionably a *vera causa*, but does not this custom suggest a restriction of the rule that coin-types represent the arms of cities?

The process by which the heads of deities took the place of mere objects of cult, animals, and the like, gives material for many interesting pages of the book, as does that later process whereby the heads of rulers were introduced, at first as effigies of men raised to divine or heroic rank, and later as a mere sign of sovereignty.

In treating of the types used by Greek cities in the Roman age Dr. Macdonald takes up a subject as yet almost untouched except in dictionaries. In this field, and in that of the types impressed on Roman coins of the consular age, there is an immense deal to be done, the standard books dealing with Roman coins being especially unsatisfactory from the archaeological point of view. But

of course the book before us is one of popularization and not of research. When research has been carried further the popularizing process will be easier; but at all events Dr. Macdonald has broken ground in an interesting way. His notes also on the types used in modern days, though of course very far from exhaustive, are suggestive. But these pass outside the province of the *Classical Review*.

Dr. Macdonald's plan of illustration is one which might very easily be improved on. He inserts ten plates of coins at intervals through the volume, and cuts of a few more coins in the text. The plan, dear to English publishers, of mixing up text and plates is most exasperating to a reader who has to search wearily up and down: if the plates were put together at the end, one would know where to have them. And Dr. Macdonald makes things worse by giving quite insufficient descriptions of the coins in the plates; a reader who was not a numismatist would find in them endless problems. The cuts, on the other hand, are much to the point: the engravings, for example, of the arms of Cleitor Iampsacus and Syracuse, from inscriptions (pp. 67-70), prove that the writer has looked for evidence beyond the coins themselves, a custom not too common in numismatists.

In the paucity of readable books on elementary archaeology, Dr. Macdonald's volume will serve a very useful purpose; while its scholarly character makes it a safe book to put in the hands of a student. It is full of common sense and useful facts, and is not at all overlaid with views. The writer uses his theories to colligate the facts, not to drag them out of recognizable shape.

P. GARDNER.

JUDEICH'S *TOPOGRAPHY OF ATHENS*.

Topographie von Athen. Von Dr. WALTHER JUDEICH (Iwan von Müller, Handbuch der klassischen Alterthumswissenschaft, iii. 2. iii.). München: O. Beck, 1905. 8vo. Pp. xii + 416. Three maps, 54 plans and woodcuts in text. M. 18.

ACCORDING to the most recent English book on the subject a mention of the fountain Enneakrounos brings with it either a heated discussion or, worse, a chilling silence. Prof. Judeich, however, who has undertaken to deal with the Topography of Athens in

Iwan von Müller's *Handbuch* seems to have steered clear of both these pitfalls, although his comprehensive book treats of several subjects as provocative of controversy as the fountain of Peisistratos. By dealing with vexed questions in the foot-notes, and lifting personal opinions into the sublimer atmosphere of an encyclopaedia, he has succeeded in presenting a consistent account of Athenian topography, and indeed it is remarkable how quiet and reasonable a matter the whole question may be made to appear when burning discussions are shortly summarised and dismissed, and epoch-making theories become mere references.

Beneath this calm exterior there rages, of course, a fierce volcano of dispute. Prof. Judeich has no thoroughgoing theory of the plan of Athens and bases his account on no single system of interpretation. He is neither a consistent follower of tradition, nor does he found his identification of existing remains upon a reading of Thucydides which that identification alone can make even plausible. Consequently his book will meet with the fate of all eclectic compilations: it will satisfy nobody as a whole, and every scholar will quarrel with the views taken of some points, and consider that others have been inadequately treated. It will be, for instance, poor comfort to those who disagree with the author in his acceptance of Dr. Dörpfeld's *Enneakrounos* to find that he rejects the theory that Thucydides speaks of Apollo's cave on the Acropolis as the Pythion, and that he knows nothing of an Olympieion in that neighbourhood. On the other hand his acceptance of Dr. Dörpfeld's site of the temple of Dionysos in the Marshes will not compensate for his adherence to the traditional view of the position of the Agora; or, again, the true follower of certain German theories will demur at the reserve with which he admits the possibility of the continued existence of the old Athena temple, while those who adhere to the conclusions arrived at by Dr. Frazer will regret that he should admit the possibility at all.

But it would not be possible to satisfy everybody in an encyclopaedia, and perhaps it is best that everyone should find something to his satisfaction. The most that can be demanded from such a book is that the account should be orderly and on the whole consistent, and that the facts and theories should be stated in an impartial manner. If conclusions must be arrived at, they should be offered without excessive dogmatism, and they should be sufficiently respectable for use by those who do not wish to

investigate the matter themselves. They should be put forward as targets for controversy rather than as final pronouncements, and, above all, the ammunition for discussion should be equally supplied to either side. The reputation of this series makes it all but unnecessary to state that all these requirements are completely satisfied by Dr. Judeich. The plan of the book is simple and comprehensive. It is convenient to use, and certain features such as the account of the evidence to be obtained from structural devices and materials, and the short historical account of Athenian monuments, while containing nothing new, would be hard to find elsewhere. With Dr. Frazer's edition of Pausanias before us it would not be possible to say that the book is indispensable for English students, but they may well refer to it as a connected account, if they wish to be placed in possession of many facts which are omitted in the heated discussions or the chill silences of less impartial writers than Dr. Frazer or Prof. Judeich.

A. P. OPPÉ.

BRIEF NOTICES.

Le Culte de Dionysos en Attique. By PAUL FOUCART. (Extrait des Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.) Paris: Klincksieck, 1905. 4to. Pp. 204. Fr. 8.

M. FOUCART distinguishes three forms of the worship of Dionysus: the Theban, the Thracian, and a third form which he derives from the Osiris worship of Egypt, adopting, almost in the same terms, the theories of Herodotus (cf. ii. 123). Crete, with its legend of Dionysus-Zagreus, is the halfway house between Athens and Egypt. And even before the Ionic migration, influences from Egypt, we are told, affect Attic religion. In view of the widely spread 'Mycenaean' civilisation of the second millennium B.C. it is difficult to prove a negative. Nothing, however, which M. Foucart brings forth, goes beyond the probable effects of Orphic teaching from 600 B.C. onwards. And the Osiris who helps M. Foucart to explain the ritual of the Dionysia is too much the god of wine and beer; scarcely enough the august president of Amenti—the Egyptian nether-world. If Osiris is really a nature-god and not an historic individual, he is the sun, and not beer.

M. Foucart will not allow Dr. Dörpfeld to expel Dionysus from the south-east corner

of the acropolis. The Lenaean and the temple 'in Limnis' are united within the same enclosure near the Military Hospital (p. 109). I think some weight should also be allowed here to the words of Aristophanes in the *Frogs*. We need not pay too much attention to the argument which places the scene of the action in Thebes. No other play of Aristophanes has its scene outside Attica. Heracles was worshipped in Athens too, and anyway the mystae and the frogs belong to Athens. The scene of the *Frogs*, I suggest, is the actual theatre itself with the neighbourhood. Λίμναι probably denotes the sacred pools not marshes [L. and S. s. v]. For in the play Xanthias runs round the pool, instead of crossing in a ferry-boat. Here perhaps we may call in an Egyptian analogy. The passage of Dionysus across the lake is like the voyages of Osiris. And the pools of the sanctuary are like the artificial pools which were made near Egyptian temples for religious purposes. And, again, the mystae of the play would pass through the neighbouring Itonian gate on their way 'to the sea.' Perhaps other readers of this review may accept the combination which is thus possible if we reject the cautious statement of the argument. 'It is not declared,' says the writer, 'where the scene is, but most probably in Thebes.' No! There was no need to declare a matter which was obvious. *This* Dionysus, and here M. Foucart helps us, was not from Thebes. Thus, after all, the argument does not commit us to anywhere else than the sacred soil of the Athenian god, but Dr. Dörpfeld remains an exile.

Sur les Attributs des Saliens. By W. HELBIG. (Extrait des Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.) Paris: Klincksieck, 1905. 4to. Pp. 72. 37 illustrations in text. Fr. 3.20.

M. HELBIG, in this interesting essay, makes an important contribution to the history of Roman religion. He takes the equipment of the Sali piece by piece; and shows that their shields and caps and so forth were of the same form as those used by the primitive patricians at the time when the *sodalitates Saliorum* were instituted (p. 23). The necessary evidence is largely drawn from archaeological sources: ancient rings, seals, and, in particular, the tombs of Tarquinii and the Esquiline (pp. 37, 46). The influence of 'Mycenaean' types is traced in the same way as by Reichel in his description of Homeric armour, and M. Helbig furnishes

incidentally a contribution to the history of 'Mycenaean' civilization. The shields of the Sali — *ancilia* i.e. *ancidia* by interchange of d and l — were hollowed on either side like those of Homer's heroes, and the Roman term has well kept the mystery of Homeric armour. Archaeological method in the hands of a master can thus reopen and decide problems which a purely linguistic criticism often veils.

Mutter Erde: ein Versuch über Volksreligion.

By ALBRECHT DIETERICH. Leipzig: Teubner, 1905. 8vo. Pp. vi. + 124. M. 3.20.

DIETERICH'S essay is both a solid and brilliant piece of work. He traces in Roman and Greek sources the primitive belief in the motherhood of the earth. She is the fountain of all life and, in turn, also the home of the dead. Hence behind the Olympian deities of Greece and the national gods of Rome there looms the more ancient figure of Gaia, or Tellus. Thus the later and mysterious worship of Demeter, of the Great Mother, of Isis are, in truth, reversions to beliefs which were merely slumbering, not dead.

These beliefs come down from prehistoric times: mysticism is nearer primitive beliefs than we think. For while the ritual of primitive religion is often coarse to our modern notions, it tries to express the relation of child to parent, and, in its ceremonies of initiation, affirms the fact of a new birth, which is also the introduction to a great society. The initiation ceremonies of the Wa-yao, a Bantu people, offer some interesting points of comparison (Johnston, *British Central Africa*, 409 f.). And along with these ceremonies, careful enquiry seems to disclose among the Bantu tribes generally a belief in Mother-earth. For example, north of the French Congo 'Nzambi' (wrongly called God) is Mother-earth, literally Terrible Earth. In all the Fjort legends that treat of Nzambi she is spoken of as the 'mother' (Dennett, *Folklore of the Fjort*, 2). I quote these instances because Dieterich, pp. 88 f., seems to infer a period of promiscuity accompanying the 'religion of the mother.' But the orgies enumerated by him may be explained by initiation ceremonies such as those of the Wa-yao and other tribes, who are polygamists without any trace of polyandry. And so, after all, even the famous case of Orestes and the Eumenides may demand further enquiry before it can be used as evidence of a primitive matriarchy. The

excessively sexual character of much early ritual is not inconsistent with highly developed patriarchal life.

Archiv für Religionswissenschaft. Achter Band. Beiheft gewidmet HERMANN USERNER zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag. Leipzig: Teubner, 1905. 8vo. Pp. 120. 29 illustrations in text, and on three plates. M. 4.20.

DIETERICH, under the title 'Sommertag,' brings together some German children's games, and uses them to explain two small frescoes from Ostia, which are now in the Vatican library. The chief features of the games are processions, songs, the carrying of staves hung with fruit, ribbons, etc., sometimes the May-bride and groom, and always a collection. An instructive parallel is quoted from modern Greece where a wooden swallow is carried round. Probably, the famous Rhodian swallow song was similarly accompanied: *ἄνοιγ' ἀνοιγε τὴν θύραν χελιδόνι*. Dieterich perhaps considers this point too obvious to require mentioning. This interesting prelude throws a little light upon one of the frescoes, in which some children, as if in procession, carry staves with bunches of grapes hung to a crosspiece. The other fresco also seems to depict a procession in which with a little goodwill we can see two veiled figures, perhaps the May-bride and bridegroom. The full explanation is left to the future; but Dieterich's essay makes a good beginning. Karo, in a short paper, illustrates the votive offering at Delphi, which was executed by Glaucus of Chios for Alyattes. This was a four-sided (not three-sided) iron support, with a silver bowl upon it. The support seems to have been of open-work damascened, and is strikingly illustrated by some fragments found in the Grotto of Zeus in Ida. Deubner is less convincing in his interpretation of the devotion of the Decii (Liv. viii. 9. 5, *velato capite manu subter togam ad mentum exserta*, etc.). The head was touched, I take it, as the seat of the life or soul: not because 'the face alone was free.' Paul Wolters gathers much useful material to illustrate the use of threads and knots as amulets, and is supported by von Bissing in a short paper on knots as amulets in Egypt.

Kroll, in his essay upon ancient baptismal usages, enters a field which is much too wide for a brief notice. The curious reader may well be referred to the valuable periodical itself.

F. GRANGER.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ITALY.

Este.—A stone tablet recently discovered bears the following inscriptions. They give the remedies of the oculist Epagathus for various diseases of the eye.

- (1) EPAGATHI·DIAS·MRN·ES·
POST IMPET·LIPPITVD
- (2) EPAGATHO·DIAM·YSVS·
AD·ASPRITVD·IN·ES·TOL
- (3) EPAGATHO·HORA·EON·
CROC·AD·AS·RITVD·NES
- (4) EPAGATHO·TEOCTISTON·
ADDIATHESIS·S·TOLLE¹

It will be seen that the Roman oculist knew something of the value of a high-sounding name for his prescriptions.

SPAIN.

Numantia.—Excavations commenced in August 1905 brought to light the remains of an older town lying beneath the Roman settlement. It bears traces of having been destroyed by fire, and can hardly be other than the Iberian town levelled to the ground by Scipio in 133 B.C. The pottery found in the houses of this settlement is of careful workmanship, with decoration of a geometric character. It has close affinities with Phoenician pottery. Archaic forms seem to have held their ground stubbornly down to as late as 133 B.C. Beneath the Iberian town are remains of a prehistoric settlement. Large jars for provisions and other utensils have been unearthed on hills surrounding Numantia. It is probable that they belonged to the *castella* of Scipio's line of circumvallation. Traces of the military road between Uxama and Augustobriga are still visible in the neighbourhood.²

F. H. MARSHALL.

NUMISMATIC SUMMARIES.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part 4, 1905.

W. Wroth. 'The earliest Parthian coins: a reply to Sir Henry Howorth.'—W. Wroth. 'Select Greek coins in the British Museum.' On coins of Scione, small silver coins of Aenus, etc. To Scione are attributed coins hitherto assigned

¹ *Bull. della Comm. Arch.* 1905. Part 3.

² *Arch. Anz.* 1905. Part 4.

to 'Cithus', a supposed town of Lesbos. A silver coin of Atarneus in Mysia, the first piece published in this metal, is described: *obv.* Head of Apollo: *rev.* Serpent.—J. G. Milne. 'Roman coin-moulds from Egypt.' Describes with much careful detail coin-moulds found at Behnesa (Oxyrhynchus) in 1903 and 1905. These moulds are of the time of Maximinus Daza, Licinius, and Constantinus I. They are the usual circular disks of clay and were apparently made by coiners for the manufacture of false money, specimens of which have been found at Oxyrhynchus in considerable numbers. The moulds were made either by taking a direct impression in the clay from a genuine coin or by employing the *cire perdue* process. The coins of the mint of Alexandria were those that the forger chiefly sought to reproduce, and it is curious to note that he had no scruple about joining the obverse of one coin with the reverse of another, thus producing what some English numismatists call 'mules.'

Revue Numismatique. Part 4, 1905.

A. Dieudonné. 'Monnaies grecques,' etc. Greek coins recently acquired by the Cabinet des Médailles, being Thracian coins and various uncertain pieces, especially a silver stater with a Sphinx (archaic), p. 458. The collection has also acquired a number of small coins of Aenus presumably from the same 'find' as the coins described in the *Num. Chron.* (see *supra*).—J. Maurice. 'L'Iconographie par des médailles des Empereurs romains.' The fourth article,

dealing with the portraits of Crispus, Fausta, Delmatius, Hannibalianus, and Constantinus II.

Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Vol. xxv. Part 3. 1905.

K. Regling. 'Ein Tridrachmon von Byzantion. A remarkable unpublished coin of Byzantium issued B.C. 389-387/6, when Byzantium was free from the Spartan yoke. On the *obv.* ΣΥΝ (μαχικόν). Infant Herakles strangling serpents: *rev.* the name and usual type of Byzantium, viz. Bull on Dolphin. This is an addition to the interesting class of league-coins (time of Conon, B.C. 394 or later) of Ephesus, Samos, Knidos, Iasos, and Rhodes, each of which is inscribed ΣΥΝ and has the infant Herakles. A useful list of these is given, p. 210, and also an account, pp. 211-213, of coins with the same type of Herakles.—E. Assmann. 'Das Stabkreuz auf griechischen Münzen.' On the cruciform staff held by Nike on the gold staters of Alexander the Great. 'Dieses Kreuz ist eine Crux der Forscher geworden.' It used to be called a trophy-stand but this explanation has generally been abandoned in favour of the view, first suggested by Babelon, that it is the *stylos*, a support of the *aphestre*. Assman contends that it is a naval standard adopted from the Phoenicians. 'Den Griechen und Asiaten stellte sich Alexander in seiner Siegesgöttin (the figure of Nike) triumphierend als phöniciischen Grossadmiral vor.' Perhaps the last word has not been said on the subject. WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1906.

3 Jan. J. Bruns, *Vorträge und Aufsätze* (Fr. Cauer), favourable. N. Wecklein, *Studien zur Ilias* (Chr. Harder), 'A valuable contribution.' C. Gaspar, *Olympia* (G. Lang), favourable. M. H. Ritchie, *A Study of conditional and temporal clauses in Pliny the younger* (Th. Opitz), 'Almost too detailed and thorough.' E. Kornemann, *Kaiser Hadrian und der letzte grosse Historiker von Rom* (J. Asbach), On Lollius Urbicus.

10 Jan. E. B. Clapp, *Hiatus in Greek melic poetry* (J. Sitzler). K. Ziegler, *De precationum apud Graecos formis quaestiones selectae* (P. Stengel), very favourable. A. Grossmann, *Lesefrüchte für die Horazstunde* (O. Weissenfels). *Novaeisium* (R. Oehler). On the Roman camp excavated here. K. Baedeker, *Konstantinopel und das westliche Kleinasien* (G. Wartenberg).

17 Jan. G. Lang, *Untersuchungen zur Geographie der Odyssee* (P. Goessler) I. R. C. Jebb, *Bacchylides* (J. Sitzler). From the Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. i. A. Eichhorn, *Βάββαρος quid significaverit* (B. A. Müller). 'Good, but too lengthy.' W. Schultz, *Pythagoras und Heraklit* (A. Döring), unfavourable. Th. Sinko, *De Apulei et Albini doctrinae Platonicae adumbratione* (A. Döring), favourable.

24 Jan. H. Steuding, *Griechische und römische Mythologie*, 3. Aufl. (H. Gillischewski), favourable on the whole. G. Lang, *Untersuchungen zur Geographie der Odyssee* (P. Goessler) II. An attack

on Dörpfeld's theory. J. Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 2. Ausg. (M. Manitius), favourable.

31. Jan. *Defixionum Tabellae*, collegit A. Audollent (E. Ziebarth), very favourable. F. Paetzolt, *Adnotationes criticae ad Lucianum imprimis pertinentes* (P. Schulze). C. Schuchhardt, *Atlas vorgeschichtlicher Befestigungen in Niedersachsen* (C. Koenen).

7. Feb. K. Meister, *Der syntaktische Gebrauch des Genetivs in den Kretischen Dialektschriften* (W. Larfeld), very favourable. A. Gruhn, *Das Schlachtfeld von Issus* (A. Janke). A refutation of the view of Janke. Th. Schiche, *Zu Ciceros Briefen* (W. Sternkopf) I. *Vergils Aeneis*, herausg. von W. Kloucek, 3. Aufl. (F. H.), favourable.

14. Feb. Euripides, *Iphigenie bei den Taurern* und Euripides, *Medea*, herausg. von Chr. Muff (Fr. Harder), favourable. A. Goedeckemeyer, *Geschichte der griechischen Skeptizismus* (A. Döring), unfavourable on the whole. Th. Schiche, *Zu Ciceros Briefen* (W. Sternkopf) II. On the chronology and interpretation of some letters of B.C. 46 and 45. Giov. Ferrara, *Calpurnio Siculo e il panegirico a Calpurnio Pisone* (R. Helm), favourable. Ussani, *Le annotazioni di Pomponio Leto a Lucano* (R. Helm). M. Chicco, *La congiunzione Cum* (H. Blase), unfavourable.

21. Feb. W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (W. Dörpfeld) I. A. Sondag, *De nominibus apud Alciphonem propriis* (A. Fick). P. Schmiedeburg, *De Asconii codicibus et Ciceronis scholiis Sangallensibus* (Th. Stangl), favourable.

28 Feb. *Oriens Graeci inscriptiones selectae*, ed. W. Dittenberger. Vol. ii. (W. Larfeld). A. Fick, *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen als Quelle für die Vorgeschichte Griechenlands* verwertet (Prellwitz), very favourable. W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (W. Dörpfeld) II, favourable. Th. Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften*. I. Abt. *Juristische Schriften*. I. Bd. (E. Kornemann). *Ciceros Verrinen*, in Auswahl von C. Bardt (Nohl), favourable. R. Schütze, *Juvenalis Ethicus* (J. Ziehen), very favourable.

Archiv für lateinische Lexicographie, etc. xiv. 3. 1905.

J. Zeller, *Vicus, platea, platiodynami*. E. Wölflin, *Haec inter* (Hor. Sat. 2. 6. 59). E. Bednara, *De sermone dactylicorum Latinorum quaestio*. a. Words unsuitable to the metre; b. Devices adopted by the poets (i) uocabulorum in versu functio, (ii) (iii) alternatio sonorum aut formarum. J. Hausleiter, *Contropatio*. E. Löfstedt, *Aperio*. H. Stadler, *Neue Bruchstücke der quaestiones medicinales des Pseudo-Soranus*. Important lacunae in Rose's London MS. supplied from a Chartres MS. B. A. Müller, *Lapis als femininum*.

C. Thulin, *Fulgur, fulmen und Wortfamilie*. In old Latin and Etruscan sacred lore *fulgur* the only word for both 'flash' and 'bolt.' *Fulgor* a poetical word (with both meanings). In classical prose *fulmen* = 'bolt,' and 'flash' is *fulgur* (-gor), rarely *fulgetrum* (-tra), to which Sen. adds *fulguratio*. O. Keller, *Der Name Paestum*. From the promontory Poseidonion. W. Heraeus, *Beiträge zur Bestimmung der Quantität in positionslangen Silben*. I. The grammarians of Keil's Corpus; Charisius, Diomedes, Priscian. *Miscellen*: A. Zimmermann, *Versuch einer Erklärung lat. Gentilsuffixe*. A. Klotz, *Flumen, fluviu, amnis beim älteren Plinius*. The two last words generally due to use of Latin sources. J. Denk, *Aguiculam facere, anabolarium, antelena = antelaena*. O. Hey, *Amica*. M. Niedermann, *Portica = porticus*. O. Keller, *Hadra = lapis*. *Literatur*: Schmalz's *Antibarbarus*, de Jonge's *Les clauses métriques dans St. Cyprien*, Düring's *De Vergilii sermone epico capp. selecta*, Marx' *C. Lucili reliquiae* (commentary), Lehnert's *Quint. decl. XIX maiores* and Lommatzsch's *P. Vegeti Renati digestorum artis mulomedicinae libri* are among the works reviewed.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

The size of Books is given in inches. 4 inches = 10 centimetres (roughly).

* * Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.

Aristotle, see Marshall (Thomas).

Carilli (H. F.), see Plato.

Chico (Dott. Maurizio) *La congiunzione 'Cum'* (Studio critico-storico). 9" × 5½". Pp. xii + 148. Torino, Ermanno Loescher. 1905. L. 2.

Cicero, see Lutz (P.).

Curtius-v. Hartel. *Griechische Schulgrammatik*, kurzgefasste Ausgabe bearbeitet von Dr. Florian Weigel. 9½" × 6¼". Pp. 176. Wien, F. Tempsky. Leipzig, G. Freytag. 1906. Geheftet 2 K. Gebunden 2 K. 50 h.

— *Griechische Schulgrammatik bearbeitet von Dr. Florian Weigel*. 25 durchgesehene Auflage. 9½" × 6¼". Pp. iv + 300. Wien, F. Tempsky. 1906. Geheftet 2 K. 60 h. Gebunden 3 K. 10 h.

Ellis (Robinson) A Bodleian MS. of *Copa*, *Moretum*, and other poems of the Appendix Vergiliana. (Read in the Hall of Corpus Christi College, Feb. 15th, 1906.) 8½" × 5½". Pp. 21. London, Henry Frowde. 1906. 1s. net.

Frazer (W. R.), see *Plutarch*.

Gardner (E. A.) *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture*. New edition. London and New York, Macmillan and Co. 1906. 7¾" × 5¼". Pp. xxxii + 590. 142 cuts. 10s.

Harrison (Jane Ellen) *Primitive Athens* as described by Thucydides. 8¾" × 5¼". Pp. xii + 168. Cambridge, University Press. 1906. 6s. net.

Haverfield (F. J.) *The Romanization of Roman Britain*. (From the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. II.) 9¾" × 6". Pp. 33. London, Henry Frowde. 1906. 2s. 6d.

Herodas, see Sharpley (Hugo).

James (Montague Rhodes) *A descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Library of Christ's College, Cambridge*. 11" × 7". Pp. vi + 36. Cambridge, University Press. 1905. 5s.

— *A descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Library of Queens' College, Cambridge*. 11" × 7". Pp. vi + 30. Cambridge, University Press. 1905. 3s. 6d. net.

Jebb (Sir Richard C.), see *Sophocles*.

Kleingünter (Hermannus) *Quaestiones ad Asconium libros qui sub Manilii nomine feruntur pertinentes scripsit H. K.* (*Jena degree dissertation*.) 8¾" × 5¼". Pp. iv + 60. Lipsiae, G. Foch. 1905.

Lutz (P.) *Quaestiones criticae in Ciceronis Orationes Philippicas scripsit P. L.* 8¾" × 5¼". Pp. 84. Schlettstadt, Paulus Rugraff. 1905.

Mackail (J. W.) *The Hundred Best Poems (Lyrical) in the Latin Language*, selected by J. W. M. 6" × 4". Pp. viii + 105. Glasgow and London, Gowers and Gray. 1905. 6d. net.

Manilius, see *Kleingünter*.

Marshall (Thomas) *Aristotle's Theory of Conduct*. 9½" × 5½". Pp. 578 + xxi pages of index. London, T. Fisher Unwin. 1906. £1 1s. net.

Morgan (Morris H.) *On the Language of Vitruvius*. (*Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. XLI. No. 23, February, 1906.) 11" × 6½". Pp. 465-502. 40 c.

Phillimore (J. S.) *Index verborum Propertianus fecit J. S. P.* 7¾" × 5". Pp. 112. Oxonii e

- Typographieo Clarendoniano. 1906. 4s. 6d. net (§ 1.50).
- Plato*. Carllil (H. F.) The Theætetus and Philebus of Plato, translated and explained by H. F. C. (*New Classical Library edited by Dr. Emil Reich.*) $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xxvi+202. London, Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1906. Cloth 3s. 6d. net. Leather 4s. 6d. net.
- Plutarch's* Lives of Alexander, Pericles, Caius Caesar, and Aemilius Paulus translated by W. R. Frazer. (*New Classical Library edited by Dr. Emil Reich.*) $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 263. London, Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1906. Cloth 3s. 6d. Leather 4s. 6d.
- Propertius*, see *Phillimore* (J. S.).
- Reich* (Dr. Emil) A new Classical Library, edited by Dr. E. R., see *Plato* and *Plutarch*.
- Samuelsson* (Johann) Studia in Valerium Flaccum II. scr. J. S. (Ex Erani Vol. VI. seorsum expr.) $9'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Upsala. Pp. 72-100. 1906.
- Sharpley* (Hugo) A Realist of the Aegean, being a verse-translation of the Mimes of Herodas. $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5''$. Pp. x+58. London, David Nutt. 1906. 2s. 6d.
- Shuckburgh* (E. S.), see *Sophocles*.
- Sophocles*. Shuckburgh (E. S.) The Philoctetes of Sophocles with a commentary abridged from the larger edition of Sir Richard C. Jebb, Litt.D. by E. S. S. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. xlv+228. Cambridge, University Press. 1906. 4s.
- Tacitus*. Valmaggi (Luigi) Cornelio Tacito. Il libro terzo delle Storie, commentato da L. V., con introduzione e appendice critica. (*Collezione di Classici Greci e Latini con note Italiane.*) $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. xxvi+122. Torino, Ermanno Loescher. 1906. L. 1.80.
- Valerius Flaccus*, see *Samuelsson* (Johann).
- Valmaggi* (Luigi), see *Tacitus*.
- Vitruvius*, see *Morgan* (Morris H.).
- Weigel* (Dr. Florian), see *Curtius-v. Hartel*.

The Classical Review

MAY 1906.

Μυρμιδόνων Πόλις.

THAT Homer must be interpreted by Homer was a truth known to Aristarchus and Strabo, and they acted upon the maxim with success, the latter especially, in as far as geography is more important than criticism. The Homeric poems are now returning to the position which they held in Strabo's eyes: they are again becoming recognised as the oldest historical document for Greece. The linguistic attack upon their age may be said to have at last definitely failed, and archaeology has erected an apparently indestructible buttress for their defence. Many delusions, however, of an earlier generation still encumber the ground, and it is one of these which I now wish to remove.

Strabo's principle by no means finds general acceptance: instead of recognising that the Homeric period is a law to itself in civilisation, events, and topography, the modern critic compares the Homeric account with a later century, and finding it disagree thinks that the Homeric account cannot be genuine; and that the discrepancy is the work of the many-handed, omnipresent, and unwearied adapter, call we him diasceuaist, harmonist, interpolator, or simply faker. Take the Homeric Hymns: the Hymn to Demeter, though describing the great Athenian worship of Eleusis, has no mention of Athens, and the daughter of Demeter has not the Athenian title of Kora. The Hymn is late, heterogeneous, and a pasticcio, says the historian of religion: but the truth is the document mounts to times before 'Virgin' was a title in religion, and before Athens assimilated Eleusis. The latter part of the Hymn to Apollo describes the in-

stitution of the worship at Delphi: and the simplicity of the account compared to that given by the tragedians—the absence of games, agon, Pythia, chasm, vapour, donations, and crowds of pilgrims, has induced Mr. Verrall, ever ingenious, to invent a subtle poet with a hidden spring of purpose compelling him to give this machiavellian account of the rite. This is clear *ὑστερον πρότερον*. Mr. Oppé in *J.H.S.* 1904, pp. 214 *sq.* has proved in detail that the chasm and the vapour are additions and late additions: the games we have always known began in the sixth century: Theognis is the first to mention the Pythia. The Hymn's simplicity is that of age, not design. It may go back to the earliest post-Dorian times. The age of the Hymn to Hermes too may receive respectability from a point in which it represents an important ancient topographical condition. The cows which Hermes steals he drives across Peloponnesus and stalls in a cave at the Alphean Pylos. In the other accounts of the legend, in Apollodorus and Antoninus Liberalis, it is the Messenian Pylos which receives them. The facts relating to Pylos have lately been put in their proper light by Victor Bérard in his admirable book, of which the account of Triphyly is one of the most convincing parts. As Strabo held, Nestor's seaport was in Triphyly, and Strabo searched for a site for Pylos in that district. It was the port of West Peloponnesus, and a drover would take his cattle there to ship them to the islands, to rejoice the hearts of princes and pirates. A record of the legend in the Triphylian region may remain in Pausanias' account

v. 5. 5: γενέσθαι δὲ οἱ Λεπρεῖται φισιν ἔλεγον ἐν τῇ πόλει Λευκαίου Διὸς ἱερὸν καὶ Λυκοῦργον τάφον τοῦ Ἀλέου καὶ ἄλλον Καῦκυνος. τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἐπιθήμα ἄνδρα ἐπεῖναι λύραν ἔχοντα. As the tomb of Caucon had disappeared before Pausanias' time we cannot tell if 'the man with the lyre' was Apollo or Hermes. When the lagoons and sandhills gained the day, name and site passed away. Nestor was transferred to the remaining sea-board Pylos, Coryphasium, where the simple Pausanias placed him; and the mythographers diverted, by a most improbable route, Hermes and his unwearied cows to the same place. The author of the hymn wrote while the old conditions obtained, and this brilliant piece of epic writing in so far gains antiquity. The Doloneia is persistently written down,¹ and readers, ancient and modern, are unable to tolerate vivacity or humour in antiquity; but the world did not begin with Homer, and so far as we see it gained in seriousness with age. It was Xenophanes, a critic of the sixth century—the age to which the determined critic relegates these documents—who took exception to Homer. All these arguments from probability or suitability—the stock weapon of the Alexandrians and Plutarch—can be reversed. What ground have we to suppose that the religion of Minos or Ariadne would have been shocked at Demodocus' lay?

I do not mean, however, to dwell upon questions of taste or comparative morality, but with the kingdom of Peleus. One portion of Homer that has been unanimously decried is the Catalogue. Its place in the *Iliad* must depend upon the view we take of the composition of that poem. It is not unnatural it should be thought unoriginal where it stands. In itself, however, as a table, according to regions, of Agamemnon's forces, it bears every mark of venerable antiquity, and the failure of critics to recognise this quality in it is surprising. What is the one simplest test of the antiquity of a document of this sort? Surely the portrayal of a state of things, political and topographical, which never recurred in later history; and which no one had any interest to invent, or even the means for inventing. This character is written all over the Catalogue: the absence of the states of Megara and Messenia, the separation of Orchomenus from the rest of Boeotia, Thebes represented by Ὑποθήβαι and in no sense predominant, the vanished kingdom of Nestor (Pylos and the ford of Alpheus)—none of these con-

¹ I quite agree with Mr. Andrew Lang that it has always held its present place.

ditions ever existed again in the world, and it never became anyone's interest to invent or restore them. The intangibility of the Catalogue is, however, most strikingly shewn by the insignificant position of Athens. Modern opinion has allowed itself to be dominated by the idle legends of lines added here and there by Pisistratus and others: even these legends betray the all-but total absence of such attempts, and their ill-success. The Athenians in Homer appear as the unimportant tribe they were: a remnant perhaps of the prae-Pelopid inhabitants, at all events brigaded with leavings and effeminate peoples, Locrians, Epeans, Ionians, bowmen who did not wear armour, and whose position was defined as 'opposite Euboea.'² If the διάσκομος is a conglomerate, why did not the Athenians, in whose hands the text is supposed to have lain, and may have lain, give themselves a better place? Why but that the Catalogue came down from the times it describes, and that tradition and tribal jealousy were too strong to allow any *nouvelles couches* of peoples to tamper with it? The most remarkable case of discrepancy between the conditions of the Catalogue and later history is that of Agamemnon and his Argos, a parallel in some respects to Peleus and the Pelasgic Argos. Agamemnon, king of men, is seated at Corinth: he holds Corinth, Sicyon, and the whole of the later Achaean riviera: to the south of Corinth he has his castle Mycenae at the south foot of the pass, but of the plain of the Inachus not an inch, and no access to the sea. Argos the town, Tiryns, Asine, the whole of the Hermionic peninsula round to Troezen and Epidaurus, even Aegina, are in the hands of Diomedes, son of the Aetolian fugitive, Sthenelus, who represented the old Argive house, and Eurypylus. In tragedy Agamemnon lands at Nauplia, and is signalled at Mycenae. But in history Nauplia was not his: he sailed from and returned to Corinth. The beacons at Mycenae would have had nothing

² οἱ ναύουσι πέραν ἱερῆς Εὐβοίας B 535. The lesser is defined by the greater. It is perverse to insist that πέραν must mean 'beyond' and prove the writer to have been an Asiatic. Πέραν, 'across from,' is a variation on the fuller expression in 626 πέραν ἄλδς Ἡλίδος ἄντα (which in its turn has produced the v. ll. on 535); both words meet in οἱ τ' ἡπείρον ἔχον ἡδ' ἀντιπέραι ἐνέμοντο 635. The description is 'objective,' that is, independent of personal standpoint, as in the parallel Δοκροὶ οἵ τε καλούμενοι Ὀζόλαι καὶ οἱ πέραν Εὐβοίας, Paus. x. 8. 5 (cf. vii. 4. 3 περὶ Ἀναίαν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ τῇ πέραν): Scymnus 587 uses a synonym, ἀπέναντι δ' Εὐβοίης κατοικοῦσιν Ἀχαιοί. If the 'personal' sense were obligatory, B 626 would land us in a contradiction, for on the same evidence the writer of that line would be a Peloponnesian!

to signal. In later days the Doric kingdom of Argos, and that chamaeleon-name itself, established Agamemnon in the valley of the Inachus, where Argos stood, plain to see. The relation of the Pelopid Corinthian dynasty to what came before and after is not easy to establish: Pausanias (ii. 4. 2) felt the difficulty. But the greater the difficulty and the greater the discrepancy between Homer and later history, the less likelihood is there that the entry in the Catalogue is due to interest, policy, or imagination. Apart from this, the locality corresponds to Agamemnon's position in Homer: with the Isthmus, Corinth, and Sicyon, the long Achaean riviera, his rear protected by Mycenae, he was clearly the greatest force in Greece. His sea-board gave him ships and men, and enabled him to take off the Arcadians, who came down to Aegium or Aegira; his naval strength in the West may explain why he was able to offer the Messenian coast-villages of Cardamyle, Enope, etc. to Achilles (I 150); were his 'many islands' also in the West? Pausanias vii. 24. 2 has preserved the tradition that he summoned the Greek notables to Aegium, one of his Achaean towns, to consult on the plan of operation against Troy: whereas for the rendezvous of the armament, having no harbour of his own on the East coast, he appointed the safe and central roadstead of Aulis.¹ Agamemnon's political situation is wholly unlike anything which was seen afterwards in the Greek world, and would have been lost to us but for the religious preservation of the Catalogue. The fidelity of the document is no less manifest when we look at the great district known in classical times as Thessaly.

In later times Thessaly in the wider sense extended from the extreme N.E. of Greece to Othrys and the Maliac gulf, and was divided into Thessaliotis, Pelasgiotis, Hestiaeotis, and Phthiotis. Homer it is unnecessary to say knows of no Thessaly and Thessalians and no four great divisions of the area. The region between Pieria and Oeta is in various hands, without connection, political system, or generic name. The Catalogue after dealing with Rhodes and the

Sporades, returns to Greece, which it had left with Aetolia, and enumerates: (681) Achilles in the Pelasgian Argos, Protesilaus at Phylace, Pyrasus, Iton, and so on: Admetus at Pherae and Iolcus, Philoctetes at Olizon: Podalirius and Machaon at Tricca, Eurypylos at Ormenium and Mt. Titanus, Polypoetes at Oloosson, etc., Gouneus from Cyphus with the Enienes and Peraebians, Prothous with the Magnetans from the Peneus and Pelion. Although very few early place-names have survived in Thessaly,² most of these divisions have been approximately fixed: the celebrity of Achilles, and the local rivalry of the historical Greeks, have misled critics, both ancient and modern, in their account of one of these provinces, the kingdom of Peleus.

This is defined, B 681, thus:

νῦν αὖ τοὺς ὄσσοι τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος
 εἶαισι,
 οἳ τ' Ἄλлон οἳ τ' Ἀλόπην οἳ τε Τρηχῖν'
 ἐνέμουντο,
 οἳ τ' εἶχον Φθίην ἥδ' Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα,
 Μυρμιδόνες δὲ καλέντο καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ
 Ἀχαιοί,
 τῶν αὖ πενήκοντα νεῶν ἦν ἀρχὸς Ἀχιλλεύς.

I turn for exegesis to the justly esteemed commentary of Mr. Leaf, and this is what I find: 'it is hardly possible to read this and the two following lines without feeling that originally Achilles was the leader of the whole of the Thessalians, and that his restriction to three paltry towns in 682 is merely a device to make room for the localisation of other Thessalian heroes. As it stands the effect is almost like "all the peoples of Britain who dwell in Greenwich and Woolwich and Blackheath, and were named Saxons and English and Danes." The Pelasgian Argos, properly the central plain of Thessaly about Larissa, a long way from Phthia, is in the sequel stretched to comprise Thessaly in the widest sense and even Dodona in Aetolia. There can be little doubt that Hellenes, Myrmidons, and Achaeans were originally three distinct tribal names of Thessaly, all under the suzerainty of Achilles, as the South was under the suzerainty of Agamemnon.' I quote Mr. Leaf because like a good mirror, he reflects what he sees—or reads: but I cannot help protesting that one should not believe all one reads, and that his note is a cage-full of extinct forms of animal life, and the 'suzerainty of Achilles' is the worst dodo.

² Strabo 430, 433, 434, notices how political change obliterates topography.

¹ This reason, and nothing more recondite nor fraught with mystery, explains the selection of Aulis. A fleet composed of contingents from Cephallenia, Arcadia, Pylos, Sparta, as well as from Iolcus and Trachis, bound for Troy, must have had its rendezvous somewhere about Euboea. Nowadays international squadrons meet at Piraeus, where they seize the customs of Tenedos. Agamemnon chose for his 'mille rates' the all-but land-locked straits of Aulis.

Some of them may be traced to antiquity : in antiquity also there were οἱ τοῖς ἀληθέσιν ἐποικοδομοῦντες ἐψευσμένα (Paus. viii. 2. 6.), and my next step is to examine the painstaking account of Strabo.

Strabo (431) says that the section relating to Achilles was ἐν ἀντιλογίᾳ. Some held that the Pelasgian Argos was a town near Larissa, no longer existing ; others that it was the plain of Thessaly, οὕτως ὀνοματικῶς λεγόμενον (sc. with ἄργος as a common noun = πεδίον). Some also held that Phthia was the same as Hellas and Achaia ; others separated them. Strabo holds that in Homer they are separate, but cannot tell if they were towns or districts. However he gives local claims : those who made Hellas a district stated that it extended from Palaeopharsalus to the Phthiotid Thebes, at the head of the Crocian plain ; as a town Hellas was claimed by the Pharsalians, and by the people of Melitaea, who lived higher up on the waters of the Enipeus.—Some of these views may be traced further back : Dicaearchus (iii. 2, Geogr. graec. min. p. 109) says the Myrmidons lived in the Thessalian Phthia, the Hellenes between Pharsalus and Melitaea, the Achaeans still inhabited Melitaea, Larissa Cremaste, and the Achaean Thebes (earlier called Phylace). Parmeniscus, an Aristarchean, made Phthia a region (Steph. Byz. in *Φθία*) ; Apollodorus, another Aristarchean, whose book on the νεῶν κατάλογος is one of Strabo's best sources, held that the Pelasgic Argos meant τὰ τῆς Θερταλίας πεδία (id. in *Ἀργούρα*) ; recent opinion (οἱ νεώτεροι) identified the ἄστυ Myrmιδόνων with Pharsalia (schol. δ 9).

Strabo continues (432) to observe, and the remark shews his superiority to the Alexandrians, that the Phthians are not Achilles' subjects only, but belong also to Protesilaus and to Philoctetes, quoting N 685 sq., where at the ships of Ajax Oilei f. and Protesilaus we find Boeotians, Locrians, Iaones, Phthians, and Epeians. The Phthians are under Medon who lived in *Phylace* and Podarces, son of Iphiclus of *Phylace*. Strabo thinks that Eurypylus' men (B 734 sq.) may have been Phthians also. In the Catalogue Philoctetes' men (B 727) are under Medon, while Podarces commands Protesilaus'. The name Phthian was applicable to both Protesilaus' and Philoctetes' subjects. Although Eurypylus' and Philoctetes' territory came under the name Magnesia, Strabo thinks the race was the same. He continues that Antron, Protesilaus' first town, forms the limit to Peleus' kingdom, which he thus defines : μέχρι δὲ τῆς ὑπὸ Πρωτεσιλάῳ πόλεως

Ἀντρώνος . . τὸ πλάτος ἀφορίζεται τῆς ὑπὸ Πηλεΐ καὶ Ἀχιλλεΐ γῆς, ἀπὸ τῆς Τραχυνίας καὶ τῆς Οἰταίας ἀρξαμένοις· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ σχεδὸν τι μῆκος ἐστὶ τοῦ Μαλιακοῦ κόλπου. The Maliac gulf, in the lower part of the Spercheus valley, is what Strabo as well as Bursian (*Geogr. Griechenlands*, i. p. 64 n.) regards as Peleus' territory, and it is the only possible conclusion from the words of Homer. Neither geographer, however, influenced I suppose by the higher critics so far their inferiors, has taken the next step, and seen that if Peleus' kingdom is confined as to N. and S. to the Maliac gulf, and if Peleus inhabited the Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος, the Pelasgic Argos, the Maliac gulf, and the delta of the Spercheus, are all different names for the same place.

With so much support from Strabo and Bursian we may next examine the actual data in Homer. In the section about Achilles six place-names are given : Pelasgian Argos, Alos, Alope, Trachis, Phthia, and Hellas ; three names of the inhabitants, Myrmidons, Hellenes, and Achaeans. Alos, Alope and Trachis have always been regarded as towns : the latter retained its name to historical times, and lay to the south of the Spercheus, commanding the road which led by the coast through Pylae. The position of Alos and Alope may easily be defined. To the south the Epicnemidian Locrians under Ajax Oilei f., whose chief town was Opus, came as far East as Σκάρφη (B 532), the historical Σκαρφία ; Alos therefore cannot be the Ἀλόπη between Daphnus and Cynus, and must be that fixed by Steph. Byz. in voc. on the N. coast of the gulf between Ἐχίνος the modern Akhinó and Larissa Cremaste. Again, as under the dominions of Protesilaus (695 sq.) Pyrasus, Iton, Antron, and Pteleon are included, that is to say the whole of the Crocian plain, our Alos cannot be the Halos or Alos, home of Athamas, in the south of that plain and more or less between Iton and Pteleon, although Artemidorus of Ephesus (ap. Strab. 432) thought so. Such an *enclave* cannot be imagined, and Parmeniscus (in Steph. Byz. s. Ἄλος) justly said there were two places of the name. Ἄλος or Ἄλος is a common name between Sunium and Volo ; and this Alos must have been either another port on the N. side of the Maliac gulf, or by the mouth of the river.

The possible extension of Peleus' kingdom along either coast is to Antron on the N., to Scarphia on the S., and probably the defile of Pylae will have been its southern boundary.

No one suggests this kingdom extended to

the S. of Oeta: it was barred along the coast to the N. by Antron, and to the N.E. by Othrys, which attains its greatest height at this point, as well as by Protesilaus, whose possessions reached to Pteleon (the modern Ftelio) and Antron on the sea, and Phylace (perhaps the later Thebes) and Iton in the hills. There were only two ways in which it could expand—to the N.W. across the pass of Othrys into the tableland of Xyniaie and towards the later Pharsalus, and up the Spercheus-valley, to the W. The height and danger of the pass, the *Μαλιακὸς δρυμός* described by Leake (*Northern Greece*, i. 461), make the former supposition improbable. It was a gloomy *malpasso*, Xerxes and Metellus avoided it; and we do not find valley-people naturally overflowing their boundaries. It would be enough if Peleus planted a post at the top, and something—unnamed in Homer and early literature, but later known as *Λαμία* and *Zitouni*—at the bottom. Up the valley there was no obstacle, and the prominence of the Spercheus in the *Iliad*, when the Enipeus or the Apidanus, not to say the Peneus, might have been invoked, shows that it was the national river.

Menesthius, one of Achilles' five generals of division, Π 173, was the son of Spercheus; Patroclus, though no Myrmidon, Phthian, or Hellene born, but of Opus, was, as a ghost, to take Achilles' hair to the Spercheus, to fulfil Peleus' vow to offer hair and fifty sheep to the river,

ἐς πηγάς, ὅθι τοι τέμενος βωμός τε θύηεις.

Peleus and Achilles possessed the 'springs of Spercheus' and there was a sacred place there. The restless modern critic, eternally dissatisfied, explains *πηγαί* away, to mean only 'waters' (Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, on *H.F.* 390. Mr. Leaf follows obediently). This meaning of *πηγαί* is unhomeric: B 523 οἱ τε Λύλαιαν ἔχον πηγῆς ἐπὶ Κηφισοῖο is an exact statement. The sources of the Spercheus, by which I do not mean the actual but the reputed sources, that is to say the spot where the river began to be of some size—must have been high up the river's course, and very likely at the place called Spercheae by Livy in his account of the Aetolian raid into Thessaly in B.C. 198 (xxxii. 13). A river often gives its name to a hamlet upon it near, if not at, its source. We have alas not enough ancient place-names to make a Greek gazeteer, but in well-surveyed countries examples may be found in any county: take Windrush, Evenlode, Chervelltown, Lambourn, in the Thames basin. In Greece Thespieae on the Thespius, Cephi-

sia on the Attic Cephissus, and Nemea high up on the same river, are parallels. The Spercheus-valley, from Tymphrestus to Trachis, will have been an ancient Valtellina, important for its command of passes—the coast-road from Antron, the Maliac thicket, the next track to the W., falling upon Hypata (Leake, *N.G.* i. 460), another still further to the W., by which the Aetolians broke up from Spercheae and Macracome to South Thessaly; on the south Thermopylae, and the hill-road from Trachis through Doris to Amphissa, the Sacred Pilgrims' Way from Thessaly to Delphi. As in the Valtellina, the hill villages on both sides provided a contingent (2500) of fighting men; and the earth the wild Adda, I mean the Spercheus, brought down, gave the plain at its mouth its fertility—

γῆς πάσης τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἄργος ἄμεινον,

(oracle in schol. Theocr. xiv. 48, al., Henss No. 178)¹ While the Achaeon civilisation kept the river in order, the harbours of Trachis and Lamia (viz. Anticyra and Phalara) were busy ports. The height of the mountains on both sides made it an impregnable kingdom,² and under divine rulers it was more important than the neighbouring Locris, Crocian plain, or even Pherae.

We have next to give a meaning to the place-names Phthia and Hellas, and the descriptions Hellenes and Achaeans.

Phthiotis in historical days extended from the Maliac gulf to the plain of Thessaly, *πλατυνόμενα μέχρι Φαραλάου καὶ τῶν πεδίων τῶν Θετταλικῶν*, Strabo 430, and such a meaning for Phthia may be traced as far back as the Hesiodic Catalogues, fr. 81:

ἡ οἷη Φθίῃ χαρίτων ἄπο κάλλος ἔχουσα
Πηγνεῖο παρ' ὕδωρ καλὴ ναίσκε Κυρήνη.

I presume the Peneus stands for its tributary, Enipeus or Apidanus. The historical

¹ Bursian i. 88 notes the fertility of the valley, now principally rice-fields. Herodotus vii. 198 describes the dimensions of the argos: 198 *περὶ δὲ τὸν κόλπον τοῦτον ἐστὶ χώρος πεδινός, τῇ μὲν εὐρύς, τῇ δὲ καὶ κάρτα στενός, 199 ταύτῃ* (sc. at Trachis) *δε καὶ εὐρύτατον ἐστὶ πάσης τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἐκ τῶν ὁρέων ἐς θάλασσαν, κατ' ἃ Τρηχίς πεποδίσται· διςχιλίαι τε γὰρ καὶ διςμύρια πλέθρα τοῦ πεδίου ἐστί.* The delta had grown far below the bridge by the time of Brennus, B.C. 279 (Paus. x. 20. 6).—It will hardly be believed that this oracle supplies the only other mention of the Pelasgian Argos—this imposing pre-Homeric, pre-Mycenaean kingdom—in the whole of independent Greek literature, if we except Euripides, who (in the *Orestes*) applies the name to Argolis.

² Herodotus vii. 198, the *Τρηχίνας πέτρας*.

Pharsalians believed their town was Phthia, the ἄστυ Μυρμιδόνων (schol. δ 9).¹ It is unnecessary to deny that Peleus' rule may have included the table-land, Xyniae and its lake, between the two passes; but as Pharsalus, Thaumaci (Domokó) and Proerna are not in Homer, it is less likely that he stretched over the uninviting Furka.² Graubünden still holds much of the Valtellina, but we do not find Venosta or Pallavicini stretching up to Pontresina. Bursian, i. p. 75 thinks Pharsalus a foundation of the Thessalians, presumably to secure the pass from the North. In Homer's day, if we judge from the presence of Φθίοι under Ajax and Protesilaus, and perhaps on the other side of the Pagasaeon gulf, Phthia was a non-political name, attached to a wide region, and dating from an earlier political condition, we do not know what. As Picardy and Provence, the Veneto, Lombardy and the Terra di lavoro, East Anglia and Leinster, remain in use though their legal force is dead, Phthia was the property of no chief; and as an inhabitant of Florence or Siena, Dieppe or Caen, Aix or Toulon, may talk of going back to Tuscany, Normandy or Provence, Achilles may say 'they never wasted my crops in Phthia' (A 155), 'I will go to Phthia' (ib. 169), 'there are many Achaean girls in Hellas and Phthia' (I 395), or Odysseus 'Peleus sent you from Phthia' (I 253). The old Phthia, prae-Homeric, divided between Peleus, Protesilaus, perhaps Philoctetes, and with stragglers in Locris, and with the Δόλοπες on its edge (I 484), may well have covered the later Phthiotis, and the subsequent identifications of Pharsalia with Phthia are easy to explain. Achilles with his kingdom, by Homer's genius became an enviable ancestor, and as Pharsalus, unknown to Homer and founded it would appear by the incoming Thessalians, was within Phthia, the cousins of the Scopadae and the Aleuadae at Fersala, appropriated Achilles as the Dorian Argives claimed Agamemnon; and as the classical Argives interpreted Homer's Argos in their sense, the Pharsalians took Homer's Phthia to mean *their* Phthia or Phthiotis—as if the Val d'Arno, being Tuscan, implied the whole

of Tuscany. The old divisions never came back, and only the attentive geographer, Strabo or Bursian, was aware that Homer would not suit the new conditions.

Hellas is a vaguer name, and its later complications are even greater than those of Phthia. In Homer it is always local: ἐγγεῖή δ' ἐκέκαστο Πανέλληνας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς B 530 means that the lesser Ajax, though a small man, was the best spearman in his country-side; Bathycles, II 594 Ἑλλάδι οἰκία ναίων, was a great man among the Myrmidons. It never gave a name, like Phthia, to an historical district, but blossomed out, how, it is still a mystery, into the Greek name of Greece. Accordingly its original connotation is lost beyond recovery. The district with which it was sometimes identified, viz. that between Palaeopharsalus and the Phthiotid Thebes (Strabo, l.c.), fell within the historical Phthiotis. A slight indication of its relative position is offered by the story of Phoenix, who fleeing a blood-taboo took refuge, from the north, as Patroclus from the south, with Peleus. Phoenix says:

I 447 οἶον ὅτε πῶτον λῖπον Ἑλλάδα καλλι-
γύναικα
φεύγων νείκεα πατρὸς Ἀμύντορος Ὀρ-
μενίδαιο.

478 φεύγον ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε δι' Ἑλλάδος
εἰρηνόροισι,
Φθίην δ' ἐξικόμην ἐριβόλακα μητέρα
μήλων,
ἐς Πηλῆα ἀναχθ'.

Phoenix lived in Hellas, the kingdom of his father Amyntor, and fled through Hellas to Phthia: we may therefore assume the two countries touched; but the Hellas of Amyntor cannot be more nearly fixed. Autolycus, who lived 'on Parnassus' (Odyssey τ), raided Eleon, which belonged to the same Amyntor (K 266); but, though there is no reason on this account to have recourse with Mr. Leaf to the Eleon in Boeotia, we know of no Eleon in Thessaly. All is *obscurum per obscurius*. We cannot say if Ὀρμενίδαιος is local and means 'of Ormenium'; and even then the Ormenium near Iolcus is out of the question and the other Ormenium (B 734) belonged to Eurypylus, son of Euaemon. So that except that Hellas bordered on Phthia, and was perhaps farther from the Μυρμιδόνων πόλις than Phthia, we can say nothing about it. Still people called Hellenes were Peleus' subjects. It looks as though Hellas, as we know Phthia was, was an earlier district-name in Thessaly, perhaps West of Phthia, and

¹ This is the current view in literature: the Pharsalians dedicated Achilles and Patroclus at Delphi (Paus. x. 13. 5); one Theagenes ran ἐν Φθίᾳ τῇ Θεσσαλῶν, rivalling Achilles ἐν πατρίδι τοῦ ὠκίστου τῶν καλονμένων ἡρώων (vi. 11. 5). Crito, persuading Socrates to escape to Thessaly, says ἡματὶ κεν πρὸ τῶν Φθίην ἐριβόλων ἱκοίτο (Crito 44 b).

² Though these and many other places were enumerated under Achilles' dominions. Strabo 433, 4.

stretched down the slope of Othrys towards the Spercheus; as Tuscany stretches far down into Romagna.

We cannot here omit the fact that the Spercheus is now called Hellada (Leake, *Northern Greece*, I. cix, II. cx, IV. pp. 531 sq.), a statement repeated by Bursian. Mr. Bury, *J.H.S.* xv. 228 questions it; but if the Spercheus like Lamia and Hypata, and how many Italian villages, has again received its ancient name, Hellada would naturally fall into the background. The other name which Mr. Bury heard, Alemanna, appears on Bursian's map as the bridge over the river between Zitouni and Trachis.

I submit that when he mentions Phthia and Hellas, Homer is using older place-names in which Peleus had no exclusive property. In later times, when Achilles influenced the imagination, the later Phthiotis dragged the Pelean Phthia north, and settled the *ἄστυ Μυρμιδόνων* at Pharsalia. Similarly the later Pelasgiotis (I am not called upon to account for this application of such a wandering name) together with the ambiguous term *ἄργος*, transported the Pelagic Argos to the N.E. plain of Thessaly. In Homer, Pelagic¹ has not this meaning. It applied, as we see from one clear example, to Melis. Larissa Cremaste, on the Maliac gulf above Echinus, was also called Larissa Πελαγία (Strabo 435); and when Achilles invokes his God as Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναίε Πελαγικέ, he is not thinking of Gyrton or the Peneus, but of his own valley. The Spercheus is his national river, the 'town of the Myrmidons' is Trachis, and the fertile land of Trachis is the Pelagic plain or *ἄργος*. As to this word Strabo (372) gives us the invaluable information that *ἄργος* with the Macedonians and Thessalians meant *πεδίον*, though he denies the use to Homer. Σχεδὸν πᾶν πεδίον κατὰ θάλασσαν says Steph. Byz. in voc., suiting even better the delta of the Spercheus. An undeniable Thessalian usage is quoted by Stephanus s.v. Δώτιον from the poet Dionysius ἐν α' Γίγαντιάδος,²

καὶ κενὸν κρόττησε [sic] λέβης κατὰ Δώτιον ἄργος,

the Δωτίῳ ἐν πεδίῳ of Hesiod and the Homeric hymns. This was the meaning of the Pelagic Argos. The valley, a sufficient independent state in the heroic age, lost its

importance later between Thessaly and Boeotia; the Enienses came south and occupied the top of the valley, the Malians (to judge from Dicaearchus' description of the people of Anthedon) were fisher-folk; and the rapid accumulation of the alluvial soil to the S. limited their harbours to Phalara, Echinus, and Alope. The one important point, the road through the Pylae, was internationalised. The heroic names Phthia, Hellas, Myrmidons, Achaeans,³ were moved elsewhere, and only the mis-understood Catalogue preserved the real home of Peleus.

I pass to another epic document which bears on this region, the Hesiodic Ἀσπίς Ἡρακλέους. This is a late composite work of the school, composed according to Aristophanes of Byzantium, who must have had every means of knowing, of fifty-six lines from the fourth book of the Κατάλογοι γυναικῶν or Ἡοίαι, in which the birth of Heracles was told, followed by an account of one of Heracles' feats, the slaying of Cynus. The Κατάλογοι themselves are later than the Theogony, the last lines of which introduce them; and the Theogony refers to Hesiod as the singer of the Works and Days, and therefore implies that it itself is by another hand. The Works and Days themselves are post-Dorian. The Aspis therefore cannot lay claim to great antiquity, but it is good local epos, and was recognised as Hesiodic by Stesichorus, and by the grammarians Megacles and Apollonius of Rhodes. It may well belong to the period 750-700, the age of the Cyclic poets Arctinus and Lesches, of the great rhapsodes, and apparently of the longer Homeric Hymns.

When we abstract from the Aspis the tedious description of the Shield—to which, however, it no doubt owed its survival, as the companion poems the Κήκος γάμος and that about Aegimius have perished—we are left with an instructive local story. The Theban hero and his nephew and squire Iolaos meet in the temple of Apollo at Pagasae Cynus and his divine father Ares. The grove and the altar glowed with the light of their armour (71). Heracles states his purpose to Cynus

Τρηχῖνα δέ τοι παρελαίνω
ἐς Κήκκα ἀνακτα· ὁ γὰρ δυνάμει τε καὶ αἰδοῖ
Τρηχίηνος προβέβηκε —

¹ I am not speaking of the Asiatic Pelagi, B 840, 843, K 429, P 288.

² This work is indexed in the *F. H. G.* vol. iv. as 'iv. 510. 10,' but the reference is wrong. Susemihl and Pauly-Wissowa do not recognise the poet.

³ In Herodotus' time (vii. 197-200) we find the divisions were—Thessaly as far as the Pagasaeon gulf, Achaea with Halus, Melis with Trachis. In the reverse order Aeschylus (Persae 489) has Μαλιᾶ κόλποι — γῆς Ἀχαιοῦς πέδον — Θεσσαλαίων ποταμούς.

'as you well know yourself, for you have married his daughter.' We gather then that Cynus blocked the way from Pagasae to Trachis, and the intention with which he did this is also plain: at the end of the poem his tomb is washed away by the Anaurus, the river of Iolcus, at the order of Apollo

ὅτι ῥα κλειτὰς ἐκατόμβας
ὅστις ἄγοι Πυθοῖδε βίῃ σύλασκε διώκων.

He relieved pilgrims to Pytho of their beasts. He commanded what Aelian (V.H. iii. 1) calls the Πυθίᾱς ὁδός, the sacred way which led διὰ Θετταλίας καὶ Πελασγίας καὶ τῆς Οἴτης καὶ τῆς Αἰνιάνων χώρας καὶ τῆς Μηλίων καὶ Δωριέων καὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ἑσπερίων. The portion of this road south of Iolcus keeps to the coast round the gulf of Volo and the Κρόκιον πεδῖον. It was the route followed by Metellus and Xerxes. Hercules and Iolaos, as it were two pilgrims, had reached Pagasae and would soon have doubled Cape Pyrrha, when they found their way blocked by Cynus. How Cynus was able to do this the Hesiodic poet is too vague to explain, but Euripides for once is of use and (H.F. 392) gives Amphanaea as Cynus' stronghold. Leake, *N.G.* iv. 371 identifies this with 'the fortress above the cape': it must have held a position something like that of Terracina. (Later writers, ap. Steph. Byz. in voc. mention the place; Scylax 64 marks it on his portulan as south of Pagasae.) This is confirmed by the parallel version in Apollodorus (ii. 7. 7), who says the encounter took place near Iton. Ἴτων, in Homer one of Protesilaus' towns, may well have belonged to Cynus as well as Amphanaea; he will then have held the whole of the Crocius campus in Achaea. So we find him, like a mediaeval baron, barring the coast-road by his port of Amphanaea. Greek antiquity knew of a yet more terrible brigand who kept the road between Corinth and Megara: Cynus was like the Caetani at Capo di Bove, the Odescalchi at Bracciano, and how many other owners of *castellacci*, who blocked the Roman highways, built their stones into fortresses, and took toll of pilgrims to the shrine of the Apostles. Where the road ran across a plain the remedy was simple: the peasant and the pilgrim fetched a compass till the dangerous place was passed; and Nature in time turfed over the abandoned Appia and Anagnina. A sea-road can rarely be turned. The case in Hesiod was complicated: the son-in-law at Amphanaea prevented the old Ceyx at Trachis from receiving his travelling public—as though a young Stockalper at Gondo

skimmed the milk that should have kept its cream for Brieg.

The heroes closed, and the noise of their encounter was heard across the bay and down the coast:

380 πᾶσα δὲ Μυρμιδόνων τε πόλις κλειτή τ'
Ἰαωλκός
"Ἀρην τ' ἤδ' Ἑλικήν "Ανθεία τε ποιήσασα
φωνή ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων μεγάλ' ἴαχον·

and when Cynus was killed and Ares routed, the father-in-law came out and buried Cynus:

472 Κύκνον δ' αἶ Κηνέ θάπτεν καὶ λαὸς ἀπείρων
οἳ ῥ' ἐγγὺς ναῖον πόλιος κλειτοῦ βασιλῆος
"Ἀρην Μυρμιδόνων τε πόλιν κλειτήν τ'
Ἰαωλκόν,
"Ἀρην τ' ἤδ' Ἑλικήν.

Where were these places? A limit cannot be put to the penetration of Divine noise, but the people who came to Cynus' funeral must have belonged to that part of the country, 'the neighbours of the town of the mighty prince,' that is of Amphanaea or Iton. The names Arne, Helice, and Anthe are unknown. The story implies they were on or near the road; and as Pagasae and Iolcus have been mentioned, on the road south of Amphanaea, Arne perhaps—though as fluid a name as Argos—may be fixed: Strabo 411 says that Coronea was founded from Arne in Thessaly—of which Phthia was of course part, to him—and the colonists founded a temple τῆς Ἰωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς, ὁμώνυμον τῷ Θετταλικῷ, καὶ τὸν παραρρέοντα ποταμὸν Κονάριον προσηγόρευσαν ὁμοφρόνως τῷ ἐκεῖ. These names, Iton and Cuarius, belong to the Crocius campus, and Arne may have been the port of Iton, if not Iton itself. Even more distinctly he says (435) τῶν Θηβῶν [sc. τῶν Φθιωτῶν] δὲ ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τὸ Κρόκιον πεδῖον πρὸς τῷ καταλήγοντι τῆς Ὀθρυος, δι' οὗ ὁ Ἀμφύρτος ρεῖ, τοῦτον δὲ ὑπέκκειται ὁ Ἴτωνος, ὅπου τὸ τῆς Ἰωνίας ἱερὸν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ, καὶ ὁ Κονάριος ποταμός. εἴρηται δὲ περὶ τοῦτον καὶ τῆς Ἀρνης ἐν τοῖς Βοιωτιακοῖς. The Scutum may be allowed to confirm Strabo: though without prejudice to the very shadowy Κίριον—Arne in central Thessaly, where some of the names or similar ones, recur. With so much established Anthe and Helice can only be further along the road: there are no names resembling them in these regions, except Anthele at the west end of Thermopylae: can Anthe be a variant for Ἀντρω, and Helice for Halos? Demeter was worshipped

both at Antron and at Anthele. The similar names in Triphylia, καὶ Πτελεὼν καὶ Ἐλος (B 594) are suggestive. Ἀλιεῖς and Ἀλία were also called Ἀλική (Paus. ii. 36. 1, Scylax 50). Place-names are not subject to ordinary laws, and there is no reason why Ἄλος should like Ἀλαί mean *saline*, salt-pans. At all events we are fairly out of the Pagasetic gulf and into the Malian; and as the only mourners unaccounted for are the Μυρμιδόνων πόλις, and as Ceyx king of Trachis was present, it is clear that the ἄστυ Μυρμιδόνων is again Trachis, and the Boeotian poet was faithful to Homeric topography. The claims of Pharsalus were not attended to by the Heliconian school of 700 B.C.

This is my argument; but if a προκατάληψις is necessary, it is easy to indicate the difficulties of the ordinary view. This requires an alteration of the Catalogue to suit later interests. Achilles was once 'suzerain of Thessaly': he possessed I presume Phthia, Achaea, Hellas, and much more. He was a counter-potentate to Agamemnon. Of all this there is no trace in the Catalogue. The Catalogue must be a late composition, to suit historical interests. Whose? We must suppose the actual residents in Thessaly required a heroic past: they revised their Domesday: they altered the Homeric Catalogue, or possibly, invented it. Did they obtain their end? As I have said, very few of the Homeric place-names survive—Tricca, Oloosson, Phrae, Peneus, Boebeis, Iolcus, perhaps a few more. The Homeric divisions of Thessaly do not correspond to any known partition. Larissa and Pharsalus, Crannon and Gomphi, are not even named. If an ancestor of Menon did tamper with the διάκοσμος, or invent a διάκοσμος, to suit his ends, he was singularly ill served. No American in search of an ancestor would fulfil his contract with such an antiquarian. The Catalogue as it stands is hard of interpretation just because its points of contact with history are so few. To regard it as composed or edited by people of historical times is a contradiction in terms. What the historical Greeks did is plain. They followed the universal method in dealing with Homer. Every one claimed him; he could not be altered, public criticism was too wakeful: he must be explained. The Thessalians put their own interpretation upon the Catalogue. As Larissa was not mentioned, Argissa was Larissa; they moved Oechalia about, they fought for Hypereia, they pinned Arne to Cierium. Hellas had passed beyond a reasonable claim, but as Pharsalus was not mentioned,

and Achilles lived in Phthia, and his other towns were either identified or insignificant, Phthia became Pharsalus, and the Pharsalians had their place in the Libro d'oro. *Pari passu* the antiquarians moved the Pelasgic argos to Pelasgiotis.

It is not only history that is recovered; a considerable misapprehension is removed from Homer. The importance of Achilles and Thessaly in the heroic age has been vastly exaggerated during the last fifty years. Critics have brought themselves to believe in Thessalian epos, a Thessalian Argos; and in a subsequent transference of place and interest to Mycenae and Agamemnon. Archaeology has swept away these cobwebs of the professorial brain. The coincidence of the Mycenaean monuments with epic tradition is a chain not to be broken. I should be glad to think I had kicked away the last props of the old view, which appears in full life as late as Cauer's usually judicious handbook (1895, p. 153). In Homer there was no Thessaly. That region was in various hands. We hear more of Eumelus' horses than of the chiefs: there are local legends, Lapiths and Chiron, but nothing to suggest a once ruling race, a centre of gravity of Greece. Achilles, with his fifty ships, was an unique warrior, a perfect knight, but his muscles apart, and his mother, of no great political importance. He did not take Troy: the unimportant events to which his quarrel gave rise somewhat retarded its capture; and when he died the end of the war was as far off as ever. His importance is aesthetic. Homer, the dramatist, by selecting the portion of chronicle to which Achilles' quarrel belonged, and treating it with his art, raised Achilles to the place where he stands. Homer made him the hero of romance. Even in the *Iliad* he is a knight with a following, a Bayard, a Duguesclin, not a monarch. He was a Highlander, from Othrys and Oeta; musical, like a Highlander, and, like all Highlanders, once removed from Zeus. The potentate of Mycenae, installed on the isthmus, with his 100 ships, his brother at Sparta, the Arcadians on his transports, was the Emperor for which Thucydides¹ recognised him. The fierce northern knight from Spercheus chafed at Agamemnon's claim to be βασιλεύτερος (I 160), but could not deny it—

Ἄτρεϊδῃ, ἴδμεν γὰρ ὅσον προβέβηκας ἀπάντων
ἦδ' ὅσον δυνάμει τε καὶ ἡμασιν ἐπλεν ἄριστος.

T. W. ALLEN.

¹ And Odysseus, i 263, λ 168.

THE HOMERIC APOSTROPHE.—AN EXPLANATION.

THE undesirable expedient of a rejoinder to a rejoinder would not have forced itself upon me had not Mr. R. M. Henry (*Class. Rev.* xx. p. 3) given me credit for an 'attempt to base the origin of the use of apostrophe on metrical considerations.' This is not an accurate statement of the purpose of my article (*Class. Rev.* xix. 383 ff.), which touches very lightly upon the question of origins, at least so far as constructive criticism is concerned. What little I had to suggest as to the first use of the figure is to be found on p. 385, where I speak of the apostrophe as 'a rhetorical device that suggested itself to Homer or earlier narrative poets in the course of the development of the epic,' the poet heightening the interest of the story at critical points by addressing his characters. But the article is chiefly concerned with Homer's use of the figure, not with its origin; and I would still maintain that in many instances where the apostrophe has little or no rhetorical value metrical convenience was a determining factor in its use.

Mr. Henry's criticism of my treatment of individual cases does indeed show that I should have done well to lay less stress upon the idea of absolute necessity as applied to the use of apostrophe. But I think that he attaches too little importance to the influence of the often recurring formula *τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη*, which certainly invites completion by means of a name and epithet—and accordingly, if need be, the verb is second person, and the name and epithet vocative, with the slight excuse of a rhetorical apostrophe. Besides, given a situation, either in a formula of address or in one of our other examples, where the needed case of

a name cannot readily be worked in, has anybody the right to affirm that a circumlocution or a descriptive phrase is an acceptable way out of the metrical difficulty, while we must seek another and higher reason for the use of the apostrophe? The periphrasis *Πριάμοιο βῆην* is an admired and much-imitated figure; but an impartial examination of all such periphrases will show that they also served a metrical purpose at times. Why should we hold the apostrophe above such uses? Surely it would be venturesome to maintain that, if in the heat of composition there occurred a metrical difficulty in the use of a certain case of a name, the poet would always recast the passage so as to use the expected case, or else would resort to a circumlocution, rather than adopt a device which would bring the name itself into the verse and at the same time have the advantage of a rhetorical disguise.

As for the complaint that I have failed to proceed chronologically, the examples from the *Odyssey* were mentioned first only because the conclusion drawn from them seemed likely to be of service in the study of the more difficult cases in the *Iliad*. And when one believes that the apostrophe may have existed as a mere rhetorical ornament in narrative poetry before Homer, careful discrimination between the earlier and the later books of the *Iliad* does not seem so important—especially since the number of cases is comparatively small—as it seems when one is advocating a theory about the origin of the figure based on its more frequent occurrence in an early book.

CAMPBELL BONNER.

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE,
March 27, 1906.

HOMER, ODYSSEY XI. 423-426.

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ πρὸς γαίῃ χεῖρας αἴρων
βάλλον ἀποθνήσκων περὶ φασγάνῳ.

First a word about the various accepted renderings of this difficult passage. They fall into two classes:

(1) those that take *περὶ φασγάνῳ* with *χεῖρας αἴρων βάλλον*, not with *ἀποθνήσκων*, and translate thus:

'But I, on the ground, raising my hands, tried to throw them round my sword-hilt, as I was dying.'

This translation obviously, as Merry points out (Merry, *loc. cit.*), leaves *πρὸς γαίῃ* in the lurch: *ἀποθνήσκων πρὸς γαίῃ* for 'as I lay dying on the ground' is not *Homeric diction*. Ameis-Hentze (*Anhang Od.* 11. 423 says: 'In den angeführten Worten nenerklären manche

(auch ich früher irrthümlich) *ποτὶ γαίῃ* durch 'an der Erde' oder 'am Boden liegend'; aber gegen den homerischen Sprachgebrauch. Denn nirgends wird *πρὸς* mit dem Dativ in diesem Sinne für *ἐπὶ* gefunden: überall steht es mit Verben der Bewegung verbunden, so dass es stets 'an der Erde' oder 'zur Erde' bedeutet.

Add to this objection the fact that the rhythm and parallel Homeric constructions alike force us to construe *ἀποθνήσκων περὶ φασγάνῳ* together. For this construction Merry cites conclusive instances from the *Iliad* (*κυλινδόμενος περὶ χαλκῷ Il. 8. 86: περὶ δουρὶ ἥσπαιρε Il. 13. 570: περὶ δουρὶ πεπαρμένη Il. 21. 577: ὀρέχθων ἀμφὶ σιδήρῳ σφαζόμενοι Il. 23. 30*) as well as *Soph. Aj. 899 φασγάνῳ περιπτυχῆς* and *828 πεπτῶτα τῷδε περὶ νεορράντῳ ξίφει*.

Coming then to the interpretations which rightly take *ἀποθνήσκων περὶ φασγάνῳ* together, we get the following rendering of Merry's:

'But I, as I raised my hands, dropped them again to the ground, (as I lay) dying with the sword through me.' Dropped them, that is, owing to the impotence of a dying man.

The objections to this rendering fall, it seems to me, under two heads:

(A) Literary. (B) Syntactical.

(A) From the literary point of view the rendering seems to me feeble and un-Homeric. It adds little to the vividness of the situation and the emphasis on the impotence of Agamemnon leaves the subsequent conduct of Clytemnestra wholly unexplained.

(B) But the syntactical objections seem to me even more insuperable. The present participle *ἀείρων* with the imperfect *βάλλον*, necessarily gives rise to the absurdity 'as I raised, I dropped my hands.' It is of course manifestly impossible for those who render thus to fall back on the expedient of making the imperfect inchoative. Agamemnon cannot be said in the impotence of death to *begin to* or *try to* drop his hands to the ground. Accordingly some editors have resorted to the expedient of altering the text to *ἀέρας*.

This difficulty as to the tenses does not, I think, hold good in the interpretation which I am going to propose. The only difference in the actual translation which I wish to suggest is that *βάλλον* means not *dropped* but *tried to strike*—surely a more natural meaning of *βάλλω*. That is to say, 'Agamemnon raising his hands sought

to smite them on to the earth,' the imperfect implying that his strength failed him in articulo mortis.

And what happens next?

ἡ δὲ κυνῶπις
νοσφίστατ', οὐδὲ μοι ἔτλη ἰόντι περ εἰς 'Αἶδαο
χερσὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμούς ἐλέειν σὺν τε στόμ' ἐρείσαι.

i.e. dying though I was, she turned her back on me and could not bring herself to perform the last services demanded of a faithful wife. Clytemnestra recoils in terror lest she may hear the dreadful footfall of the Erinyes invoked even thus impotently.

The full formula for such an invocation of the Erinyes occurs twice in Bacchylides:

5. 42:

γᾶ δ' ἐπισκῆπτων πιφάσκει
οὐ πῶ νιν ὑπὸ προτέρων
ἵππων ἐν ἀγῶνι κατέχρανε κόνις.

And again, still more precisely, with *χέρα*:

8. 3:

γᾶ δ' ἐπισκῆπτω χέρα
κομπάσομαι σὶν ἄλα·
θεῖα δὲ πᾶν λάμπει χρέος.

In these significant passages I find an illustration of the action of the dying Agamemnon, which I believe to be a similar *ἐπισκῆψις*—a denunciation of his murderers and an invocation of the Under-world Powers of Vengeance. The word *ἐπισκῆπτειν* is not Homeric: it is in Bacchylides that we find the literary prototype of the full formula.

The guilt of Clytemnestra, it is important to remember, is nowhere implied by Homer till this speech of Agamemnon's (11. 410), though it is again referred to later in the second *Nekuia* (24. 199 sq.) I believe that Agamemnon's certainty as to her complicity is based on the suspiciousness of her conduct when the test of *ἐπισκῆψις* was applied: hence his eagerness to impart his conviction to the inhabitants of the Upper-world. It is interesting to note that the second reference is likewise an utterance of the dead Agamemnon. He has all the persistence of the ghost in *Hamlet*. Moreover, his conviction develops: cf. 11. 409:

ἀλλὰ μοι Αἰγισθος τεύξας θάνατόν τε μόρον τε
ἔκτα σὶν οὐλομένη ἀλόχῳ

with 24. 199:

οὐχ ὡς Τυνδαρέου κοίρῃ κακὰ μήσατο ἔργα,
κουρίδιον κτεῖνασα πόσιν.

In the light of the Bacchylidean passages quoted above, we may, I believe, trace also how the word *ἐπισκήπτω* derives its meaning, (1) as a solemn and often death-bed injunction, (2) as an Attic law-term.

The first is so familiar that I need hardly illustrate it. I will only cite Soph. *Tr.* 803 sq. as a typical instance. Hyllus gives Deianeira an account of his father's dying agonies, for which she is responsible, tells her how Heracles had cursed his marriage (*τὸ δυσπάρεινον λέκτρον ἐνδατούμενος*) and adds the hero's dying injunctions:

τοσαύτ' ἐπισκήψαντος,

then a few lines further on (807) Hyllus says:

τοιαῦτα, μήτηρ, πατρὶ βουλευσας' ἐμῷ
καὶ δρῶς' ἐλήφθης, ὧν σε ποίνιμος Δίκη
τίσαιτ' Ἑρινύς τε.

I believe that a similar echo of the footfall of the Erinyes is always present in the Greek mind in response to the invocation implied by the word *ἐπισκήπτω*.

Cf. too Soph. *O.C.* 1010

ἀνθ' ὧν ἐγὼ νῦν τάσδε τὰς θεὰς ἐμοὶ
καλῶν ἰκνοῦμαι καὶ κατασκήπτω λιταῖς
ἐλθεῖν ἀρωγούς ξνμμάχους τε.

Coming to the Attic legal term *ἐπισκήπτειν*, I note that Hesychius gives the gloss *ἐπισκήψασθαι ἐπιβαρῆσαι*. The verb is now generally middle and used with the dative, *ἐπισκήπτεσθαι ταῖς μαρτυρίαις*, to invoke for oneself the under-world powers against false testimony, i.e. the construction of the word according to its root meaning is superseded *κατὰ σύνεσιν* by its now established meaning of *invoke, denounce*. A precisely parallel *κατὰ σύνεσιν* construction is *ἐκτείνειν λιτάς* (Eur. *Or.* 290) for *χεῖρας ἐκτείνειν λιταῖς*.

'The *ἐπίσκηψις* or denunciation is the protest made against a deposition, and should be distinguished from the prosecution, which did not always follow.' (Wyse, *Isaeus* iii. 3. 5.)

Cf. *Lysias* 23. 18 (Bekker) *διεμαρτυρήθη μὴ Πλαταιεὺς εἶναι· ἐπισκηψάμενος δὲ τῷ μάρτυρι οὐκ ἐπέζηλθε*.

Also Arist. *Ath. Pol.* col. 36. 10 (Sandys): *ἐπειδὴν δὲ διαψηφί[ζεσθαι] μέλ[λ]ωσιν [οἱ δικασ]ταί[ε], ὁ κῆρυξ ἀγορ[ε]ῖ πρῶτον ἂν ἐ[πι]σκήπτων[ται] οἱ ἀντίδικοι ταῖς μαρτυρίαις· [δε]ῖ γὰρ [πρότερον] ἐπισκήψασθαι [αὐ]ταί[ε]ς πρὶν [τῷ] ἀντα[ρ]εῖ διαψηφί[ζεσθαι].*

These facts seem to point to the conclusion that the *ἐπίσκηψις* rested on a religious, not on a purely legal basis. It had to be followed

up by legal procedure, was not in itself a legal proceeding. Cf. Rohde, *Psyche*, p. 60, note 3:

'Man bedenke auch, dass eine gesetzliche Strafe auf dem Meineid nicht stand in Griechenland so wenig wie in Rom. Sie war nicht nöthig, da man unmittelbare Bestrafung durch die Gottheit, welcher der Schwörende sich selbst gelobt hatte, erwartete (lehrreich sind die Worte des Agamemnon bei dem Treubruch der Troer, *Il.* 4. 158 ff.) in Leben, und auch da schon durch die Höllengesister, die Erinyen (Hesiod *E.* 802 ff.), oder nach dem Tode.' Stephanus s.v. *ἐπισκήπτω* says: *ἐπισκήψατο = ἐνεκάλεσε ψευδομαρτυρίων*, interdum etiam, sed raro, pro *ἐνεκάλεσε φόνον*. On my theory the gradual restriction to *ψευδομαρτυρίαι*, when the law took cognisance of murder, is quite natural.

To return now to the earlier uses of *σκήπτω* and its derivatives: in Homer they are restricted, I believe, to *σκηπτόμενος*, *σκηρίπτεσθαι*, and, of course, *σκήπτρον* and *σκηπτόχος*. *σκηπτόμενος* occurs once only in the *Iliad* (14. 457, a non-Achillean book) used ironically of a slain foe entering Hades leaning on the javelin which transfixes him. It occurs thrice in the *Odyssey* (17. 203; 17. 338; 24. 158) in each case a repetition of the same phrase *πτωχῷ λευγαλέῳ ἐναλγικιον ἥδ' ἐγέροντι σκηπτόμενον*, the word being used absolutely = leaning on a stick. Similarly *σκηρίπτεσθαι* (*Od.* 17. 196) of leaning on a *ρόπαλον*, and again *Od.* 11. 595, of Sisyphus pressing against the stone. There is no trace of *ἐπισκήπτω* or other compounds, of the Bacchylidean use, or of the later Attic development.

Fortunately we are not left without data. The one definite and important fact that we know of Charondas, law-giver of Catana, is that it was he who introduced the procedure of *ἐπίσκηψις*:

Arist. *Pol.* 1274 b:

Χαρῶνδον δ' οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἴδιον πλὴν αἱ δίκαι τῶν ψευδομαρτυρίων· (πρῶτος γὰρ ἐποίησε τὴν ἐπίσκηψιν) (for I suppose that no one is likely to challenge the brilliant emendation of Bentley from *ἐπίσκειν* to *ἐπίσκηψιν*).

Aristotle supplies us with a further piece of information about Charondas which is most significant for my theory. He says (*Pol.* 1274 a):

νομοθεταὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο Ζάλευκός τε Λοκροῖς τοῖς Ἐπιζεφυρίοις, καὶ Χαρώνας ὁ Καταναῖος τοῖς αὐτοῦ πολίταις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ταῖς Χαλκιδικαῖς πόλεσι ταῖς περὶ Ἰταλίαν καὶ

Σικελίαν. πειρῶνται δέ τινες καὶ συνάγειν ὡς Ὀνομακρίτου μὲν γενομένου πρώτου δεινοῦ περὶ νομοθεσίαν, γυμνασθῆναι δ' αὐτὸν ἐν Κρήτῃ Λοκρὸν ὄντα καὶ ἐπιδημοῦντα κατὰ τέχνην μαντικὴν· τοῖτον δὲ γειεῖσθαι Θάλητα εἰταῖρον. Θάλητος δ' ἄκροατὴν Λυκοῦργον καὶ Ζάλευκον, Ζαλεῦκου δὲ Χαρώδαν.

If this is not a precisely accurate statement of historical facts—and Aristotle rejects it on chronological grounds as ἀσχεπτότερον—must we therefore discard any general inference to be deduced from it? It seems, on the contrary, more reasonable to assume that this popular theory of apostolic succession from Onomacritus to Charondas owes its origin to some generally recognised tendency towards Orphic thought in the later law-giver. Surely, otherwise, it is a most remarkable coincidence that the one historically recorded fact about the legislation of Charondas is one that so inevitably suggests an Orphic provenance.

It may be objected that some of the Attic uses of σκήπτω and of its numerous compounds imply a different origin, meaning, as they frequently do, swooping down from above (when intrans.) or hurling down from above (when trans.). I maintain that, in all cases, it is the *terminus ad quem* that is the prominent notion, the source from which the motion comes being immaterial to the meaning, beyond the fact that it is, naturally, from above to the earth. Thus σκηπτρός is the bolt that dashes into the earth. Arist. *de mundo* 4. 20. σκηπτοὶ λέγονται τῶν κεραυνῶν ὅσοι κατασκήπτουσιν εἰς τι. I need not cite examples of the familiar compounds with ἐν-, ἐγκατα-, ἀπο-, etc., which almost invariably are accompanied by εἰς or πρὸς τι, etc. So deeply rooted, indeed, in the word is the idea of the *terminus ad quem*, that in later writers such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus κατασκήπτειν is frequently used as a mere synonym for τελειῶν: e.g. Dion. Hal. 3. 60, ἔργον ἀνόσιον εἰς εὐτυχὲς κατασκήψαι τέλος. Indeed, already in Herodotus this meaning is established for ἀποσκήπτω: Herod. 1. 120 νῦν δὲ ἀποσκήψαντος τοῦ ἐννυμίου ἐς φλαῖρον.

The word then means to strike or dash or press against something,—primarily *against the earth*, and with this meaning and this meaning only do we find it in Homer, used of pressing on a staff in the middle voice, just as ἐπειδόμενος is used. Its occurrence is rare and strictly limited to the one definite usage. Cf. J. H. H. Schmidt, *Synonymik der Griechischen Sprache*, vol. ii. p. 248: σκήπτειν, 'sich gewaltsam worauf stürzen.'

This brings me back to the *Nekuia* passage. The digression is intended to prove that the absence of the specific word need not necessarily tell against the assumption that we have here an instance of primitive ἐπίσκηψις. The word is not yet established in the Epic.

I would therefore, tentatively, put forward the following deductions from my arguments:

(1) The act of ἐπίσκηψις is Homeric and pre-Homeric.

(2) The special application of the word σκήπτω to the act establishes itself in literature between the date of the *Nekuia* and that of Charondas.

(3) σκήπτω and its cognates have from their inherent meaning a close affinity with Chthonic ritual.

(4) The σκήπτρον is originally the symbol of King *qua* Priest of the Under-world Powers. It is the duty of the King *qua* Priest to invoke these powers on behalf of his subjects, and the σκήπτρον is the instrument by means of which this invocation was performed. In time the word tends to take on a more *political* and less religious meaning and the Chthonic ritual falls back on the more specifically magic word ῥάβδος (cf. Paus. viii. 15. 3 ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐν μείζονι καλονμένην τελετὴν ῥάβδοις κατὰ λόγον δῆ τινα τοὺς ὑποχθονίου παίει). Hence the sting of the taunt flung at the *dispossessed* Polynice by Eteocles in Eur. *Ph.* 608 Et. Μυκήναις, μὴ 'νθάδ' ἀνακάλει θεούς. POL. ἀνόσιος πέφυκας.

In Homer the σκήπτρον besides being the symbol of the King is likewise put in the hands of the Priest. Chryses comes to the Greeks

στέμματ' ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος
χρυσέφ' ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ.—*Il.* 1. 14.

So too Teiresias (*Od.* 11. 91) in the *Nekuia*

χρύσειον σκήπτρον ἔχων.

We find it too in the hands of the speaker in the Homeric *ἀγορή*. It is the symbol that brings the speaker into closer relation with the Under-world Powers whose function it is to punish perjury, and thus ensures that he will speak the truth.

Il. 10. 321:

ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τὸ σκήπτρον ἀνάσχεο καὶ μοι
ἁμῶσιν
ἦ μὲν . . .

Id. 328:

ὡς φάθῃ, ὁ δ' ἐν χερσὶ σκήπτρον λάβε καὶ οἱ
ἁμῶσιν
ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς αὐτός, κτλ.

ναὶ μὰ τὸδε σκῆπτρον says Achilles (*Il.* 1. 234).
ὁ δὲ τοι μέγας ἔσται ὄρκος (*ib.* 239).

And in witness of the truth of his words he smites the σκῆπτρον to the ground (*Il.* 1. 245):

ὡς φάτο Πηλεΐδης, ποτὶ δὲ σκῆπτρον βάλε γαίῃ.

Can there be a closer parallel to the act of the dying Agamemnon

ποτὶ γαίῃ χεῖρας αἰέρων βάλλον?

(5) If the σκῆπτρον is the symbol of the King *qua* Priest, what is the significance of the σκῆπτρον παράδοσις?

We may find the answer in Thucydides 1. 9:

Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα Πελοποννησίων μνήμῃ παρὰ τῶν πρότερον δεδεγμένοι, Πέλοπ' αὖτε πρῶτον πλῆθει χρημάτων, ἃ ἦλθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔχων ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἀπόρους, δύναμιν περιποιησάμενον τὴν ἐπ'ωνυμίαν τῆς χώρας ἔπιπλυν ὄντα ὁμως σκεῖν.

καὶ ὡς οὐκέτι ἀνεχώρησεν Εὐρυσθεύς, βουλομένων καὶ τῶν Μυκηναίων φόβῳ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν, καὶ ἅμα δυνατόν δοκοῦντα εἶναι καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τεθεραπευκότα τῶν Μυκηναίων καὶ τὸ ὅσων Εὐρυσθεύς ἤρχε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀτρία παραλαβεῖν, καὶ τῶν Περσείδων τοὺς Πελοπίδας μείζους καταστήναι.

In this somewhat blurred account of a great *coup d'état* may we not discern that the essence of the *coup d'état* was nothing less than the superseding of an old *régime*, or rather, the absorption to some extent into the new system of the ideas and customs of the ἀνθρωποὶ ἄποροι from whose helpless hands the σκῆπτρον fell?

ἃ μοι δοκεῖ Ἀγαμέμνονα παραλαβὼν καὶ ναυτικῷ ἅμα ἐπὶ πλεόντων ἄλλων ἰσχύσας, τὴν στρατείαν οὐ χάριτι τὸ πλεόν ἢ φόβῳ ξυναγαγὼν ποιήσασθαι, φαίνεται γὰρ ναυσι τε πλείστοις αἰτίς ἀφικόμενος καὶ Ἀρκάσι προσπαρασχών, ὡς Ὀμηρος τοῖτο δεδήλωκεν, εἴ τῳ ἱκανὸς τεκμηριώσαι. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ σκῆπτρον ἅμα τῇ παραδόσει ἐίρκεν αὐτὸν πολλῇσι νήσοισι καὶ Ἀργεῖ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν. (*Thuc.* 1. 9)

Let us now compare the Homeric version of the σκῆπτρον παράδοσις with that of Thucydides, *Il.* 2. 100 sqq.:

ἀνὰ δὲ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων
ἔστη σκῆπτρον ἔχων· τὸ μὲν Ἡφαιστος κάμε
τεύχων.

Ἡφαιστος μὲν δῶκε Διὶ Κρονίωνι ἄνακτι,
αὐτὰρ ἄρα Ζεὺς δῶκε διακτόρῳ Ἀργεΐφοντῃ·
Ἑρμείας δὲ ἀναξ δῶκεν Πέλοπι Πληξίππῳ,
αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτε Πέλοψ δῶκ' Ἀτρεΐ ποιμένι λαῶν·
Ἀτρεὺς δὲ θνήσκων ἔλιπεν πολὺν ἄρ' ὀνείσθη,

αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτε Θύεστ' Ἀγαμέμνονι λείπε φορῆναι
πολλῇσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἀργεῖ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν.

Truly a sophisticated account of the *coup d'état*, and introduced into the context with such premeditation and emphasis. The Persidae are completely ignored: Agamemnon, as a Pelopid, holds his σκῆπτρον by Divine Right direct from Zeus, which σκῆπτρον Zeus himself has usurped from the cult of the gods of the ἄποροι ἄνθρωποι. That, in the Homeric version, *Hermes* is the intermediary is a significant hint. The σκῆπτρον is to be freed from Chthonic associations; it, as well as the cognate σκηπτός, is henceforth to be associated with Zeus and the οὐράνιοι, but, in the agency of *Hermes*, we discern the link with a different chain of ideas, which gives the case away. So too, though Zeus is triumphant, though Agamemnon rules by Right Divine from Zeus, it is not to Zeus that he appeals for vengeance on his murderers, but to the dispossessed deities of the Under-world.

Further, the subsequent fate of the σκῆπτρον of Agamemnon, was, according to Pausanias, deification at Chaeronea: *Paus.* ix. 40. 11: θεὸν δὲ μάλιστα Χαιρωνεῖς τιμῶσι τὸ σκῆπτρον ὃ ποιεῖν Διὶ φησιν Ὀμηρὸς Ἡφαιστον, παρὰ δὲ Διὸς λαβόντα Ἑρμῆν δοῦναι Πέλοπι, Πέλοπα δὲ Ἀτρεῖ καταλιπεῖν, τὸν δὲ Ἀτρεῖα Θυέστη, παρὰ Θυέστον δὲ ἔχειν Ἀγαμέμνονα· τοῦτο οὖν τὸ σκῆπτρον σέβουσι, δόρ' ὀνομάζοντες. Ναὺς δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ δημοσίᾳ πεποιημένος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἑαυτὸν ὁ ἱερώμενος ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἔχει τὸ σκῆπτρον· καὶ οἱ θυσίαι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν θύονται, καὶ τράπεζα παράκειται παντοδαπῶν κρεῶν καὶ πεμμάτων πλήρης. Thus the σκῆπτρον has resumed all its ancient religious sanctity: the Pre-historic and the Post-classical have joined hands across the centuries.

That *Hell*—the Place of Retribution—is a product of Orphism, is, I fancy, a truism since Rohde's brilliant exposition (*Rohde, Psyche*, pp. 59–62). In Homer, *Hell*, as we see it in its first rough draft, is a settlement whose colonisation works, as it were, automatically: no ἀρχηγέτης is required for that grim ἀποικία. 'If this is not true' says the Perjurer in his folly—'may the Erinyes take me.' Truly an unwise prayer on the lips of the perjurer! He has invoked his doom by his own reckless petition and has devoted himself to the Under-world Powers. *Utinam vota cadant*.

But the clear logic of the Hellenic mind, combined with the developed consciousness of guilt and inward need of purification—a sense of guilt familiar to us in the literature

of other groups inhabiting from the earliest times the Eastern basin of the Mediterranean—these two very different factors inevitably combine to enlarge the primitive bounds of Hell. If Hell is peopled by Perjurers, it must surely be a Place of Retribution: if a Place of Retribution, why are Perjurers its only denizens? Are they even the class most *deserving* of being relegated to Hell? No: already in Homer the dawn of a larger and more moral conception is at hand. The gates of Hell are widening to receive the Murderer, the Incestuous, even those labour-

ing under a mysterious hereditary taint—all these stand in need of Purification,—and must be handed over Ἐρινόσιν ἀμφιπολεῖν. The developed Greek conscience must find a place in Hell for Clytaemnestra and even for the blameless Aegisthus—ἀμύμων Αἰγισθος. In Homer, it is true, we only *feel* it, later on we *know* it: and yet the Homeric stage of development finds—in the full light of Hellenic day—a curiously close counterpart in the formal procedure of the Attic law-courts—in the ἐπίσκηψις ψευδομαρτυριῶν.

RACHEL EVELYN WHITE.

AESCHYLUS, AGAMEMNON 709-716.

- μεταμανθάνουσα δ' ἔμνον
 710 Πριάμου πόλις γεραῖα
 πολύθρνον μέγα που στένει,
 κικλήσκουσα Πάριν τὸν αἰνόμεκτρον,
 παμπρόσθη πολύθρνον
 715 αἰὼν' ἀμφὶ πολιτῶν
 μέλεον αἶμ' ἀνατλάσα.

THIS corrupt passage must be considered *per se*, and regardless of the metre of the strophe, where the text also is corrupt. In verse 714 παμπρόσθη is a vox nihili, and πολύθρνον is justly suspected, as we can scarcely suppose that Aeschylus would have said Πριάμου πόλις πολύθρνον μέγα που στένει, ἀμφὶ πολύθρνον αἰὼνα μέλεον αἶμα πολιτῶν ἀνατλάσα (this is the natural construction and not αἰὼνα πολύθρνον ἀνατλάσα ἀμφὶ πολιτῶν αἶμα). Mr. Sidgwick in the Oxford text prints Seidler's suggestion παμπορθῇ for παμπρόσθη; but the objection to this is that, while the life of the city during the siege, during the time when it ἀνέτλη πολιτῶν αἶμα, may have been πολύθρνος, it was not παμπορθῆς until the actual capture of Troy, and ἀμφὶ αἰὼνα can only mean 'during a prolonged period of life,' during their whole life since the troubles began.'

I suggest vv. 712-716

κικλήσκουσα Πάριν τὸν αἰνόμεκτρον
 γαμβρούς θ' οἱ πολύθρνον
 αἰὼν' ἀμφὶ πολιτῶν
 μέλεον αἶμ' ἀνέτλασαν.

(ΓΑΜΒΡΟΙΣ for ΠΑΜΠΡΟΣ has already been suggested by Enger.)

This is a description of the language used in their death-wails by the survivors. κικλήσκουσα means 'calling on the dead by their names,' as is the custom in death-wails.

The wail ran thus Ἴω Πάρις αἰνόμεκτρε, Ἴω Πριάμου παῖδες οἱ πολύθρνον ἀμφὶ αἰὼνα ἀνέτλάσατε πολιτῶν αἶμα. 'O Paris, bridegroom of the terrible bed, O ye of Priam's house, who during all the time ye lived mourned the slaughter of your countrymen.' In this new context there is no longer any objection to the repetition of πολύθρνον. We must dismiss from our minds the notion that κικλήσκουσα Πάριν τὸν αἰνόμεκτρον means 'reviling Paris as the αἰνόμεκτρος.' It is *in sorrow and not in reproach* that the mourners are supposed to style him so. I do not think it need offend that the other princes of his house (Hector among them) are simply called the γαμβροί, the relatives of the bridegroom. This drama is not concerned with them, and the actual words of the wail, in which they would have been called by their names, are not supposed to be reproduced. The word γαμβροί seems to me to be used deliberately here to remind us again of the contrast between the death-wail and the wedding hymn (ἑμέναιον ὃς τότε ἐπέρρεπεν γαμβροῖσιν αἰεῖν, v. 708).

If the rest of the text here is rightly restored, I do not think that there can be any doubt about ἀμφί, since ἀμφὶ αἰὼνα is a perfectly satisfactory phrase in this context. We therefore in the strophe require the metre _ _ _ _ _ in the penultimate line. This line is

ἀκτὰς ἐπ' ἀξίφύλλους (ἀεξιφύλλους Triclinius).

I cannot emend it, but would point out that the ἐπί, which has to go, is not necessary; as the simple accusative after κέλλειν is elsewhere used by Aeschylus.

W. R. PATON.

SOPHOCLES *ANTIGONE* 249 FF., AND THE CONCLUSION OF THE *SEPTEM* OF AESCHYLUS.

ἐκεῖ γὰρ οὔτε τοῦ γενῆδος ἦν
 πλῆγῃ, οὐ δικέλλης ἐκβολή· στυφλὸς δὲ γῆ
 καὶ χέρος, ἀρρῶξ οὐδ' ἐπημαυμένη
 τροχοῖσιν, . . .
 λεπτὴ δ' ἄγος φεύγοντος ὡς ἐπὶν κόνις.

THAT the poet makes the guard lay so much stress on the absence of any mark of mattock or other implement, is not justified by any further use of this incident in the play. If Creon had used this detail, as a modern detective might have done, as a basis for the inference that a woman had covered with dust the body of Polynices, a sufficient explanation would be given for these verses. But instead of presenting this as a better alternative to the coryphaeus's hint that the deed might be due to the gods, the king is sure that it proceeds from some of the men who have long been opposed to him. Perhaps we are justified in connecting this passage closely with Aeschylus *Seven against Thebes* 1023, where Antigone says that she will bury her brother's body,

κόλῳ φέρονσα βυσσίνου πεπλώματος,
 κατὴ καλύψω,

or as the Scholiast says,

τῷ τοῦ βυσσίνου πέπλου κόλῳ τὴν γῆν παρακομίζονσα, ὡς ἐπιβάλλειν μέλλουσα χῶμα, διὰ τὸ ὀρύττειν μὴ δύνασθαι.

Nowhere in the *Antigone* is it said how the heroine carried the earth, nor can this be inferred from the words of the guard. The poet assumes the situation presented by Aeschylus, and refers to the earlier play, exactly as in his *Electra* 1415 f., the ὥμοι πέπληγμαι and ὥμοι μάλ' αἰθῆς of Clytaemestra are an echo of the same words of Agamemnon in Aeschylus *Ag.* 1297 f. If Sophocles does not refer to the concluding portion of the *Septem*, he must have in mind some other scene just like it:—but what should this be? If Sophocles does refer to these verses of the Aeschylean play, then the view of Bergk, Christ, Wecklein and others, that the concluding portion of the *Septem* was composed after the *Antigone*, falls to the ground. Until another suitable reference for our text from the *Antigone* is found, we may believe this to have been suggested by Aeschylus.

T. D. S.

PLATO, *POLITICUS* 269 E-270 A.—AN ALLUSION TO ZOROASTRIANISM?

IN the course of the myth regarding the two cosmic cycles, in one of which the universe is directed by the divine helmsman, while in the other it is left to itself and revolves in the opposite direction, the Eleatic stranger sums up his arguments thus: ἐκ πάντων δὴ τούτων τὸν κόσμον μῆτε αὐτὸν χρὴ φάναι στρέφειν ἑαυτὸν αἰεὶ, μῆτ' αὐτὸν αἰεὶ ὑπὸ θεοῦ στρέφεσθαι διττὰς καὶ ἐναντίας περιαγωγάς, μῆτ' αὐτὸν δύο τινεὶ θεῶ φρονούντε ἑαυτοῖς ἐναντία στρέφειν αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ. The supposition that in these last words Plato may refer to the Zoroastrian doctrine of Ormuzd and Ahriman, which he rejects as conflicting with his own views as to the origin and nature of evil, receives some support from the following extracts showing that the doctrine in question was known to the Greeks in a form that would make such a reference peculiarly applicable. Diog. Laert. *Prooem.* p. 2: Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ φιλοσοφίας καὶ πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι [τοὺς μάγους] τῶν Αἰγυπτίων,

καὶ δύο κατ' αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἀρχάς, ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα, καὶ κακὸν δαίμονα· καὶ τῷ μὲν ὄνομα εἶναι Ζεὺς καὶ Ὀρμιάσδης, τῷ δὲ Ἄδης καὶ Ἀρειμάνιος. Φησὶ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Ἑρμιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ Μάγων καὶ Εὐδόξος ἐν τῇ Περιόδῳ καὶ Θεόπομπος κ.τ.λ. (what follows concerns the Magian belief in resurrection and immortality). Theopompus (fr. 72 Müller) *ap. Plut. de Is. et Osir.* 370: Θεόπομπος δὲ φησὶ κατὰ τοὺς μάγους ἀνὰ μέρος τρισχίλια ἔτη τὸν μὲν κρατεῖν τὸν δὲ κρατεῖσθαι τῶν θεῶν, ἄλλα δὲ τρισχίλια μάχεσθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ ἀναλύνειν τὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸν ἑτερον· τέλος δὲ ἀπολείπεσθαι τὸν Ἄδην, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπων εὐδαίμονας ἔσσεσθαι, μῆτε τροφῆς δεομένους, μῆτε σκιάν ποιοῦντας. Τὸν δὲ ταῦτα μηχανησάμενον θεὸν ἡρεμῆν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι χρόνον κ.τ.λ. It may be thought that an analogy for Plato's 'two antagonistic gods' lies nearer to hand in the Empedoclean Νεῖκος and Φιλία; but in spite of the mythical designations with which the latter are decked out in Empedocles' verse, the

words δύο τινὲ θεῶ κ.τ.λ. would be less appropriate to them than to the two deities of the Persian system. When Aristotle says (*Met.* i. 4, 984b) τρόπον τινὰ καὶ λέγειν καὶ πρῶτον λέγειν τὸ κακὸν καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀρχὰς Ἑμπεδοκλείᾳ, we must suppose that, unless he has for the time being forgotten the Magi, he means to distinguish between the good and evil *deities* of the latter and the good and evil *principles* which are the rational outcome of the Empedoclean doctrine considered πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἃ ψελλίζεται λέγων (*ib.*). It seems, however, not improbable that Empedocles himself derived at least a suggestion, through whatever channel, from the same Persian dualism: certainly the view attributed above to the Magi of four successive stages in the conflict between good and evil offers a

remarkable parallel to the similar though not identical periods of Empedocles. However that may be, the reference in the *Politicus* to Zoroastrianism, if such it is, is merely a passing one; and, as already said, Plato rejects the doctrine involved as alien from his own system. Alien it is from the most characteristic stage of his thought. Yet it recurs in what is generally held to be his later doctrine of an evil world-soul in *Laws* x. 896–898, 904, 906, whatever the qualifications involved in these much discussed passages, and however the doctrine, as thus accepted in its final form, may be rather the resultant, as Zeller contends, of certain of Plato's own positions and of his life-experience, than a conscious adaptation of Eastern thought.

W. J. GOODRICH.

TWO PASSAGES OF THE *REPUBLIC*.

Republic 488 D :

... μῦθ' ἐπαύοντας ὅτι ἀνάγκη αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ ὥρων καὶ ὁρανοῦ καὶ ἄστρον καὶ πνευμάτων καὶ πάντων τῶν τῇ τέχνῃ προσηκόντων, εἰ μέλλει τῷ ὄντι νεὺς ἀρχικός ἔσσεσθαι, ὅπως δὲ κυβερνήσει ἑάντε τινὲς βούλωνται ἑάντε μὴ, μήτε τέχνην τοῦτου μήτε μελέτην οἴμενοι δυνατόν εἶναι λαβεῖν ἅμα καὶ τὴν κυβερνητικὴν.

THE difficulties of this passage are as well known as they are numerous. And the solutions of them are as numerous as one could desire. A great number of these solutions are dealt with in Mr. Adam's first appendix to the sixth book of the *Republic*. Emendations of the text are less numerous than attempts to interpret it as it stands. And this is perhaps my best excuse for adding to the literature which has grown up about the passage: since my object is to suggest a correction of the text which is, I think, not violent, and which seems to me to get rid of much of the difficulty of the text as it stands.

In place of ὅπως δὲ κυβερνήσει I would write ὅπως δεῖ κυβερνήσειν, and after ἔσσεσθαι insert καὶ which might easily have dropped out by a haplography especially if δεῖ had already become corrupted to δέ. With this correction I would translate: 'Not understanding that he must make weather and seasons and sky and stars and all else that belongs to seamanship his business, if he is

to be really master of the ship and to steer rightly whether they like it or not: thinking it possible that no acquaintance, either theoretical or practical, with this [*sc.* observation of the heavens etc.] can as its consequence achieve the art of piloting.'

With the correction which I have offered, the only clause which presents difficulties is the last one. Its difficulties are the same with my emendation as without it. I have given the translation of this clause which seems to me to be on the whole the most probable. The sense is, as I take it, 'they think it possible (it appears to them quite conceivable) that a man should have μελέτη and τέχνη in the matter of observing the heavens and yet not be a good pilot.' But no less than three other translations are, I fancy, possible. We may render: 'Thinking it impossible that either practical or theoretical acquaintance with this should achieve the art of piloting.' Or, again, we may translate: 'Thinking it impossible to achieve practical or theoretical acquaintance with this art at the same time as attaining the art of piloting' (*i.e.* thinking it impossible that the two things should go together). Or, lastly, we may render: 'Thinking it possible that absence of all acquaintance, whether theoretical or practical, with this should achieve as its consequence the art of piloting.'

Of these four possible translations the first and the last are those which most

commend themselves to my judgment: and it is surprising that nobody (as I think is the case) has suggested either of them. For both the second and the third involve our interpreting *μήτε τέχνη. μήτε μελ. οἰόμενοι δυνατόν εἶναι λαβεῖν* as equivalent to *οἰόμενοι ἀδύνατον εἶναι εἶτε τέχνη. εἶτε μελ. λαβεῖν*. The issue here is complicated by *οἰόμενοι*. If we had merely *δυνατόν ἐστι μήτε τέχνη. μήτε μελ. λαβεῖν* the words could only mean either 'it is possible for *τέχνη* and *μελέτη* not to acquire' or else 'it is possible not to acquire *μελέτη* and *τέχνη*.' But in the clause as it stands it may be urged that the negative in *μήτε . . . μήτε* really belongs to *οἰόμενοι*: for though there is no reason here that one can see for the use of *μή* rather than *οὐ*, Plato has already employed *μή* above in *μήδ' ἐπαίοντας*, and one may render by 'being the sort of persons who don't think.' I none the less think that if this were the meaning which Plato had wished to convey he would undoubtedly have written *οἰόμενοι ἀδύνατον εἶναι εἶτε τέχνη. εἶτε μελ. λαβεῖν*: and the more so because, as the clause is commonly translated, we have to carry on the negative in *μήτε τέχνη. μήτε μελ. τὸ ἅμα καὶ τὴν κυβ.*

However we may prefer to translate this last clause, the emendation which I have suggested of the clause preceding has the advantage of absolving us from the necessity of construing *τούτου* with *ὅπως δὲ κυβερνήσει ἑάντε . . . ἑάντε μή. τούτου* is usually referred back to the idea of controlling men implied in *ἑάντε βούλονται . . . ἑάντε μή*. Others connect it simply with the idea of steering, as e.g. Mr. Adam. With the correction which I have offered *τούτου* is naturally and properly referred back to *ἐναντοῦ καὶ ὠρῶν κ.τ.λ.* The singular (instead of *τούτων*) is justified by the fact that *ἐναντοῦ καὶ ὠρῶν κ.τ.λ.* form together a single conception—observation of the heavens. By *τέχνη* and *μελέτη* I then understand the same distinction as would ordinarily be conveyed by *ἐπιστήμη* and *ἐμπειρία*. The seaman may possess a knowledge of weather and the heavenly bodies, etc. which is a knowledge of causes and principles: or he may possess what we should call a 'working knowledge' of them, based on observation of particulars without much understanding of general principles.

A simpler correction than the one which I have offered would perhaps be *ὅπως δὲ δεῖ κυβερνήσειν*. Plato occasionally uses *δέ* where we should expect *καί*: e.g. *Rep.* 492. a. 6 *διαφθείροντας δέ*: and palaeographically this correction here involves only a very slight change. For a very similar loss of *δεῖ* cf.

Euthyphro 8. d. 5 *διδόναί* most MSS. for *δεῖ* *διδόναί*. In the same dialogue, 8. c. 7. we may notice *οὐδέν*, b, for *οὐ δεῖν*.

Republic 585 c:

τὸ τοῦ αἰὶ ὁμοίου ἐχόμενον καὶ ἀθανάτου καὶ αὐτὸ τοιοῦτον ὃν καὶ ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ γιγνόμενον μᾶλλον εἶναι σοὶ δοκεῖ ἢ τὸ μηδέποτε ὁμοίου καὶ θνητοῦ καὶ αὐτὸ τοιοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοιοῦτῳ γιγνόμενον; πολλὴ, ἔφη, διαφέρει τὸ τοῦ αἰὶ ὁμοίου. ἢ οὖν αἰὶ ὁμοίου οὐσία οὐσίας τι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιστήμης μετέχει; οὐδαμῶς. τί δ'; ἀληθείας; οὐδὲ τοῦτο. εἰ δὲ ἀληθείας ἦττον, οὐ καὶ οὐσίας;

The passage stands thus in A, and the variants in the other MSS. are, I think, unsuccessful attempts to emend it. All modern attempts at emendation have been upon the lines of the inferior MSS. I wish to propose an emendation which, while it involves only minute changes, has the advantage of being nearer to A than to the later MSS. The sentences I have italicised I would correct thus:

ἢ οὖν αἰὶ ὁμοίου οὐσία, οὐσίας τι μᾶλλον [ἢ] ἐπιστήμης μετέχει; οὐδαμῶς. τί δ'; ἀληθείας; οὐδὲ τοῦτο. εἰ δὲ ἀληθείας ἦττον, οὐ καὶ οὐσίας;

which I would thus translate:

'In so far then as being is concerned with an ever like (an unchanging), is there anything which partakes more fully of being than knowledge? No. Or than truth? Again no. And if there is less participation in truth there is less also in being?'

This emendation involves merely the addition of an iota subscript to *ἢ*, a change of punctuation, and the omission of *ἢ*. I imagine that *ἢ* crept into the text from a gloss *ἢ ἐπιστήμη* written over *ἐπιστήμης* to indicate that the genitive case in that word was not dependent, as that in *οὐσίας*, on *μετέχει*. Or someone possibly corrected *ἐπιστήμης* to *ἢ ἐπιστήμη* without immediately perceiving that the correction would leave *ἀληθείας* without a construction. When this difficulty was perceived *ἐπιστήμη* was no doubt corrected back again to *ἐπιστήμης*, while *ἢ* was by inadvertence not deleted.

I think it will be admitted that this emendation involves less change than any other that has been suggested. I believe also that with the aid of it we can restore to the passage the logical coherence which, without some emendation, it undoubtedly lacks. Logically the purpose of the whole passage 585 B 12 to D 24 is to induce Glaucon to admit that the things which are

concerned with the service of the soul are higher than those which have to do with the service of the body. Socrates first asks Glaucon whether he will allow (1) that the truest satisfaction comes from that which more participates in being. Glaucon assents. Socrates then asks whether (2(a)) the rational and moral side of our nature (δόξης τε ἀληθοῦς εἶδος καὶ ἐπιστήμης καὶ νοῦ καὶ . . . πάσης ἀρετῆς) partakes more of being than the nutritive and appetitive. He explains that this is another way of asking whether (2(b)) that which is concerned with the unchanging more partakes of being than that which is concerned with the changing?

Glaucon replies that that which is concerned with the unchanging partakes of being the more fully. Socrates proceeds (in the emended text) to ask (3) Is there anything which more partakes of being, in so far as being is of 'an unchanging,' than knowledge and truth? and (4) Does not a thing fail of being in proportion as it fails of truth? Glaucon returns to (3) a negative, to (4) an affirmative answer. And so in general, Socrates concludes, (5) the things which concern the service of the body are less real than those which concern the service of the soul.

The steps in the argument, then, are these:

(1) That most gives satisfaction which has most being.

2(a) and 2(b) are put as one question. But there underlies their identity the postulate that the moral and rational are concerned with the unchanging, as the nutritive and appetitive are not. This is tacitly allowed by Glaucon: so that 2a and 2b establish the result that (a) the moral and rational are concerned with the unchanging: (β) that which is concerned with the unchanging partakes more fully of being.

The conclusion from this necessarily follows that (γ) the moral and rational partake more fully of being. But instead of stating this conclusion (γ) in so many words, Socrates in questions (3) and (4) selects knowledge and truth as types of the moral and rational and obtains Glaucon's assent firstly (3) to the proposition that nothing more partakes of being than knowledge and truth—in so far as being is (as they have admitted it to be, 2b) of 'an unchanging' (ἡ δὲ ὁμοίον οὐσία): and secondly (4) to what is simply the converse of this proposition, that the further a thing is from truth the further it is from being. In other

words (3) and (4) merely formulate in a somewhat inexact way the conclusion γ ('the moral and rational partake more fully of being than anything else') and its converse ('the further anything is from the moral and rational the further it is from being'). All that has happened is that for 'moral and rational,' which at the end of 585 B (question 2a) was expressed by δόξης τε ἀληθοῦς εἶδος καὶ ἐπιστήμης καὶ νοῦ καὶ ξυλλήβδην αὖ πάσης ἀρετῆς, Socrates substitutes in question 3 ἐπιστήμη καὶ ἀλήθεια and in question 4 ἀλήθεια alone. Accordingly in (5) Socrates summarises the result thus: οὐκοῦν ὅλως τὰ περὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος θεραπείαν γέννη τῶν γενῶν τῶν περὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς θεραπείαν ἥττον ἀληθείας τε καὶ οὐσίας μετέχει;

Of other suggested emendations and interpretations of the passage I cannot speak in detail. If the analysis of the argument which I have offered is a correct one, the text as it stands in A is an absurdity. It involves a *non sequitur* of this sort:

Major Premiss: That which is concerned with the unchanging partakes more fully of being: = β.

Minor Premiss: The moral and rational are concerned with the unchanging: = α.

Conclusion: The being of the unchanging does not partake more of being than knowledge and truth do.

Not only does the conclusion not follow, but Socrates proceeds as though he had not drawn it. As though he had drawn the true conclusion ('the moral and rational partake more fully of being') he proceeds by permutation to the corollary 'the non-moral and non-rational partake less fully of being.'

Mr. Adam reads for ὁμοίου, A, the ἀνομοίου of the inferior MSS. and for ἡ ἐπιστήμης he writes ἡ ἑπιστήμης. By this correction we avoid, certainly, the *non sequitur* of the text of A, but instead of the conclusion 'the moral and rational partake more fully of being,' we get by immediate inference from this suppressed conclusion this: 'The nature of the unlike (= the non-moral

and non-rational) has $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{less} \\ \text{not more} \end{array} \right\}$ being than the nature of knowledge and truth (= the moral and rational).' The conclusion is quite just, and there would be no difficulty if it were not for what follows. But in what follows (εἰ δὲ ἥττον κ.τ.λ.) we have merely a meaningless repetition of this conclusion. Socrates, in fact, having drawn an inference from his suppressed conclusion

proceeds to draw it again. One cannot, therefore, escape the suspicion that in the words ἡ οὖν . . . to . . . οὐδὲ τοῦτο there must lie concealed the positive conclusion of which εἰ δὲ ἀληθείας κ.τ.λ. is the permutation. This positive conclusion my emendation furnishes. Mr. Adam's on the one hand postulates a suppressed positive conclusion, and on the other offers a permutation of it twice expressed. It also involves the use of the phrase ἡ τοῦ ἀνομοίου οὐσία as equivalent to τὰ τοῦ μὴ ὁμοίου ἐχόμενα.

Mr. R. G. Bury retains A's ὁμοίου, inserting after it the word σιτία, and for ἐπιστήμης writes ἐπιστήμη. But this is to go too fast. Plato is still arguing in purely general terms: and to introduce such a specification as σιτία at this point would tend only to hopeless confusion. Moreover instead of σιτία alone we should expect something like σίτος καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ὄψον καὶ ἡ ἐξύπασσα τροφή, or else perhaps τροφή alone. Nor can I think σιτία, in view of the character of A, an emendation which has any great palaeographical probability.

I add here notes on two other passages of Plato which do not involve any long discussion.

Euthyphro 10. d. 10:

ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ διότι γε φιλεῖται ὑπὸ θεῶν φιλούμενόν ἐστι καὶ θεοφιλές. After θεοφιλές most editors add, with Bast, τὸ θεοφιλές. This gives the necessary sense: but it would,

I think, be simpler to write ἐστὶ τι for ἐστι, without any further addition.

Apology 27 E:

ὅπως δὲ σύ τινα πείθοις ἂν καὶ σμικρὸν νοῦν ἔχοντα ἀνθρώπων, ὡς οὐ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν καὶ δαιμόνια καὶ θεῖα ἡγείσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μήτε δαίμονας μήτε θεοὺς μήτε ἥρωας, οὐδεμία μηχανή ἐστιν.

'It is impossible that you should persuade anyone with a grain of sense that the man who believes in things-pertaining-to-deities (δαιμόνια) must not also believe in things-pertaining-to-gods (θεῖα), and again that the man who disbelieves in either deities or gods or heroes must not disbelieve in all three; 'i.e. one must disbelieve in both δαιμόνια and θεῖα (καὶ . . . καὶ) if one believes in either—the one implies the other:—and one must disbelieve in δαίμονες and θεοὶ and ἥρωες (all three) if one disbelieves in any of the three.

The translation here offered is substantially that offered by Keck in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbuch* 1861, and suggested independently by Münscher in 1865 (in the same journal). I call attention to it here for the reason that it has not found its way into any English edition. Mr. Adam refers to the two articles I mention, but does not give the translation or, apparently, think it worth discussing. The translation seems to me to be clearly right, and I should be glad to know what the objections to it are.

H. W. GARROD.

'DORIC' FUTURES. ARISTOPHANES AND PLATO.

IN an article in the *Classical Review* (1894, p. 23)¹ I was able to shew that the Aristophanic future of φεύγω is φευξοῦμαι. This position appears now to be generally accepted.

In one passage only (*Vespæ* 157) I had to admit that Aristophanes used the non-contracted future.

It now seems to me that that passage calls for an apparently radical, but still a simple, emendation.

It must be read in its context.

ΦΙ. τί δράσει; οὐκ ἐκφρήσει, ὃ μιαιώτατο, δικάσοντά μ'; ἀλλ' ἐκφεύξειται Δρακοντίδης.
ΒΔ. σὺ δὲ τοῦτο βαρέως ἂν φέροις; ΦΙ. ὁ γὰρ θεὸς μαντευμένω μοῦχρησεν ἐν Δελφοῖς ποτε, ὅταν τις ἐκφύγῃ, μ' ἀποσκληῖναι τότε.

¹ I wrongly stated in that article that the future of πίπτω does not occur in Aristophanes.

'When anyone is acquitted' seems to go beyond all reason. Surely the impartial condemnation of all prisoners, on pain of being himself blasted the first time the jury acquitted a single one, is not the object that Philocleon set before himself. It is rather the condemnation of one individual, namely Dracontides, that we should expect the oracle to enjoin.

The Ravenna scholiast writes of Dracontides: πονηρὸς οὗτος καὶ πλείσταις καταδίκαις ἐνεχόμενος.

Do not these words give a hint? Why not read: ὅταν τρίς ἐκφύγῃ, i.e. 'when he (Dracontides) has been thrice acquitted'? This would pave the way to a consequential emendation: δικάσοντά μ'; ἐκφευξείτ' ἐτ' αὖ Δρακοντίδης. In that case ΑΜΕΚΦΕΥΞΕΙ-ΤΕΤΑΥ would have been corrupted into

ΑΜΑΛΛΕΚΦΕΥΞΕΤΑΙ—an instance of a diplography plus a haplography

I also attempted an examination of the futures of verbs of the *πλέω* class; but as to these the evidence is sadly defective.

I have often tried to ascertain whether any of the so-called Doric futures were in use in good Attic prose, and, if so, in what species of prose. It is a difficult task, when that best of guides, metre, is no longer at hand to help; but perhaps it is not impossible. In the following notes I have attempted to present a view of the problem in relation to Plato. There is a useful discussion of the subject in Schanz's first volume of the 'Laws': but the learned writer seems hardly to share the beliefs of recent scholars as to the supremacy of law.

Πλέω and *φεύγω* are the only two verbs that in the Platonic writings, as they have come down to us, ever present 'irregular' 'Doric' futures. With regard to these I will now proceed to set out the facts as fully as I have been able to ascertain them.

The MSS. for the *Hippias Minor* are S (Venetus), T (Venetus), and W (Vindobonensis). These three MSS. all appear to agree in presenting the contracted forms in *Hipp. Min.*, viz. *ἀποπλευσείσθαι*, 371, B (*bis*), and 371, D; and *ἀποπλευσοῦμενος*, 370, D: though in this last case Ast catalogues *ἀποπλευσοῦμενος*.

The *Laws* depend on A (Parisinus) alone. Four times in the *Laws* forms of the character which we are discussing occur. These are *φενξείται*, i. 635, b; *φενξείσθαι*, i. 635, c; *ἀποφενξείσθαι*, vi. 762, b; and *ἐκφενξεί*, xii. 969, b. It will be observed that A in each place presents the contracted form, except in the last instance, where the difference is one of accent only. Similarly in *Epistle vii.* 329, a, this manuscript (here also¹ the sole authority) reads *ἀποφενξείσθαι*, *sed in liturá* as regards the letters *εῖ*.

In the *Republic*, iv. 432, d, A and D (Venetus) unite in reading *ἐκφενξείσθαι*. This is the only instance of a contracted form occurring in any MS. other than A or T, or the inferior S and W.

On the other hand A (with D) four times outside the *Laws* presents non-contracted forms, viz. *φεύξομαι*, *Clitoph.* 407, a; *φεύξεται*, *Rep.* ix. 592, a; *ἐκφενξέσθαι*, *Rep.* v. 474, b;

¹ So I understand; but I do not know certainly if there may not be some other MS. authority for the *Epistles*. Whether they are genuine or not, I express no opinion.

and *ἐκφενξέμ* (*ηι in rasurá* in A, *ἐκφενξεί* D.) In this last case, as in *Legg.* xii. 969, b, the difference is accentual only.

B (Bodleianus) and T unite seven times in exhibiting non-contracted forms, viz. *φεύξομαι*, *Apol.* 29, b; *ἀποφείζεται*, *Apol.* 39, a; *διαφεύζεται*, *Parm.* 135, d; *ἐκφενξεται*, *Soph.* 235, b; *φενξόμεθα*, *Theact.* 181, a; *φενξονται*, *Theact.* 168, a; and *ἐκφενξέσθαι*, *Symp.* 189, b; and these same MSS. (B and T) also concur in presenting non-contracted forms in three places, where however the difference is one of accent only, namely *φενξεί*, *Criton* 53, c, and *Euthydem.* 307, b; and *ἀποφενξεί*, *Alcib.* i, 135, c.

B and T concur in reading (*Apol.* 29, c) *διαφενξοίμην*. This form might belong to either the contracted or non-contracted paradigm.

The great MSS. are A, B, D, and T.

We see from the instances (as exhaustive as I can make them) that A leans towards *φενξοίμαι*, but never has to deal with the respective merits of *πλευσομαι* and *πλευσοῦμαι*; that B recognizes only *φεύξομαι* (having, like A, no occasion to consider *πλευσομαι*); that D strongly favours *φεύξομαι* (also having nothing to do with the forms of *πλέω*); and that T plumps with the one hand for *πλευσοῦμαι*, but with the other for *φεύξομαι*.

But there is an extraordinary circumstance. The great MSS. do not differ *inter se* on any particular passage common to more than one of them. For example A presents the contracted form in his own sole kingdom of the *Laws*; but in the territory which he shares as co-sovereign with D, he usually defers to D's principles, but once has persuaded D to defer to his.

This fact speaks volumes. We are in consequence justified, with the highest degree of probability, in restoring to the archetype of A the contracted forms throughout. The issue becomes clear. With regard to *πλέω*, there is no evidence to go to the jury of any Platonic future except *πλευσοῦμαι*. With regard to *φεύγω*, A says that the future is *φενξοῦμαι*; B, D, and T say that it is *φενξομαι*.

A is maintaining the distinctly *difficilior lectio*, and is backed by the analogy of *πλευσοῦμαι*. It looks very much as if the case of Plato were the same as that of Aristophanes, namely that the contracted forms are the true forms, but that they have been half-overlaid by the accident of later generations that knew not Attic.

R. JOHNSON WALKER.

HORACE, *ODES* II. 15, l. 6.

IAM pauca aratro iugera regiae
 Moles relinquunt, undique latius
 Extenta visentur Lucrino
 Stagna lacu platanusque caelebs
 Evinct ulmos : tum violaria et
 Myrtus et omnis copia narium
 Spargent olivetis odorem
 Fertilibus domino priori.

The expression *copia narium* in the above passage is generally regarded by editors as a striking case of metonymy, which can be easily illustrated from classical literature. Unfortunately, they either omit all illustrations or give such ones as illustrate anything but the text. That the text is corrupt I am convinced by a close examination of the three possible methods of construing it. The first view, mentioned by Dean Wickham implies 'that, after the analogy of the Greek use of ὀφθαλμός and ὄμμα, we can assume that "nostrils" is equivalent to "the fragrance perceived by them."' This view, I think, requires some illustrations not only of ὀφθαλμός and ὄμμα used as equivalent to τὸ ὄρατόν, but also of ὀφθαλμοί and ὄμματα as equivalent to τὰ ὄρατά. Besides, a Latin parallel to this idiom would be desirable. Further, the tautology of the thought—'the whole store of fragrances shedding perfume' is objectionable.

A second mode of construing the passage which has not, as far as I know, been suggested by any editor, is to take *narium* as a kind of objective genitive after *odorem*, and translate 'the whole store (of flowers) will shed a perfume for the nostrils over the olive-groves.' But this construction is awkward if not questionable; and there is a difficulty in the omission of some word for 'flowers.' Perhaps the use of 'acervos' in *Odes* ii. 2. 24 ('quisquis ingentes oculo irretorto | spectat acervos') might be of some use in lightening the second difficulty. Yet this use of *copia* for *copia florum* would be as little felicitous as the use of *acervos* (=acervos nummorum) in the passage cited (Prof. Tyrrell's *Latin Poetry*, Ch. vi.).

The third method of dealing with *copia narium* is one which most, if not all editors follow, viz. they take 'narium' with 'copia' 'the genitive signifying not that of which there is abundance, but that in respect of which the abundance exists, "all the fulness of the nostrils = the fulness of all that pleases the nostrils"' (Wickham). Now, this view

involves all the difficulties which face the first method of construing. There is the same tautology in thought of 'all the abundance of perfume shedding fragrance': the brachylogical use of *copia narium* = *copia omnium qui nares delectant odorum* or *florum* amounts to an assumption that *nares* = *suaveolentia*, which assumption according to Dean Wickham is justified by a Greek use of ὀφθαλμός, ὄμμα = τὸ ὄρατόν. But where can such parallels be found? In Soph. *Aiaz* 977, 1004, Professor Jebb showed that ὄμμα means 'face' or 'form': there we have just an instance of synecdoche. Besides, such examples, if they exist, of ὀφθαλμός, ὄμμα = τὸ ὄρατόν are not the same as an example of ὀφθαλμοί, ὄμματα = ὄρατά. Again, the expression *copia narium*, which to a Roman reader could only mean 'a multitude of nostrils,' is unpoetical to the verge of grotesqueness. Editors have noticed this point, but pass over it too lightly. Ritter's remark is 'c. n. contemptim de floribus dictum': Professor C. L. Smith says 'o. c. n. "all the wealth of the nostrils, a somewhat contemptuous expression for "every variety of fragrant flower."' Page calls it a 'bold invention of Horace's own: such phrases must be judged not by strict grammatical (?) rules but by their general clearness and expressiveness.' On the score of clearness, 'copia narium' can hardly escape censure. As expressive, it can only express Horace's deliberate intention to indulge his contempt for foreign luxury to such an extent as to disfigure a serious and dignified protest against Eastern habits. Nor have we here any violation of grammatical rules, but a violation of the rules of thought—of the Principle of Contradiction, A is not B, noses are not flowers. Still, Page's ascription of the phrase to Horace is more commendable than the attempts to bolster it up by so-called parallels. These illustrations will be found to illustrate, if anything, only what the editor thinks that Horace intended to say, not what our texts imply that he said. Kiessling is summary: 'c. n. gen. obj. stellt mit wegwerfenden Ausdruck die modische "Fülle für die Nase" der wahren *copia* gegenüber; ähnlich solet . . . oculorum et aurium delectatione abdominis voluptates ante ferre Cic. Pison. 66.' Apart from the questionable translation of c. n. = 'abundance for the nostrils,' how can *copia narium* be regarded as = *delectatio narium*: even if it

can be equivalent, what is the point in 'all the enjoyment of the nostrils will shed perfume etc.'? Prof. Shorey's illustrations are also at fault. He compares Juvenal's *gustus elementa* (xi. 14), Aelian's *ὀφθαλμῶν πανήγυρις*, and *ἀνθέων . . . εἰς ἑορτὴν ὕψους* (V.H. iii. 1). As regards the first, I fear that Prof. Shorey's construing of 'interea *gustus elementa per omnia quaerunt*' will hardly pass muster. As regards the phrases from Aelian, brevity in quotation is dangerous. Aelian, in describing the scenery at Tempe, sums up with the remark *δρᾶται δὲ τὸ χλοαῖον πᾶν καὶ ἔστιν ὀφθαλμῶν πανήγυρις*: here *ὁ.π.* does not mean 'a multitude of beautiful flowers that are perceived' but 'a feast for the eyes,' as the scholiast says, and as it can be shown from a comparison of the second passage which concludes—*καὶ παρὴν τῇ τε ἄλλῃ πανηγυρίζει καὶ κατὰ τὴν εὐωδίαν ἔστιαισθαι*. These phrases in Aelian are objectionable according to the scholiast (*σοφιστικῶς καὶ κακοζήλως ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀφθαλμῶν τέρψις*), but they are intelligible in their context. They have no similitude to *copia narium*, unless *copia* can be equivalent to *εορτή* or *τέρψις*. I fail to see the point in Prof. Shorey's parallels from English poets: 'Flora's earliest smells' is not a bit like 'Flora's earliest noses.' To sum up:—editors give a meaning to *copia*, or to *nares*, or to both, which these words never have. *Copia* does not = *delectatio*, *epulae*: even if it did, it would not help us much. *Nares* does not mean 'that which is perceived by the nostrils, i.e. fragrant flowers,' but simply 'nostrils.'

These considerations incline me to believe that we have not got before us Horace's original words. I think that *narium* conceals the name of some special people or place, famous for flowers or perfumes. The 'specialising' tendency is characteristic in the *Odes* (cf. Kiessling on i. 1. 14; C. L. Smith, *Odes*, Introduction, 117). Horace is protesting against the luxury of his day. Now Asia Minor and the East generally are synonymous in Horace with wealth and luxury (cf. *Carm.* i. 38. 1; ii. 12. 21; iii. 6. 21, 9. 4). I would suggest that the lines originally ran thus:—

tum violaria et
Myrtus et omnis copia Sardium
Spargent olivetis odorem
Fertilibus domino priori.

Sardis was in earlier times the greatest city in Asia Minor (cf. Sen. *de benef.* 6. 31. 9; Paus. 3. 9. 5). The luxury of the Lydians was as notorious as and identified

with that of the Persians. Athenaeus says *διαβόητοι ἐπὶ ἡδοναθείᾳ οἱ Λυδοί· καὶ παρ' Ἀνακρέοντι Λυδοπαθῆς ἀκούουσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡδοναθῆς* (xv. 41, cf. xii. 11, and Grattius Faliscus 315). Lysander feared that Ephesus might be barbarised by Persian habits owing to its intercourse with Lydia (Plut. *Lys.* iii.). Sardis was the symbol and centre of Persian life in Asia Minor—*τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάσσης βαρβάρων ἡγεμονίας* (Id. *Alex.* xvii.). It lay in the centre of a rich alluvial district, the famous 'meads' which Strabo mentions (xxii. 5; cf. Horace, *Epist.* i. 3. 5 *pingues Asiae campi*). Lydia was noted for its flowers and park-gardens. In fact, inclosed cultivated parks were probably first seen in Lydia and in the neighbourhood of Sardis. Clearchus (*ex Athen.* xii. 11) says *Λυδοὶ διὰ τρυφὴν παραδείσους κατασκευασάμενοι καὶ κηπαίους αὐτοὺς ποιήσαντες ἐσκιαιοτροφοῦντο*. The same author tells us that Polyocrates of Samos entered on a fatal course of self-indulgence, *ζηλώσας τὰ Λυδῶν μαλακά*. He established garden-harems at Samos in imitation of the great 'park' at Sardis (called the *ἀγκῶν γλυκὺς*), *καὶ τῶν Λυδῶν ἄνθεσι πάντα ἐπλήσσε τὰ διαγγελθέντα Σαμίω ἄνθεα*. The park of the younger Cyrus at Sardis is mentioned by Xenophon (*Oec.* iv. 20-25) and Cicero translates the passage which describes Lysander's astonishment at the 'proceritates arborum et directos in quincuncem ordines et humum subactam atque puram et suavitatem odorum qui adflarentur ex floribus' (*de sen.* 17). Diodorus tells how Agesilaus laid waste Tissaphernes' park at Sardis: *ἐπελθὼν δὲ τὴν χώραν μέχρι Σάρδεων ἔφθευρε τοὺς τε κήπους καὶ τὸν παράδεισον τὸν Τισσαφέρηνος, φντοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολυτελεῶς πεφιλοτεχνημένον εἰς τρυφὴν καὶ τὴν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσιν* (xiv. 80). The taste of Attalus Philometor for gardening at Pergamus was probably not unique among Eastern monarchs (Plut. *Demetr.* xx.).

The passion of the Sardiens for perfumes and unguents was notorious. Alexis says *αἰεὶ φιλόμυρον πᾶν τὸ Σάρδεων γένος* (*ex Athen.* 15), and Athenaeus quoting Ion—

βακκάρεις δὲ καὶ μύρα
καὶ Σαρδιανὸν κόσμον εἶδέναι χρόος
ἄμεινον ἢ τὸν Πέλοπος ἐν ἡγῶν τρόπον,

remarks *ἐν τούτοις Σαρδιανὸν κόσμον εἴρηκε τὸ μύρον* (xv. 41). That the tus plant was cultivated at Sardis we know from Pliny (*N.H.* xii. 31).

Horace was probably acquainted personally with Sardis. He was *tribunus militum* under Brutus, and his references to Asia Minor make it likely that he followed his

general thither (cf. *Sat.* i. 7; *Epist.* i. 11; *Carm.* ii. 7. 6). It was at Sardis that the famous reconciliation of Brutus with Cassius took place, and Brutus saw the vision (*Plut. Brut.* xxxiv.).

The whole ode, therefore, is to be regarded as a protest against Eastern habits and fashions with which Horace was already acquainted in Asia Minor, and which he grieves to see introduced into Roman life. *Violets and myrtles* and all the varied wealth of an Eastern park were extinguishing the old-fashioned utilitarian husbandry of the Latin. He elsewhere notices the royal nard of the Persians which was now known at Rome; he has already deprecated Persian banquets and the paraphernalia thereof, as well as the enervating luxury of Ionia. Here he protests against the insidious fashion of turning Roman country-seats into demesnes more fit for an Eastern potentate than a manly Roman. The whole picture—

the wide lake-like ponds, the towering buildings, the parks and the plane-trees form a scene, which must have reminded Horace of the enclosures at Sardis, where the white buildings on Mt. Tmolus (*Strabo*, 625) the royal mausoleums in the neighbourhood (*Id.* 627) the expanse of the Coloean lake were noticeable features of the landscape.

Narium may have come into our text if the word *Sardium* became obscured: it would be a likely corruption *e rei materia* (cf. *Carm.* iv. 1. 21). Or perhaps *Sardium* gave rise to a gloss *nardum*, which a scribe, who was acquainted with the fact that the Sardians cultivated the tus, and delighted in the unguent, inserted above the word. A reminiscence of Horace *Carm.* iii. 1. 44, *Epod.* 13. 8 may also have suggested the gloss. Thus the steps may have been—

- nardum
(1) *Sardium* (2) *nardium* (3) *narium*.
E. H. ALTON.

NOTES.

ON ἀπορίπτειν INTRANSITIVE.

IN Mr. Richards's note on *Charito* 3. 9. 5 (*C.R.* xx. 22) a difficulty is raised as to the intransitive use of ἀπορίπτειν. Hercher is quoted as scenting corruption, and Mr. Richards himself suggests the ellipsis of 'their clothes.' It is rather strange that both scholars overlooked *Acts* xxvii. 43, an exact parallel. Blass *ad loc.* translates *se deicere*, and cites a similar use of ῥίπτειν in poets and in *Arrian*. Thayer gives the *Charito* passage in his *Grimm s.v.* I hardly think Mr. Richards is happy in comparing ἀποδύντες, a word which contains within it the connotation of clothing. The vernacular Κοινή retained the noun after a general verb meaning *cast*: thus *Mark* x. 50 ἀποβαλὼν τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ, or the *Tebtunis papyrus* 48 (113 B.C.) ῥίψαντα τὸ ἱμάτιον εἰς φυγὴν ὁρμήσαι.

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* * *

ON Λυκάδας.

I do not know whether it has been noticed that *Dion Chrysostom* (*Venator*, Or. vii. 84) explains this by μήν. οὐδὲ τὴν Πηνελόπην . . . φησὶν ἱμάτιον αὐτῇ δοῖναι γυμνῇ παρακαθήμενῃ, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, ἃν ἔρα φανῇ ἀληθεύαν περὶ τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύς, ὅτι ἐκείνου τοῦ μηνὸς ἦξοι. He obviously refers to *Od.* 19. 306 τοῦδ' αὐτοῦ Λυκάβαντος ἐλευσεται ἐνθάδ' Ὀδυσσεύς, τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνός, τοῦ δ' ἱσταμένου. If 'month' be the right meaning, there is no need to suspect 14. 161-2 (with *Monro*); and the prophecy is quite close enough to suit the occasion. *Odysseus* does not want to be too precise. If he tells *Penelope* in the afternoon

'*Odysseus is coming back to-day*,' the margin of doubt is too small; and 'year' is too long. Why *Λυκάδας* should or should not mean specially, 'day,' 'month,' or 'year,' is not clear; but it describes them all after a fashion. If it means month, the sense of the two lines will be: 'This very month *Odysseus* will be here,—in fact, when the old moon is waning and the new moon waxing,' i.e. on the last day, *ἐννὴ καὶ νέα*.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

* * *

HORACE, *Epistles*, I. vii. 29.

Forte per angustam tennis vulpecula rimam
reperat in cumeram frumenti, etc., etc.

At the risk of 'slaying the slain' I wish to record my personal testimony to the fact that, in India at least, foxes *do* eat corn. I have often seen foxes driven out of a field of maize, or killed by a blow of the farmer's cudgel, and I have been shown stalks they had bitten through, and ears of maize partly eaten. The Indian fox (*lumri*) is much smaller than the British variety. The jackal eats maize also, though he prefers carrion; and both jackal and fox are very fond of sugar-cane. I must own that I have never heard of a *lumri* getting into a basket of grain; but then, grain in India is not stored in baskets, but in earthenware jars.

EDWARD STANLEY ROBERTSON.

* * *

A STRAY RULE OF ETIQUETTE.

Cod. Par. Gr. 1955 (a MS. of *Plutarch's Moralia* of the eleventh century). On f. 124 recto, at the head of the page, I find in an old hand of about

the same date as that of the MS. the following list of bad habits. It has no apparent connexion with anything in the text. *διὰ σκελῶν ἀμύττεσθαι. ἀπὸ ὀγίους ἄρτου δάκνειν. τοὺς δακτύλους περιλείχειν. ἐπὶ τράπεζαν ἐσθοντα ἄδειν. εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκμάσσειν. τοὺς ὄνυχας περιτρώγειν. διφρεῦντα ἐσθίειν.* It sounds ancient and not Byzantine, and the last objectionable habit, 'to eat while driving,' is not

so obviously objectionable as the others. It is true that it would not at the present day be considered good manners to partake of sandwiches while driving in the park, but Mr. Micawber and his family used, I think, to permit themselves nuts on the top of a coach.

W. R. PATON.

REVIEWS.

KLEINGÜNTHER ON MANILIUS.

KLEINGÜNTHER'S *Quaestiones ad libros Astronomicon Manilii*. Pp. iv + 60. Leipzig: Fock, 1905.

THIS Jena dissertation of fifty-nine pages should seem to keep up the interest in Manilius' poem, though its shortness prevents its doing more than touch on some of the most disputed points. The first part is a critique of Housman's edition of *B. i.* published in 1904, and must be pronounced unfavourable, particularly to the editor's conjectures. The second part (pp. 15 to 44) discusses several of the corrupt passages of the poem. It is only possible here to mention some of Dr. Kleingüntner's more interesting suggestions.

i. 412

tum nobilis Argo

In caelum subducta mari quod prima currit

Emeritum magnis mundum tenet acta periclis.

K. changes *Emeritum* to *Emeruit* and proposes *temptata* for *tenet acta*, comparing Lucret. i. 580 *Quae nondum ducant ullo temptata periclo*. Cramer and Bitterauf had already drawn attention to the numerous cases in which Manilius and Lucretius end their lines similarly.

The famous passage i. 765-7, which Bechert prints thus

Danaumque ad Pergama reges

Castra ducum et caeli (in)uictamque sub

Hectore Troiam

Auroraeque nigrum partum.

Kleingüntner emends as follows

Danaumque ad Pergama reges

Astra dicant caeli inuictamque sub Hectore

Troiam

Auroraeque n.p.

making *reges* the last accusative depending on *ueneramus*, and beginning a new sentence with *Astra*, 'the stars of the sky consecrate both Troy and Memnon.' This is ingenious, but appears to me unlike Manilius' style and faulty in the word *inuictam*, which (1) is against MSS. only L having any trace of *in-* (2) against metre. In Silius, it is true, such a rhythm is not unfrequent: but this does not hold in Manilius. Metrical again is the objection to K.'s correction of i. 795 *Emeritus caelum et Claudii magna propago* where he would write *et tu* for *et*.

Dr. Kleingüntner has discovered a place in *B. i.* into which v. 515 *Non exstincta lues semperque recentia flammis* (which with 514 *Et quod erat regnum pelagus fuit, una malorum* has become displaced in the MSS.) may fit in. As this is a notorious difficulty, and the suspicion that 515 has been transferred from i. to v. is not new, but had occurred before to Krämer and would find a parallel in a similar transference of i. 142 to a place between 727 and 728 of v., where it occurs a second time without any meaning, it seems worth while to present K.'s view at full length. He believes the v. to have formed part originally of Manilius' description of the plague of Athens.

i. 884 *Qualis Erechtheos pestis populata colonos*

885 *Extulit antiquas per funera pacis Athenas,*

886 *Alter in alterius labens cum fata ruebant.*

v. 515 *Non exstincta lues, semperque recentia flammis*

i. 890 *Et coaceruatis ardebant corpora membris.*

The omission of *est*, and the necessity of shifting the position of 890, are objections to this undoubtedly clever hypothesis.

- ii. 252, 3 Tuque tuo Capricorne gelu contractus in astris
Contra(t) iacent.

For *contra(t)* K. proposes *curua* a word which would describe the resting and bent-legged position of Capricorn. In my *Noctes Manilianae* I had suggested *Crura*, which I still think may be right.

There are two Excursus (1) on the confusions and interchanges of letters in the MSS. of Manilius (2) on the 'uersuum

clausulae iteratae' or cases in which the poet has used the same two or three words in more than one passage to end a line. The number of lines in which this happens is extraordinarily great, and no part of Dr. Kleingünther's dissertation ought to be more carefully studied than this. The Appendix contains a very thorough and most useful catalogue of the editions, as well as of separate papers on the poem.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

SCHMALZ-KREBS' *ANTIBARBARUS*.

Antibarbarus der Lateinischen Sprache.

Siebert genau durchgesehene und vielfach umgearbeitete Auflage von J. H. SCHMALZ. Basel: Benno Schwabe. Parts 1-3. 1905-1906. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. viii+160, 161-320, 321-480. M. 2 each.

As the sixth edition of this invaluable and indispensable work of reference appeared about twenty years ago, the appearance of a new edition by the same editor is both timely and welcome. The citation of the most recent¹ 'literature' on the various problems of Latin syntax and style, the careful revision of the subject-matter, involving an entire rewriting of many important articles, the addition of new ones, the correction of errors in the Thesaurus (in all 22), all combine to make a book of unusual merit and a valuable adjunct to the working library of all who value alike correctness of diction and the niceties of artistic Latin style.

The seventh edition, thus far extending from *A—Duntaxat*, shows an increase of 43 pages, and an addition of 40 new articles.² Of the correctness of the second part of the title there can therefore be no question, but of the first part, 'genau durchgesehene,' the same cannot be said without certain limitations, though some, it may be added, are concerned only with matters of minor importance. The general excellence and value of the subject-matter all will admit. But in devoting his attention to 'the weightier matters of the law,' the editor has paid little attention to the *minutiae*. Such matters as Consistency in Capitalization,

Uniformity in Orthography, Correctness in Citation, have been either disregarded or neglected.³ To pass to details:⁴

P. 14. Ann. 25: Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, pp. 585 f., should have been referred to.

P. 48. *Abire*, 'ein Amt niederlegen': the order of the words *magistratu . . . interregno* does not correspond to the order of the citations (Liv. 7. 22. 3 should be at the end). Furthermore, *dictatura* is not found in any of the passages cited. Either Liv. 4. 7. 3 ought not be given, or *honore* ought to be added to the list of words, or *dictatura* in 7. 3. 9 be cited. *Abire magistratu* is also found in Liv. 3. 38. 13.

P. 49. *Abitio* is found, however, only once in Plautus (*Rud.* 503) and in a doubtful passage (cf. Lodge, *Lex. Plaut.*, s.v.), and once in Terence (*Haut.* 190; cf. *Thes.*, s.v.). For Jul. Var. 3. 30 cite 3. 18 or 3. 26.

P. 50. *Abnoctare*, 'Vgl. Archiv iv. S. 577': to the passages there cited add Sen. *Vit. Beat.* 26. 6.

P. 52. *Abrogare*: to the passages cited in the Archiv v. 254 f., for its use with the dative, add Liv. 9. 34. 7.

Abscedere: add, for this Cicero, Caesar, and Sallust use *decedere*. Liv. 36. 12. 11 has *Thyrreo*, not *Thyrio*.

³ A comparison of this edition with the Sixth shows that some attention was given to these matters, but a comparison of the *Antibarbarus* with the *Lateinische Syntax*³ would lead to the conclusion that consistency was not considered a jewel by the Editor. In the latter both Cic. *Fam.* and Cic. *fam.*, Caes. b.G., b.g., and b. Gall. are found; in this edition many metamorphoses are found, as Varro L.L., l.l., l. lat., and ling.; Cic. Sen., sen., and Cato; Sall. Iug. and Jug.; Cyprian adv. Iud. and Jud.; Vergil and Virgil; Wölfflin. Compar., Kompar., Comp., and Komp., etc., etc.

⁴ A more complete criticism is reserved for another occasion.

¹ A striking exception is the failure to cite for the usage of Plautus Lodge's *Lexicon Plautinum* (*A-Concilium*), 1901-4, and for passages in Ennius, Vahlen's edition (1903).

² The present review, however, is concerned with only the first two 'Lieferungen.'

P. 56. *Absonus*: the use of this word by Hor. *A.P.* 112 should be added to the list in the Archiv vi. p. 185.

Absque: used only with persons by Plautus (Lodge).

P. 58. *Abstrudere*: it would be more correct to say that Cicero uses the word in only two passages, except in a poetical translation (*Tusc.* ii. 19 and 20) and in the *Arat.*

Absumere: the word which Cic. and Caes. use (*consumere*) should be added. After 'sehr häufig' insert, besonders bei Livius, and cite Norden, *Kunstprosa*, i. p. 190. To the passages cited for *absumo* in the Archiv referred to, add Verg. *Aen.* 3. 654.

P. 59. *Abunde* with the gen.: see also Gell. vii. (vi.) 8. 4 a passage omitted by the Archiv vii., pp. 244 f.

Abusio: for this the Archiv vii. p. 421, cites Quint. 8. 1. 5 for 8. 2. 5.

P. 61. *Ac*, l. 6: after 'ausser' insert Livius, as he uses *ac* before *c* oftener (48 times) than Plin. Mai. (35 times). Livy also uses *ac* before *g* 9 times.¹

P. 65. *Accentus* is also found in Quint. 12. 10. 3. On this word cf. C. W. L. Johnson, *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* 35 (1904), pp. 65 f. It is interesting to observe here that Lindsay reads *adcentare* in Plaut. *Truc.* 736.

P. 66. *Acceptus*: Lodge's Lex. Plaut. will be found to supplement both the Antibarbarus and the Archiv article referred to.

P. 67. *Accingere*: *accingendum* . . . *esse* in Livy 6. 35. 2, is followed, strange to say by ('beachte das Gerundium!').

P. 79. *Ad postremum*: cf. also Plaut. *Poen.* 844, the only other occurrence of this expression in Plautus. *Ad ultimum*: cf. also Sen. *contr.* 1. 8. 9; Gell. 14. 1. 27, and see Lease, Livy, *Intr.* § 37. o.

P. 83. *Adbibere*: Lodge, Lex. Plaut., s.v., should be referred to instead of Lorenz, Plaut. *Mil.* 876, for two reasons: the treatment is more complete, and the reference to Lorenz is inexact (cf. *Mil.* 883, not 876).

P. 88. *Adesse*, of lifeless objects, is, however, also found in early Latin, Plautus, e.g., using it thus 14 times.

Adhaerere with the dative is also found in Plautus, *Stich.* 236.

P. 97. *Admissum* (subst.): Draeger, however, has no note at *Ann.* 14. 1, but at 11. 4. Gudeman, at the passage cited, omits Cicero's usage.

¹ The Thesaurus shows the following omissions: *ac* before *c*, Quint. 10. 1. 47; Suet. *Cal.* 17; *ac* before *g*, Plin. Mai. 2. 135; 34. 114; *ac* before *q*, Plin. Mai. 2. 200; 206; 10. 157; 32. 29; and Val. Flacc. 7. 267.

Admonere: between 'Caes.' and 'Plin. Epp.' insert Tac. *Ann.* 15. 67.

P. 106 in *adversum*: it would be more accurate to say, in Silver Latin poetry and in prose not until Late Latin.

P. 107. *Adversus*, l. 15, 'die Komiker adv. häufig dem Pron. pers. nachstellen': as a matter of fact, in Plautus *adversus* was used only twice after a pronoun (*Amph.* 750, *Bacch.* 127) and in Terence only once. *Adversum*, however, was used 7 times after a pronoun by Plautus. (The Thesaurus cites *Bacch.* 137 for 127, and omits *Poen.* 725, *adversus* after a subst.)

P. 108. *Advolvi*, 'niederfallen, zuerst bei Livius': See, however, Prop. 3. 17. 1 and cf. ib. 3. 8. 12 *volvitur ante pedes*. Cf. also Plin. *Ep.* 9. 21. 1, *advolutus pedibus*.

Aedes, 'nie das Haus': Plautus, however, uses the singular in this sense in *Asin.* 220, *Most.* 80. Add at the end of the article: Vgl. Woelfflin, Archiv xi. p. 26.

P. 110. *Aeger animi*: the passage, Livy 30. 15. 9 is doubtful, and Ib. 2. 36. 4 is omitted by the Archiv x. p. 68.

Aegre: Lorenz's statement, *Mil.* 747 (not 740) is too broad, as *aegre mihi est* is found only 10 times in Plautus (cf. Lodge).

P. 113. *Aequare* does not appear in Caes. 'Gall. 2. 32. 4' in either Meusel's or Du Pontet's edition.

Aequae cum: the Thesaurus omits Plaut. *Poen.* 47, and for *aeque quam*, *Mil.* 552, and Sen. *Contr.* 2. 1 (9). 5, for *aeque ut Asin.* 838, and cites Sen. *Dial.* 11. 13. 8 for *aeque ac* (a wrong reference).

P. 115. *Aequiperare*, l. 8: the editor here, as in the sixth ed. attacks the statement of Lorenz at Plaut. *Mil.* 12. Lorenz, however, made no such statement, but the reverse, in his second ed. Cf. the crit. note ad loc.

Aequor, for *mare*, is found in prose, however, according to Donatus ad Ter. *Phorm.* ii. 1. 13, quoting a passage from Sallust. Cf. Wessner, ii. p. 411.

Aequus: the Thesaurus cites Plaut. *Men.* 580 for 578.

P. 116. *bonum aequumque*, 'bei Plaut. wiederholt.' This is incorrect, as both the Thesaurus and Lodge's Lexicon cite only 4 passages for Plautus.

P. 118. *Aerumnosissimum*: after 'andere öfter' insert a phrase equivalent to, especially of things. Correct the Thesaurus Plaut. *Bacch.* 21 to *Bacch.* 1.

P. 123. *Affabilis*; *affabilitas*: 'z. B.' gives a wrong impression, as these two words are found only once each in the author cited.

Affamen, affatus: 'Sp. L.' is correct only for the former and 'P.L.' for the latter, with the addition, seit Verg.

P. 131. *Agitare de aliqua re*: instead of Liv. 25. 36. 5 cite 31. 46. 6, as in the former *agitare* (=cogitare) is followed by a *si* clause.

P. 134. *Aio*: cf. also ut Messala ait, Sen. *Suas.* 2. 17 and Quint. 11. 1. 22. Meister (1886) reads in Quint. 10. 7. 14, ut Cicero ait.

P. 135. *Alaris*, 'erstmals Liv. 10. 41. 5': here, however, M. Mueller reads *auxiliarius cohortibus*. In 10. 40. 8 Livy has *cohortibus alariis*.

P. 137. *Alibi*: in Sen. *Ep.* 99. 29 Hense however, reads *aliubi*, with no variants.

Alienare: as Livy uses this word only once with the dative, 'z. B.' is incorrect. At the end add, Vgl. Liv. 3. 48. 1 *alienatus ad libidinem animo*.

P. 139. *Alioqui*, Liv. 7. 19. 2 = 'although in other respects.' Instead of Liv. 27. 27. 11, either 8. 9. 1, 30. 29. 10, or 37. 47. 6 should be cited.

Aliquantisper, 'die Stellen hat der Thes.': add also Gell. 2. 30. 5.

P. 145. *Alius quam*: for Livy's usage, both after a negative and after a positive, cf. Lease, Livy, p. lviii. *Nihil aliud*: Liv. 38. 21. 5 is a wrong reference.

P. 146. *Allatrare*, 'nie im eigentlichen Sinne': cf., however, Plin. *N.H.* 2. 173; 4. 19.

P. 147. *Allicefacere*, Sen. *Ep.* 118. 8: here, however, Hense reads *adlice facit*.

P. 148. *Alloqui aliqueum*: for 'seit Liv.' read, seit Ovid und Liv. Tacitus also use the expression in *Ann.* 16. 19.

P. 153. *Amabo te*: for a much more complete treatment, however, cf. Lodge, Lex. Plaut., s.v.

P. 157. *Inimicissimus*, 'mit dem Dativ,' is found earlier, cf. Plin. Mai. 20. 96.

P. 160. *An*: for its use in a simple indirect question, cf. Sen. Exc. *Contr.* 1. 7 and Gell. 5. 20. 3, which is omitted by the Thesaurus.

P. 167. *Animosus*: here the statement should be, Klass. Prosa nur von Menschen, as Vergil (*G.* 3. 81) uses it of horses, and Ovid (*F.* 5, 59) of wars. Cf. also *Met.* 2. 84; *Trist.* 4. 63.

P. 168, l. 9 For *Deum esse*, Sen. *de v. beat.* 15. 5, Hense reads *deum sequere*.

P. 169. *Anne*: -ne . . . anne is found, however, as early as Plautus (*Bacch.* 32; *Cas.* 515; *Rud.* 1069).

P. 170. *Anniti*: it should be noted, however, that this word is found with the infin.

in Livy only three times and in the first decade.

P. 174. *Ante*, 'des Vorranges': used, however, as early as Plaut. (*Cas.* 8; *Trin.* 824) and *Asin.* 858.

P. 178. *Antequam*: for its use in general cf. Hüllihen, *Antequam* and *Priusquam* (cf. Archiv xiv. p. 140), and for its use after negatives in Livy, cf. Lease, Livy, p. 206.

P. 181. *Antiquitas refert*: cf. also Prud. *Per.* 10. 32; *reliqui* Macr. *Com. Som. Scip.* 1. 11. 8; *voluit* 15. 12.

Nihil antiquius habere, with an infin., is found earlier, however, in Vell. 2. 52. 3.

P. 183. *Apologus* was used earlier, however, by Auctor ad Her. 1. 10.

P. 187. *Appellere*: for Liv. 30. 10. 9 cite 37. 21. 7.

P. 191. *Apud*: for 'Lorenz zu Plaut.' *Most.* 339 (a wrong reference), refer to Lodge, Lex. Plaut. and add, cf. Funaioli, Archiv 13, p. 345.

P. 193. *Arbitrare*: the reference to Lorenz, *Mil.* 987 and *Most.* 948 was not corrected from the sixth ed. (At *Pseud.* 997 Lorenz refers to *Mil.* 987!)

P. 194. *Arbitratus*, nom. sing. is also found in Plaut. *Cist.* 372. (In Plautus the nom. is used only 3 times, the acc. once, but the abl. 27 times.)

P. 195. *Arcere*: the passages cited do not correspond to the order of the words given in l. 3.

Italia (Liv. 21. 17. 6, omitted) should come first. Two references are incorrect, 7. 35. 3 and 10. 23. 4. With the infin. *arcere* is found, however, in Tac. *Ann.* 3. 72.

P. 196. *Amore ardens*: Liv. 3. 44. 4 (M.M.) has, however, *amore amens*.

P. 198. *Argentum*: with this word, however, Plautus does not use *solvere*, but *resolvere* (cf. *Men.* 930).

Argi: the note is not clear, as the parenthesis belongs to Hor. and Verg. as well as to Ovid.

P. 200. *Aridus*: 'Sen.' = rhet. or phil.? The word is thus used in *Contr.* 2. 5. 15. Furthermore, 'Sen.' should precede 'Quint.'

P. 201. *Arripere*: Liv. 30. 5. 7 does not have *corripere*, but *iniectus ignis*. On p. 202 cite also Gell. 15. 1. 4.

P. 207. *Assentiri*: Neue-Wagener, iii. p. 20, cite a number of passages from Livy, but in all of these the deponent (!) form is used. Cf. also Ib. p. 401, and iv. p. 13.

L. 208. *Assertor*: the Thesaurus omits Liv. 3. 46. 7.

Assidere: in the Gellius passage, however, *oppugnare* follows this verb.

P. 210. *Assolere*: as disproving the statement made here for Livy's usage, see 34. 44. 2.

Assuefacere: Fügner's remark, quoted here, is incorrect; cf. Liv. 3. 52. 11, with *ad*, and 31. 35. 3, with the abl.

Assuetus with *in* and *acc.* is found, however, in Liv. 21. 33. 4; 24. 5. 9 with the dat. in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 490 (cf. *assuescere* in Prop. 3. 4. 6 (R.)).

P. 211. *Ast*: Lodge, Lex. Plaut., s.v. should be cited, as the Thesaurus omits two passages (*Mer.* 246, *Trin.* 74).

P. 212. *Astruere*, 'hinzufügen, zuerst bei Vell.': see, however, Ovid *A.A.* 2. 119.

P. 214 *Attexere*: the Caesar passage, however, has neither *alicui rei* nor *ad aliquid*.

P. 218. *Audaciter*: Neue-Wagener, ii? p. 684, here referred to, cite Pl. *Pseud.* 687 for 708, but, here, however, G. and S. read *audacter*. They omit Sen. *de vit. beat.* 23. 2, (H.) and *Epist.* 74. 32 (H.). In the latest texts *audacter* is read in Ter. *Phorm.* 11, and Auctor ad Her. 3. 11. 19.

P. 219. *Ausim*: cf. Lease, to Livy, Praef. 3. Livy 22. 36. 1, however, has *ausus sim* (M. M.). Woelfflin's note *ad loc.* is the same as Draeger's, *Hist. Syn.* i². p. 307. The Thesaurus should be cited for a complete list of the occurrences of this word rather than Neue-Wagener. In l. 10 Fügner is omitted before Lex. Liv. In l. 18 add, after Tacitus and later, as Suet. and Just.

P. 222. *Auferre* with the dat.: already found 4 times in Plautus. In l. 4 Liv. 23. 44. 3 should follow '9. 9. 1' (for 9. 9. 11). Cf. also Liv. 23. 27. 9. Liv. 30. 18. 13, however, has *auferri proelio* (M. M.).

Augmen: not 'A. u. P.L.', but only P.L. and Arnob. Cf. Thesaurus.

P. 228. *Autem*, introducing a parenthesis: cf. Lease, Livy, Intr. § 39.

P. 229. *Autumare*: Plautus, however, uses this verb 6 times in the pres. subj., once in imperf. ind., once in perf. ind.

P. 232. *Balinea*: after 'zuerst' add, in der Prosa. Cf. Archiv xiv. pp. 337 and 344.

P. 233. *Basiolum* does not, however, belong in the same category as *basiare* and *basiatō*, as it makes its appearance with Petron. and Apul.

P. 235. *Bellum cum aliquo*: Liv. 33. 20. 9 does not belong here.

Domī: Funaioli, Archiv 13 p. 314 should be cited.

P. 237. *Bene vale*: Plautus, however, uses *bene vale* 20 times and *bene valete* 7 times.

P. 238. *Bene vivere* and *Benevolens*:

Brix's list, however, is incomplete; cf. Lodge, Lex. Plaut.

P. 244. *Breviarum*: Sen. *Ep.* 39. 1 (H.), however, reads *profutura sit*.

P. 246. *Cacumen*: also used by the Augustan poets. In Liv. 7. 34. 4 read *cacumen*.

Cadaver: 'Sen. contr. 9. 34, S. 331 (B.)': uncorrected from the 6th ed. Read 10. 5. 17.

P. 259. *Calor*: why cite Woelfflin to Liv. 22. 24. 2, as here he merely refers to 35. 32. 23, without any comment? Especially when the reference is incorrect! See 35. 32. 13.

P. 259. *Captare aliquem* is found earlier, however, in Plaut. (*Poen.* 709, 765, 1033), Ter. (*Hec.* 72), and Cic. (*Acad.* 2. 94).

P. 261. *Capita coniurationis* is also found in Liv. 9. 26. 7: cf. also *c. belli*, 45. 7. 3; *c. nominis Lat.* 1. 52. 4; *c. rei Romanae*, 6. 3. 1. (For 42. 42 read 42. 42. 6.)

P. 263. *Carus*: as this word was used only once by Plaut. (*Men.* 105; cf. Lodge s.v.), the statement here given should be modified.

P. 264. *Castigare*: the passages cited are confused, as Liv. 39. 1. 5 = *magna clade*, Plin. *N.H.* 8. 6 = *verberibus*, and Fronto *Strat.* l. l. 3 = *baculo*.

P. 267. *Causa propter*: Livy also uses *causa* before a subst. (cf. Kuehnast p. 85). In 31. 12. 4, cited by Schmalz, *curam* is read by Zingerle and M. Mueller.

Causa ut: Liv. 5. 55. 5 (M. M.), however, reads *causa cur*. The statement of Dahl is unquestionably correct, as there is a decided difference between such usages as 6. 31. 7 and 31. 1. 5.

P. 268. *Causari*: the 'acc. c. Infinit.', however, was not used at all by Tac. This construction is found earlier, as in Tib. 1. 3. 18. Cf. also Gell. 18. 4. 9.

For *cavere* p. 269, *celeriter* p. 271, in Plautus, Lodge's Lex. should be consulted.

P. 274. *Certo, certe*: Plautus uses *certo scio* 24 times, but *certe scio* only 4 times. Cf. also Lease, *Class. Rev.* 1898, p. 179.

Certus: *facere me certum* was used only twice by Plautus (*Pseud.* 18 and 1097).

P. 275, l. 9. Hausten pp. 24 f. 'alle Stellen': Sen. *Dial.* 10. 3. 3 is omitted.

P. 280. *Cilicinus*, 'N.Kl.': cf., however, Nep. *Dat.* 7. 2. Note also that *Cilissa* is used with *spica*, Prop. 4. 6. 74 (R.), Ov. *F.* 1. 76, with *terra*, Ov. *F.* 1. 198.

Circa = *apud*, *ad*: in Livy this use begins with the 3rd. decade. *Circa* = *de*; say, besunders bei Quint.

P. 283 *Circumiacere*: used but once by Tac. (*Ann.* 2. 72) and absolutely, *circumspectus*: cf., however, Ov. *F.* 3. 539.

P. 290. *Coepisse*: for a better explanation of *feri* and its use cf. Archiv 10, p. 66. For Liv. 37. 18. 5 cite 37. 18. 9. As M. Mueller, Liv. ii. p. 151, adds two passages to Woelfflin's list, and corrects one wrong reference, his note should have been cited. To Mueller's list add 37. 18. 5.

P. 291. *Coepi*, c. pass. infin.: Livy, however, shows at least 4 examples; cf. Lease to Livy i. l. 1424. The reference to Draeger should be corrected. The reference to Neue-Wagener,³ iii. § 641 is inappropriate for this usage. Cf. also Sen. *Ep.* 13. 13: 30. 2: 50. 4; Gell. 1. 26. 6: 2. 12. 4; Macr. 1. 17. 27: 3. 17. 8.

P. 292. *Cogere ad aliquid* is already found, however, in Plaut. *Bacch.* 981.

P. 298. *Collocare . . . in matrimonium*: for Plaut. *Trin.* 782 cite *Aul. Arg.* 1. 15.

P. 314. *Comprecari*: for Lorenz, *Mil.* 393 cite Lodge, *Lex. Plaut.*, both for completeness of citation and especially as Lorenz has no note at that passage.

P. 320. *Conditore mundi*, 'nur bei Sen. *Phoen.* 655': see, however, Sen. *Ep.* 119. 15.

TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS.¹

On p. 39 l. 6: *divin. Caes.* for *divin. Caec.*; p. 49 *Abire*, Ter. Eun. for Ter. Ad.; p. 64 b. Afr. 71. 3 for 72. 3; p. 65 *Acceptare*, Plaut. Pseud. 606 for 627; p. 83 *Adbibere*, Lorenz *Mil.* 876 for *Mil.*² 883; p. 88 *Adhaerere*, Sen. dial. 11. 8. 1 for 12. 8. 1; *Adhuc*, Liv. 6. 32. 2 for 6. 33. 2, and 21. 48 for 21. 48. 2; p. 96 *Adiuvere*, Cic. Quint. for Cic. Quinct.; p. 104 *Adventus*, Liv. 21. 62. 13 for 22. 61. 13; p. 105 Cyprian adv. Ind. for adv. Iud.; p. 108 Quintil. 1. 11. 39 for 11. 1. 39; *Adytum*, Caes. civ. 3. 105. 5 (not 105. 4) = *templis* in Du Pontet, *templi* in Kübler; p. 109 *Aegineta*, Cic. off. 5. 46 for 3. 46; p. 110 *Aegre*, Plaut. *Mil.* 740 for *Mil.*² 747; p. 127 *Aliegenus*, meine Syntax³ § 43 for § 33;

¹ The citations found in the sixth edition were not subjected to a careful revision. Variations of merely a section in references are not cited here.

p. 129 Madvig emend. Liv. § 236 wrong for 2nd Ed.; p. 143 *Aliter*, Cic. Quint. for Cic. Quinct.; p. 149 *Alter*, Liv. 29. 53. 9 for 29. 23. 9; p. 161 meine Syntax³ § 225 for § 252; p. 162 *Ancilla*, Lorenz *Mil.* 787 for *Mil.*² 787; p. 180, l. 10 Sen. de br. vit. 5 is a wrong reference: p. 184 *Apparatus*, Liv. 37. 36. 7 for 37. 36. 9; p. 186 *Appellare*, Cic. Quint. for Cic. Quinct.; p. 189, l. 1 Liv. 8. 18. 6 for 2. 18. 6; p. 191, l. 7 Lorenz Most. 339, a wrong reference; p. 194 *Arbitratus*, Plaut. Rud. 13. 55 for 1355 and Sen. Epp. 18. 1 for 104. 8; p. 195, l. 9 Liv. 7. 35. 3 and Liv. 10. 23. 4, wrong references; p. 196 *Ardere*, Liv. 9. 10. 16 for 9. 10. 6; p. 201 last line Liv. 30. 5. 7 = ?; p. 215 *Attinere*, Liv. 6. 6. 1 for 6. 6. 10; p. 222 Liv. 7. 18. 12 = ?; 28. 27. 4 for 28. 27. 14 and *auferre* = *auferri*; p. 228 *Autem*, Synt.³ § 243 for § 223; p. 230 *Averruncare*, Liv. 10. 32. 1 for 10. 23. 1; p. 238 *Bene vivere*, Pl. *Mil.* 1706 for 706, and Men. 481 for 485; p. 246 *Cadaver*, Sen. contr. 9. 34 for 10. 5. 17; p. 254 *Campus*, Seyff. Pal., Ed. = ?; p. 255 *Canere*, Liv. 35. 18. 10 for 35. 18. 6; Sen. epp. 79. 13 for 79. 15; p. 268 *Causidicus*, Cic. De Or. 1. 102 for 1. 202; p. 274, l. 3 Neue-Wagener³ iii. for ii.³; p. 287 *Clara luce*, Liv. 23. 7. 10 (as in sixth ed.) for 23. 10. 7; p. 288 *Classicus*, Gell. 17. 19 = ?; p. 292 Liv. 31. 11 for 31. 11. 10; p. 304 *Committere*, Liv. 27. 33. 5 = ?; p. 316 *Concedere*, Liv. 30. 18. 5. for 30. 18. 15.

A lack of uniformity in his method of citation is seen particularly in the references to Sen. phil., e.g. de ira pp. 66, 85, 101, 145, but on pp. 77, 90 dial. 4 or 5 etc.; Suet. Aug., A., but Octav., Oct., and Caes. pp. 60, 80, 90, 98, 121, etc., but Jul. p. 61, Jul. pp. 302, etc., etc.

In conclusion it may be said that when an editor has given us so much that is really good we can easily pardon slips in details of minor importance. Their correction, however, would make the book more valuable and indispensable.

EMORY B. LEASE.

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WE have before us two sets of quantitative Latin school texts published respectively by Messrs. Blackie and Edward Arnold. Both series, so far as the marking of long quantities is concerned, are modelled on the school books that have for some time been commonly used in America. Messrs. Blackie's texts under the general editorship of Dr. W. H. D. Rouse were in the market practically a year earlier than Mr. Arnold's, of which Mr. A. E. Bernays of the City of London School is editor. In regard to value of mere material printed matter there is little to choose between the two series: both are well turned out, and are neat and handy in their limp cloth covers at sixpence or eightpence. On the whole if Dr. Rouse's general design is a little more scholarly, Mr. Bernays' is in some ways more adapted to young readers. Thus Mr. Arnold's texts give a selection of extracts with a view to putting before pupils each author at his best, and a few lines of preliminary explanation in English at the head of the section is certainly a great help. To these volumes is appended a vocabulary, whereas Dr. Rouse sternly says 'no' to this kind of aid and sends the pupil to do his own dictionary work. To discuss the relative merits of the two plans were to raise a *Vexata quaestio* for which we have no space. Another good idea of Mr. Bernays' is to indicate the construction of involved sentences (e.g. in Cicero's *Pro Archia*) by the use of heavy type; and though he marks the long quanti-

ties all through the prose texts, in the poetry they are marked only in the first half or third of the text, so that a class may have an open field for the learning of quantity from scansion. Both series, so far as we have examined them, use a sound Latin orthography. Dr. Rouse's contributors make a great point of their introductions, which are more thorough than those of the other series. The editors have been to considerable trouble in producing a good text, and an important feature of the introduction is a note on the MSS. and the principles of textual criticism, which are illustrated by carefully selected critical notes given at the foot of the text. Neither series offers any explanatory notes on the text. It is when we come to the important question of marking of long quantities that we find Messrs. Blackie's series the more thorough-going. Taking two passages at random from Mr. Bernays' series, both of eighteen lines, one from a verse and the other from a prose book, we find in the former eleven cases, in the latter thirteen of vowels not marked which would be marked in the other series. Among words where the quantity-mark has been omitted we find: dixit, gladios, nuntius, jussa, principibus, imperasset, missum, petissent, monstrat. As this marking of quantities is eye-trying work over which even Homer himself might nod, we may leave out of account in our comparison obvious cases of the *lapsus calami*. It is possible too to hold different views about the necessity of marking concealed quantities, though we are inclined to think that it is better to mark consistently those that we do know and so get as near as possible to the Latin pronunciation, say of the time of Augustus. But we are at a loss to know why Mr. Bernays' editors have not marked such contracted vowels as appear in petisset, imperasset, and why such common words as dixit, scripsit, rexi, actus, justus, vernus, rusticus have not been given their due. The notions current about Latin quantities will no doubt take one two-thirds of the way; but when we set about putting down in black and white for boys quantitative guides it is necessary that the work should be done as scientifically as possible, and that sins of omission should be counted as serious as sins of commission.

S. E. W.

SABBADINI'S FINDS OF LATIN AND GREEK MSS.

R. SABBADINI. *Le scoperte dei codici Latini et Greci ne' secoli XIV et XV.* Firenze: G. C. Sansoni, 1905. Pp. 233. L. 5.

THE discovery of classical MSS. in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is one among other subjects discussed in such standard works as Voigt's *Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums* and Dr. Sandys' *History of Classical Scholarship*. Prof. Sabbadini's learned monograph is exclusively concerned with this branch of inquiry, in which he is the chief living expert. In it we find, together with facts already known, many results recently arrived at by various inquirers and notably by himself. It is, therefore, an indispensable supplement to all existing books upon the subject.

In dealing with a work of this character the most useful course for a reviewer to follow is to supply the reader with a short analysis shewing the scope of the book and the methods pursued. Some of the references are added by myself.

The spark, which soon developed into a flame, originated in Verona. The first discovery was that of Catullus 'brought back after long exile,' as stated in the well-known epigram of Campesano,¹ 'by his compatriot'—un oscuro scrivano delle porte, di nome Francisco, according to Sabbadini—whose identity has recently been learnedly discussed by Prof. Ellis.² The Cathedral of Verona possessed a famous library founded in the ninth century by Archdeacon Pacificus, who presented to it a nucleus of 218 MSS. The town, therefore, was a suitable home for the revival of learning. It was in this library that Petrarch in 1345 found Cicero's letters to Atticus, and in his famous letter addressed to the dead author announced his discovery to the world.³ The evidence, however, furnished by an anonymous work, termed *Flores Moralium Auctoritatum* (Capit. Veron. clxviii), consisting of extracts from various sources, shews that these letters as well as Catullus were known to the author who wrote in 1329.⁴ Among Veron-

ese students of this period the most striking figure is that of Pastrengo, or Pastregius (d. 1381), whose treatise *De originibus rerum* is partly an Encyclopaedia and partly a dictionary of Mythology and Biography. From his notices it is easy to see whether he had access to a MS. or drew his knowledge from citations in ancient authors. Thus, while he quotes Catullus and Tibullus (from which Sabbadini infers that the latter author also first came to light at Verona) he says of Propertius:

'Propertius poeta de amore tractavit ut Ovidius tradit.'

He obviously had access to a large library, which can only have been that of Verona. The contents of this in the fourteenth century can thus be to some extent reconstituted by the evidence contained in the *Flores* and in Pastrengo's Encyclopaedia.

We now come to the 'Florentine Triad,' Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Coluccio. The facts about Petrarch are drawn from de Nolhac's well-known work.⁵ Coluccio was not himself a discoverer, but he plays an important part in the dissemination of MSS. Boccaccio is chiefly interesting on account of his connexion with Tacitus, *Annals* xi-xvi and *Histories*, the portion of the author contained in the 'second Medicean,' saec. xi, a MS. written in the 'broken Lombard' script characteristic of Monte Cassino. His books, which afterwards formed the *parva libraria* of St. Spirito at Florence, destroyed by fire in 1471, contained a copy of this MS. apparently written by Boccaccio.⁶ He quotes or imitates passages in works written in 1373, and subsequently.⁷ As he is known to have visited Monte Cassino, it is inferred that he obtained it from this source, and as the existence of the MS. was kept dark, it is inferred that he stole it. After his death the MS. came into the possession of Bruni and Niccolo. As they also surrounded it

found together with those *ad Q. F.* and *ad Atticum* in the Veronensis. One of them is to 'Cic. Lib. 3 ad Brutum,' which must be a mistake, as there is no such book, and Lib. 2 is only known from Cratander's edition. Detlefsen suggests that it is an error for *ad Q. F.*, but as he had not copied out the citation was unable to verify the fact. It does not appear that any one else has done so subsequently.

¹ *Pétrarque et l'humanisme.* Paris, 1892.

² A. Goldmann, *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, iv. 137-155.

³ P. de Nolhac, *Boccaccio et Tacite, Mélanges d'arch.* xii. pp. 130-1.

¹ Causa mei reditus compatriota fuit.

Scilicet a calamis tribuit cui Francia nomen,

Quique notat turbae praeterantis iter.

² *Catullus in the Fourteenth Century.* Oxford, 1905.

³ Viertel, *Die Wiederentdeckung von Ciceros Briefen durch Petrarca*, p. 7.

⁴ According to Detlefsen (*Jahrbücher f. Kl. Phil.* 1863, p. 551) the quotations, two in number, are said to be from the Letters to Brutus, which were

with secrecy, the suggestion of Rostagno that it was stolen a second time, viz. from the heirs of Boccaccio, is very probable.¹ Thus, Poggio in 1427, when he borrowed it from Niccolo, says :

‘Cornelium Tacitum cum venerit observabo penes me occulte. Scio enim omnem illam cantilenam, et unde exierit, et per quem, et quis sibi vindicet ; sed nil dubites, non exibat a me ne verbo quidem.’

Boccaccio also possessed Varro *De lingua Lat.*, and as Laur. L. 10, the archetype of all other MSS., is written in the Monte Cassino script, it is inferred that he got it from the same source.² He also discovered Martial, Ausonius (complete), the *Ibis* of Ovid, the *Appendix Vergiliana*, and the *Priapeia*, the oldest copy of which is his autograph, Laur. xxxiii. 31.

The discovery of Greek MSS. is compressed into a single chapter. Petrarch and Boccaccio had previously procured a few Greek authors, but the movement really began with the coming of Chrysoloras to Florence in 1397. The most notable Italians who collected MSS. in Greece were — Angeli da Scarperia, who acted as agent for Coluccio ; Guarino, whose list of MSS. still survives ; Aurispa, the first possessor of the famous Venetus A of Homer, who, after previously sending to Italy the Laurentian Aeschylus, brought back with him 238 MSS., the most important of which are mentioned in three letters to Traversari ; Filelfo, who brought forty authors not found in the list of Aurispa's MSS. ; Ciriaco of Ancona, who conducted investigations in Chios, Salonica, and especially Thasos. The MSS. of Chrysoloras after his death passed to Niccoli, and thirty

¹ Rostagno, *Tacitus cod. Laur. Med. LXVIII. 2*, phototypice editus, p. vi.

² Benvenuti da Imola, in a famous passage, describes the condition in which Boccaccio found the library. ‘Invenit locum tanti thesauri sine ostio et clavi ingressusque vidit herbam natam per fenestras et libros omnes cum bancis coopertos pulvere alto.’ The monks tore out leaves or cut off margins to make amulets or Psalters, which they sold for a few soldi to women or children. De Nohac remarks ‘un vol même dans de pareilles conditions fait aux rats et à la pourriture n'eût point été autre chose qu'œuvre pie et la conscience de Boccace se fût trouvée, j'imagine, en repos.’ I would illustrate the methods of Renaissance scholars in dealing with such *ouagris*, to borrow a term from Poggio, by a statement of Bruni contained in a letter to Niccoli, in which he confesses to ‘conveying’ a MS. of Livy, Decad ii, from a Roman who brought it to him since ‘libri dominus non satis eruditus in his studiis erat nostris.’ He proclaims the doctrine, so often acted upon by bibliophiles, ‘si ius violandum est, librorum gratia violandum est. Ceteris in rebus servato fidem’ (*Misc. Canon.* 484, f. 4).

of them are now in the Laurentian library. Other collections of Greek MSS. in Florence, Rome, and elsewhere, are then discussed, also the diffusion of the language by various Greek teachers, notably Trapezuntios, Gaza, Bessarion, and Lascaris.

Sabbadini now reverts to the discovery of Latin MSS. in Italy at the beginning of the fifteenth century, e.g. the *codex Caprae* of Cicero's Letters to Atticus, apparently identical with a MS. in the library of the Visconti at Pavia, described by Bruni as *volumen antiquissimum ac venerandum*, and a codex containing the same work in the possession of Giovanni Corvini, described as a *liber veterrimus*. The first of these is said to have been mutilated, containing *ad Atticum* i.—vii. only. Its affinity to Lehmann's group of MSS. independent of *M*, termed by him *Σ*, which are similarly mutilated, is not noticed by Sabbadini.³ We now first hear of Poggio, who with Bruni in 1407 explored Monte Cassino, the chief prize being the third Decad of Livy *ex vetustissima scriptura*. Then comes the most exciting period in the history of discovery, that connected with the Council of Constance (1414–1417). Poggio and Bartolommeo da Montepulciano went to this as agents sent upon a mission of discovery by powerful ecclesiastics.⁴ The results were the discovery of Quintilian (entire), Asconius, Valerius Flaccus (i.—iv. 317), Manilius, the Silvae of Statius, Lucretius, ten new speeches of Cicero, Silius Italicus, Ammianus, Tertullian, Columella, Caper, Eutychus, Probus, and Festus. Poggio's first excursion was to Cluni in France, in the summer of 1416 to St. Gallen, in Jan. 1417 they visited monasteries, one of which is described as being ‘in visceribus Alpium’ (possibly Einsiedeln), from July to September 1417, Poggio travelled in France and Germany *con un amanuense tedesco al suo servizio* according to Sabbadini, a statement to which I shall call attention shortly.

In the period which followed the search for Latin MSS. continued both in Italy and elsewhere. The chief figures are those of

³ On p. 212 Sabbadini says that there came to light ‘un solo esemplare dello *Epist. ad Att.* di Cicerone e lo dobbiamo alle Capitolare di Verona.’ This statement is not now generally accepted. The *codices* of Capra and Corvini appear to have been independent : also the cod. Cratandri and the Tornaesianus (Z), the last of which was probably Clun. 492, the MS. described in the twelfth century Cluni Catalogue. Cf. *Class. Rev.* xvi. p. 327.

⁴ Cf. F. Barbaro, *ad Poggium* (Epp. 1. 1), ‘to et Bartholomaeum ad hoc munus obeundum summi Romanae ecclesiae principes delectos publice dimiserunt.’

Ambrogio Traversari, Capra, Guarino, Parentucelli (the future Pope Nicholas V.), Landriani, Beccadelli, and Lamola. A library which excited the hopes of these explorers was that of Nonantola. From this Parentucelli obtained the famous Lactantius, saec. vi./vii. now Bologn. Univ. 701. Traversari was the first person to explore with system the monasteries of North Italy. His travels, successes, and disappointments are recorded in his *Hodoepericon*. He speaks with enthusiasm of the Cathedral Library at Verona where he found MSS. *mirae vetustatis*. It is noticeable that he found nothing of value belonging to the Chapter of St. Peter's in Rome, so this cannot have then contained *V*—the celebrated MS. of Cic. in Pisonem, pro Flacco, pro Fonteio, Philippicae, saec. viii./ix.—which was used by Poggio in Rome in 1428.¹ Traversari's chief discovery was that of Cornelius Nepos. Guarino in 1429 found the Letters of Pliny, Books i.—vii. and ix.—His MS., which is now lost, was the archetype of existing MSS. which contain those books. The cod. Lodensis which contained Cicero's *Brutus*, hitherto unknown, together with complete copies of the *De Oratore* and *Orator* previously known only in a mutilated form, was discovered by Landriani in 1421, and copied by Raimondi of Cremona. An ancient MS. of Celsus, now lost, was obtained in 1426 by Beccadelli from Siena, while a second MS. of the same author (*Laur.* lxxiii. 1, saec. x.) was found by Lamola at Milan in 1427.

Outside of Italy researches were made by various agents of Nicolo or Poggio. Some of these told fairy-tales to their employer, e.g. Nicolaus the Dane who in 1424 said in the presence of Poggio that he had seen in his own country a MS. containing ten Decads of Livy.² Others did not keep their promises, e.g. the monk of Hersfeld who was in treaty with Poggio to bring him a MS. containing Frontinus and works of Tacitus unknown to the Italians. These, as we learn from a letter of Panormita, were the *Germania*, *Agricola*, and *Dialogus*. The most successful investigator was Nicholas Krebs, commonly called Nicolaus Cusanus or Trevirensis, who in 1426 found in Cologne an ancient library containing 800 MSS. I would suggest that this was the jealously-guarded Cathedral library

¹ *Anecdota Oxoniensis*, Classical Series, part x. p. lxxii.

² Poggio, reporting the story, says 'Libri sunt in Monasterio de Sora ordinis Cisterciensium prope Roschild ad duo milliaria Theutonica quo adiri potest a Lubich biduo amplius.' Tonelli, vol. i. p. 104.

founded by Hildebald, the minister of Charlemagne (*d.* 819), who sent to it a number of MSS. from Rome.³ Nicolas was sometimes deceived: thus he thought that he had discovered Cic. *de re publica*, but this turned out to be the fragment of this already known, viz., the *Somnium Scipionis*, also the *Bella Germanica* of the Elder Pliny, being misled by a scholium in which these are mentioned, drawn from Suetonius and prefixed to a MS. of *The Naturalis Historia*. His great achievement was to bring to Italy the celebrated MS. of Plautus (Vat. 3870, saec. xi./xii.) containing twelve new plays. He also found a second copy of Cicero *de lege agraria* and *in Pisonem*, speeches previously discovered by Poggio. Most of his MSS. passed into the Harleian library, among them being a Graeco-Roman Glossary, saec. vii., written in France.

A number of discoveries were made by unknown authors. The *Cena Trimalchionis* came to light in 1423 but speedily disappeared and was rediscovered in the middle of the seventeenth century at Trau in Dalmatia. The *Consolatio ad Liviam* was discovered in 1470. For Ovid, *Heroides* xxi (Cydippe to Acontius) 13–248 we have only fifteenth century MSS. and for xvi (Paris to Helen) 39–142 we have only fifteenth century editions. Other discoveries were made in Spain by Angelo Decembrio; in France by Cardinal Jouffroy, Bishop of Arras; and by Sannazaro, one of whose MSS. (Vindobon. 277, saec. ix.) is the only authority for the *Halieutica* of Ovid and the *Cynegeticon* of Gratius. The greatest of the later researchers was Enoch of Ascoli, who was sent on a mission of discovery to the North of Europe by Nicholas V. He went as far as Denmark and Scandinavia, but his most signal achievement took place in Germany, where in 1455 he succeeded in acquiring the Hersfeld MS. of Tacitus (*Germania*, *Agricola*, and *Dialogus*) described to Poggio thirty years earlier by the perfidious monk. Sabbadini convincingly proves that the eight leaves written in the ninth, or tenth, century, containing part of the *Agricola*, which were found in 1902 in the Library of Count Guglielmo Balleani at Jesi near Ancona, are a fragment of the Hersfeld MS. The evidence is supplied by a letter of Decembrio in which he says that the Hersfeldensis was written *in columnellis*, and that the *Agricola* was contained in fourteen folios. In the Jesi leaves we find two columns to the page, and if the missing

³ Jaffé-Wattenbach, *Ecclesiae Metropolitanae Coloniensis codd. MSS.* p. iv.

portion of the *Agricola* (which in the Jesi MS. has been added by a fifteenth century hand) is taken into account we get exactly this space. It is to be hoped that Sig. Cesare Annibaldi, who since 1902 has had the exclusive use of these leaves, will before long publish his results.¹

The era of the discoverer is succeeded by that of the collators. Among these the foremost figure is that of Politian, who roamed at will among the treasures of the Laurentian Library. The list of works lent to him from this collection in the years 1480-94 is still in existence.² Upon the vexed question of the *Corsinianum exemplar* of Statius, Silvae, and the precise value of the variants which Politian professes to have taken from the *vetus liber Poggii scriptus manu Gallica* Sabbadini observes a judicious neutrality. It is interesting to learn that in Mantua Politian found a very old MS. of Manilius and made a collation of it with a printed edition. He says of it *libro che io per me non ne viddi più antiqui*.³ In view of language used by Politian about other MSS. now extant this codex would appear to have been anterior to the ninth century. I commend the search for this collation, now lost, to students of Manilius.

The last discovery on a large scale was made at Bobbio in 1493 by Giorgio Galbiate, the amanuensis of Merula. This embraced a surprising collection of grammatical and metrical works, also ancient commentaries and lexicographies. To these Sabbadini would add the satire of Sulpicia, printed at Venice in 1498. Bobbio was subsequently visited by other scholars, notably by Parrhasius. His collection which includes original MSS. from Bobbio as well as apographs made by him is now '*nella Nazionale di Napoli in attesa di uno studioso che la illustri degnamente*.'

The 'heroic age of discovery,' to quote Sabbadini, now closes, though in the early part of the next century four isolated discoveries of a striking character were made, viz. in 1500 the letters of Pliny to Trajan were found near Paris by Fra Giocondo; in 1508 the first Medicean of Tacitus (*Annals*

i.-vi.) was brought to Rome from Corvei in Germany;³ in 1515 Velleius Paterculus was discovered at Murbach by Beatus Rhenanus; and in 1527 Sim. Grynaeus obtained from Lorsch his MS. of Livy xl.-xlv. (Vindobon. 15, saec. v.). To these may be added the second book of the *Letters to Brutus*, not mentioned by Sabbadini, printed in 1528 by Cratander from a Lorsch MS. now lost.⁴ After this date the discovery of Latin texts ceases, apart from the palimpsests brought to light in the nineteenth century by Cardinal Mai and those who followed in his footsteps. Sabbadini says 'Oggi i papiri greci restituiti alla luce dalle tombe egiziane fanno rivivere innanzi agli stupiti occhi dei novelli Aurispa; novelli Poggi, ahimè! sono inesorabilmente negati ai codici latini.' But surely all that is necessary in order to bring about discoveries greater than those of Poggio is for the Italian Government to refrain from building an ironclad, and with the money thus saved to dig up Herculaneum, where countless papyri may still be preserved by the friendly mud which enveloped the town, before it was overwhelmed by the torrents of lava on which the squalid suburb of Resina now rests.

The subject next treated is that of literary forgeries. Many of these were jocular or written as exercises. Thus in the year 1426 Decembrio composed letters of Virgil to Maecenas, and when he confessed that they were an invention his statement was not believed. In the same year Leon Battista Alberti wrote a Latin comedy, *Philodoxeos*, which he attributed to a poet Lepidus; and Correr, a tragedy, *Progne*, which a later age considered to be a genuine antique, though the author published it as his own work. The most singular cases of deliberate fraud were *Papirius de situ Reatino*, said in one MS. to have been found by Enoch in Dacia, *Messalla de progenie sua et regiminibus Romae*, and an amazing collection of seventeen forged works, published in 1498, composed by Annus Viterbiensis. It is surprising to find what great scholars stooped to this form

¹ In a letter in my possession he says 'Si tratta di uno studio storico, paleografico, filologico interessantissimo e che richie de tempo, il quale m'è stato tolto in parte dalle occupazioni di scuola... L'assicuro però che la pubblicazione non sarà lontana.' Meanwhile the fullest account of the MS., together with photographs, is to be found in Prof. Felice Ramorino's paper 'De codice Taciti Aesino nuper reperto,' read by him at the Congresso Internazionale di Scienze storiche, held at Rome in 1903.

² *Archivio Mediceo*, Filze 62, 63, 64.

³ It will be noticed that Tacitus *Annals* xi.-xvii. were in the possession of Boccaccio before Poggio was born. *Annals* i.-vi. were discovered forty-nine years after his death, while he failed to obtain the Hersfeld MS. of the *Germania*, *Agricola*, and *Dialogus*, which was brought to Italy, when Poggio was seventy-five years of age, by Enoch of Ascoli. The fantastic suggestion that Poggio forged the *Annals* of Tacitus, apart from its inherent absurdity, is, therefore, disproved by historical facts.

⁴ Cf. Lehmann, *De Ciceronis ad Atticum epistulis recensendis*, p. 131.

of fraud. Thus Tortelli in his important work on orthography professes to quote *ex fragmentis decem librorum Papirianis*, but his citations are all drawn from Priscian or Victorinus. The famous commentator, Domitius Calderinus of Verona, informed Aldus that he had seen in Gaul a MS. containing twelve books of Asconius, from which Valla had copied his *Elegantiae*. He also told Politian that he had found a work of Marius Rusticus. After his death Politian searched his books but could not find his Marius Rusticus, and the twelve books of Asconius are obviously mythical. After this one looks with greater indulgence on those interesting creatures of Bosius' fancy, his Decurtatus and Crusellinus. The last chapter contains a learned account of the early libraries found in various parts of Italy.

There are one or two points with regard to which I would offer a suggestion. Two of them concern Poggio. We are told on p. 76 that in addition to Vat. 3245, which is an undoubted autograph, two other Vatican MSS. (3330, 3331) containing the third and fourth Decads of Livy, were written by him. This statement is reproduced from Nohac, *La bibliothèque de F. Orsini*, p. 193. I have elsewhere shewn that it is ill grounded.¹ They are not in the hand of Poggio and are not signed by him. They were written in 1453 and 1455. In 1453 Poggio would be seventy-three years of age and Chancellor of Florence, an office which he resigned in 1458. His sight was very bad as early as 1437, and he employed a secretary whenever it was possible instead of writing himself.

The second point concerns the statement on p. 81 that Poggio '*percorse la Francia e la Germania con un amanuense tedesco al suo servizio*.' Readers of the *Classical Review* may remember that seven years ago I published from a Bodleian MS. a letter of Poggio previously known only in a mutilated form,² from which it appeared that Silius Italicus, the *Silvae* of Statius, and Manilius were copied for him by a person whom he terms *ignorantissimus omnium viventium*.³

¹ *Class. Rev.* xiii. p. 120, n.

² *Class. Rev.* xiii. p. 125.

³ Poggio is accustomed to speak thus of his copyists, e.g. '*Habeo scriptorem rudis ingenii et moribus rusticianis. Iam iv menses nihil aliud ago quam eum docere ut discat scribere, sed vereor ne litus arem. Scribit modo Valerium in quo experitur ruditatem suam. Itaque clamo, intono, urgeo, increpo, at is habet aures picatas, plumbeus, caudex, stipes, asinus et si quid stolidius ineptiusque dici potest. Di eum perdant.*' MS. Riccard. 759 f. 32 v.

I argued that this person was a 'local scribe' employed by Poggio, either because he could not keep pace with his growing material or because the original MSS. were at some distant place. I had not noticed a passage in his letters quoted by Sabbadini which confirms this conjecture: viz., *ego vermis quendam conduxì scriptorem in Germania*.⁴ In order, however, to see the full significance of this statement, it is necessary to read the context. Poggio in this letter, which is written to Niccoli from London, on June 10, 1422, is referring to a supposed discovery of MSS. by Cardinal Capra. This he doubts because Capra has obtained no copies. He says:

Archiepiscopus is homo est qui si quid tale reperisset et (*sic*) secum asportasset saltem transcribendos tales libros Ego vermis quendam conduxì scriptorem in Germania. Quanto magis noster potuisset non unicum sed plures parasse scriptores. Equidem tunc credam eum videro.

i.e. 'he, who was a poor man, had found some one on the spot to make a copy. A rich Cardinal could have found several such persons.'

The Matritensis (M. 31) containing Manilius and the *Silvae*, written in a non-Italian hand, which in the *Silvae* is acknowledged to be the archetype of all other existing MSS., is, according to my theory, the copy executed for Poggio by his 'local scribe,' and is naturally found in the same library with the companion MS. (X. 81), Poggio's apograph of Asconius and Valerius Flaccus, with which it was once bound, as shewn by the list of contents on the first page of M. 31.⁵

I notice that in a note on p. 86 when speaking of Sozomenus, Sabbadini says that three of his MSS. are now in France, viz. Paris Lat. 18,528 and 'due del duca De la Vallière, n^o. 2296, 2297.' As I happen to have formerly investigated this subject, it may be useful for me to correct this statement. The Vallière Collection was sold in 1783. It contained three MSS. of Sozomenus, viz. 2251 *de Oratore*, 2296 *Marc.*, *Lig.*, *Deiot.*, *Sall. in Cic.*, *Cic. in Sall.*, *Catil.*, *Arch. Pomp.*, 2297 *Clu.*, *Planc.*, *Sull.*, *Quinct. Flacc.*, *Har. Resp.*, *Prov. Cons.* All of these were bought by the Dutch collector Crevenna,

⁴ Tonelli, I, p. 80.

⁵ *Class. Rev.* l.c. I would remark that my suggestion concerning *F* (*Bibl. Aedil. Flor. Eccl. cxvi.*), which contains Silius Italicus, was subsequently withdrawn by me (*Class. Rev.* xv. 166) after I had obtained a photograph of a page in this MS.

in whose library they became Nos. 3218, 3315, and 3316 respectively. His books were sold at Amsterdam in 1789. The first of these MSS. is now in the Leiden library (Lat. 429). The whereabouts of the other two are not known to me. They were purchased at the Crevenna sale by buyers named Keyzer and Van den Berg, a piece of information which I owe to Dr. S. G. de Vries. I would mention that there are four MSS. of Sozomenus in France, viz. in the library of the Arsenal (Nos. 48, 677, 720, 724), where I recently examined them. Part of No. 720, Valerius Probus, is an autograph and is signed ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ ἡ βιβλος τοῦ Σωζομένου ἱερέως. No. 48 is said to have been bought in Italy by Baroni. Like all the books of Sozomenus they bear the inventory marks

affixed to his MSS. after his death, viz. *Ego Bartolomeus Cancellarius Pistoriensis subscripsi* or *Ego Franciscus Luce notarius opere subscripsi*. It would be well to add to Sabbadini's reference (p. 210) for the cost of making copies the following information given by Sozomenus at the end of Vall. 2297 :¹

‘Melius est emere libros iam scriptos quam scribi facere: nam pro membranis exposui grossos tredecim, scriptori dedi libros duodecim, et cartulario grossos quattuor. Summa ergo in totum libras sexdecim solidos tredecim denarios vi. Die primo mensis Martii MCCCXXV.’

ALBERT C. CLARK.

¹ Cf. *Vallière Catalogue* (cur. de Bure, 1783), vol. ii. p. 26.

TWO PHILOLOGICAL BOOKS FROM THE LOW COUNTRIES.

- (1) *Les gutturales grecques*. Par JOSEPH MANSION. Gand: Librairie J. Vuylsteke. Paris: Librairie E. Bouillon, 1904. (Université de Gand. Recueil de travaux publiés par la faculté de philosophie et lettres. 29^e fascicule.) Pp. viii + 328. 8vo. Fr. 12.
- (2) *Inleiding tot de studie der vergelijkende indogermaansche taalwetenschap vooral met betrekking tot de klassieke en germaansche talen*. Door Dr. JOS. SCHRIJNEN. Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff. 1905. Pp. xvi + 225. 8vo.

The works whose titles are given above are characteristic of the great philological activity which pervades the smaller countries of northern Europe at the present day. Dr. Mansion's treatise is an elaborate study of one of the most difficult problems in the historical treatment of language. And though his memoir runs to more than three hundred pages he deals with only one of the Indo-germanic languages, albeit the gutturals of Greek present more difficulties than those of any other tongue. Dr. Mansion was preceded in the same field by two students of Berlin University, Ph. Bersu writing on the gutturals in Latin in 1885, and E. Zupitza on the Germanic gutturals in 1896.

In the early days of Comparative Philology only one series of gutturals was recognised, parallel to a series of labials and a series of dentals. But in 1870 the Italian scholar Ascoli showed that two sets of gutturals had to be distinguished, though he was not quite successful in ascertaining the nature of the difference between them. When after much

discussion some agreement as to the character of the two series had been arrived at, Bezenberger propounded a new theory that not merely two but three series of gutturals existed, and adduced a large number of examples in support of his view. It must be confessed that a considerable number of the examples adduced were very uncertain, but, when these were discounted, enough remained to show that his theory had a solid foundation.

Bezenberger's article appeared in 1891 and in philological journals and books much space has been devoted to the 'subject since. Put briefly the problem is this. Early in the history of philological study it was observed that in Sanskrit sometimes a sibilant sound *g*, sometimes a guttural stop *k* corresponded to *κ* in Greek and *c* in Latin. When by the help of Zend and Slavonic the same kind of distinction was established for the representation of Greek *γ* and Latin *g*, the complete differentiation of two series was easy, although Greek seemed to darken counsel by representing one of the series not merely by *κ*, *γ*, *χ*, but also by *π*, *β*, *φ*, and *τ*, *δ*, *θ*, according to the nature of the sounds in contact with the guttural. The series represented by *g*, etc., in Sanskrit was called the palatal, that represented by *k*, etc., the velar series. Bezenberger argued that the Sanskrit *k* really contained in itself two series, and that the labialism and dentalism seen in the Greek *π*, *β*, *φ*, and *τ*, *δ*, *θ* was in origin not Greek but proethnic. In other words within the velars two series must be distinguished—pure velars and velars

labialised by a slight *w*-sound combined with them in pronunciation. As Sanskrit, Slavonic, and other eastern branches of the family had differentiated the palatal sounds from the velars by changing the palatals wholly or partially into sibilants, so several of the western members of the family differentiated the labialised velars from the pure velars very distinctly by changing them into labials, but confounded the pure velars with the palatals. In describing this complicated business to the readers of the *Class. Rev.* one feels like the Caliph Omar before the Library at Alexandria—with a difference. The small number who are interested knew it all before in much greater detail, the great majority who did not know it are confirmed in their previous opinion that of all unintelligible jargons the philological is the most detestable. To such readers it will not seem more than just that the name (*nomen*) of Pontius Pilate should be an example of Oscan labialisation as contrasted with the Latin Quintius; *p* in Oscan and Umbrian standing to the *qu* of Latin exactly as the *p* of *pump*, the Welsh numeral for 5, stands to the *c* of the corresponding Irish word *coic*. So too the Latin *quadrupedibus* was represented in Umbrian by *peturpursus* and the same numeral appeared in the 'four-wheeler' *petorritum* which the Roman borrowed from the Gauls when his own 'growler' the *plaustrum* no longer satisfied all his wants.

It is the problem of the representation of these sounds in Greek that Dr. Mansion has undertaken to discuss. He has executed his task in a very workman-like fashion. He divides his treatise into three parts. In the first of these, which occupies some thirty-five pages, he gives a very complete and readable account of the discussion regarding these sounds which has been carried on through so many years. This account is so full and fair that except for extreme specialists it forms a sufficient history of the controversy. The second part (pp. 40–78) is devoted to an inquiry into some special points of the theory of the gutturals. This falls into two chapters, the first dealing with cases in Greek where the sounds which should be labialised are not so, the second with labialisation in the Greek dialects. In the first chapter he reaches the conclusion that labio-velars are represented in Greek by *κ*, *γ*, *χ* (1) after an Idg. *u*, (2) before *v* representing the labial element converted into a vowel and perhaps before a sonant *l* or sonant *r* 'teintés d'*u*,' (3) in some cases of assimilation and dissimilation. Here a great deal turns upon the correctness of the etymologies and, as Dr.

Mansion recognises clearly, many of the etymologies are very uncertain. He separates e.g. *ἐλαχύς* from *ἐλαφρός*, the *χ* in *ἐλαχύς* having generally been explained by the influence of the following *v* removing the labialising *w*-sound which in *ἐλαφρός* produced the *φ*. But his reason is that *ἐλεγχος* introduces an idea of blame which prevents a connexion in sense between the words. This does not appeal to me strongly, for the difference of meaning in English between the ordinary *belittle* and the *lichtlie* of the Border ballads ('Sae my true love did lichtlie me') is not great. Nor in working out the meaning of *ἐλαφρός*, which, with the rest of the philological world, he connects with O.H.G. *lungar* and the old English *lunzre*, has he noticed that what we now call *lungs* was and still is in certain usages *lights*. This as far as English at any rate is concerned makes the meaning of the words identical.

At p. 54 he is inclined to follow Curtius and Uhlenbeck in connecting *ὕγις* with *vigeo* and *vegeo*. But surely connexion with both of those verbs cannot be right. Their vocalism forbids close relationship unless it could be shown that *vigeo* obtained its *i* from a compound. But neither verb lends itself to composition in early times so that this explanation is excluded. If *ὕγις* does contain in its second part the root found in *βίος* it might be connected with *vigeo*, which might be closely related to the English *quick*. In any case *vegeo* had better be kept with the Gothic *wakan*, the English *wake*, and take the place of *vigeo* on p. 99.

In the second chapter Dr. Mansion makes his way through the thorny problems of the Greek dialects with wonderful ease. With regard to the explanation of the Thessalian *κίς* for Attic *τίς* and the ending of *πολλάκις* I hesitate, because I do not feel that the data are numerous enough or certain enough. Nor am I sure that it is right to say (p. 78) that the literary Ionian substitutes the form *κο-* for *πο-* in the relative stem without known reason. Hippocrates apparently does not; and as in Timotheus' *Persae* the barbarian who tries to talk Ionian uses *κῶς* it seems probable that the *spoken* form of Asia Minor at all events was *κο-*, and that the stereotyped *written* language of formal documents had *πο-*. My doubts in this part of the work are concerned with the materials at our disposal not with Dr. Mansion's treatment of them. So long as the materials are so defective, difference of opinion is inevitable.

The third and much the longest part

of the book (pp. 79-264) is headed *Les phonèmes indo-européens et leurs représentants helléniques*. This is divided into four chapters dealing respectively with the palatals, the velars, the labiovelars and those gutturals the nature of which cannot be determined. Each of the first three chapters is divided into four sections in which the cases of the appearance of the sound in question before consonants, vowels, and semi-vowels is discussed with great thoroughness and conclusions are summed up at the end of each chapter. The method is the most complete that could be devised but leads to a certain amount of repetition owing to the appearance of closely related forms in connexion with different sounds. From the nature of the case there is a good deal here that is doubtful. But Dr. Mansion is quite aware of the fact and not infrequently points it out himself.

The book concludes with very full indexes of words which are very useful and wherever I have tested them correct. Taken as a whole this essay is a very good piece of work, infinitely superior to the average dissertation for the *Doctoratswürde*.

No less satisfactory in its own way is Dr. Schrijnen's *Inleiding*, which, so far as I know, is the first book of the kind that has appeared in Holland. It is briefly introduced by Professor Kern, a fact which by itself would vouch for the book being as the Professor himself says 'wat de Engelschen noemen *up to date*.' It is on much the same scale as my own *Short Manual of Comparative Philology*, including in its 224 pages a bibliography, an historical conspectus of the subject, general principles, and phonology. It does not include morphology or syntax. The book is so well arranged that it is to be hoped its success will encourage Dr. Schrijnen to publish a second volume dealing with those subjects.

The bibliography is very full for an elementary book and will be very useful to students. There are some misprints in authors' names: e.g. the author of *General principles of the structure of language* is Byrne not Byroe, the author of *An Avesta Grammar* is not S. Jackson but A. V. Williams Jackson, and there are other trifling errors of the same kind. In the historical part, which is very well put together, something less than justice seems to me to be done to Whitney, who had a good deal to do with the development of the ideas of the younger school of philologists in Germany. They regard Leskien as their founder and Leskien in his youth translated one

of Whitney's books into German. The Leipzig school, indeed, has never concealed its obligations to Whitney. Nor should Max Müller's services to language go entirely without acknowledgement. His *Lectures* no doubt were popular and perhaps not so original as in later days their author was inclined to think, but they were translated into the more important languages of Europe and by their fascination did a great deal to attract young students to the study of comparative philology. The explanation of such terms as Phonetic Law, Analogy, etc., is clear and to the point. There are five interesting pages on Semantics (pp. 72-77), where the main points are well classified.

The phonology begins with a chapter on the organs of speech and the classification of sounds. This ends with a brief but clear account of the representation of the sounds in the different languages. Next follows a chapter on accent, after which comes a discussion of the word and the root. Rules for sandhi and the like would have come better, *me judice*, after the treatment of the regular representation of sounds. The only criticism I have to make of the phonology is that too few examples are given. For example, the Dutch student must be much more intelligent than his contemporaries elsewhere, if such a statement as that at the bottom of page 111 conveys much to his mind. The paragraph deals with sandhi at the beginning of words and states that 'double consonants arise by contact assimilation: ff , mm , vv , pp , ll , $<\sigma + \text{f}$, etc., $\text{pp} < \rho + \text{f}$, $\pi\pi < \text{k}_1\text{u}$, $\sigma\sigma < \text{gutt.} + \text{t}$ are simplified: $\epsilon\rho\rho\eta\zeta\alpha$ but $\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma\eta\nu\mu$ I break.' To be of any use to the beginner each of these phenomena should have been illustrated by one or more examples. It is a pity that k_1 was not used instead of k_1 , and q^3 for k_2 . Dr. Schrijnen's terminology would then have been practically identical with that of the larger works to which he no doubt desires the learner ultimately to proceed. In a second edition we may hope that he will have courage to overrule the printer in this matter. The printer otherwise has done his work well. The print is excellent, important catchwords are in clarendon and the page is of convenient size.

The Dutch student is to be congratulated on having so readable and accurate a book to introduce him to a difficult study and as Dr. Schrijnen has only completed half his task (though the book has full indexes), it is to be hoped that like Oliver Twist the student will ask for more.

P. GILES.

DOUGAN'S *TUSCULAN DISPUTATIONS*.

It is possible that I have misinterpreted Mr. Dougan's phrase *non inveni*: it is also possible that he has misunderstood my remark about a 'very little research.' I thought that he described in this way readings for which there is no MS. evidence, *i.e.* corrections made by some early editor *quem fama obscura recondit*. These are often assigned to *vett. edd. or vulg.* It is, however, an easy task to examine the early editions and discover when they first appear in the text. As I have recently done this in the case of several speeches of Cicero, I may be pardoned for saying that it only needs a 'very little research,' such as may well be expected from so diligent and conscientious an editor as Mr. Dougan. He, however, reproaches me with having made a 'serious misstatement,' since he has only used these words where he 'has made the most diligent search for a *manuscript* reading and failed to find it.' I am still some-

what puzzled. If the reading does not occur in one of his MSS., it must be quoted from a MS. by a previous scholar, or be due to conjecture. If the first alternative is the case, why does he not quote the authority? Unless evidence to the contrary is given, I should be inclined to suspect that a reading not found in one of Mr. Dougan's 30 (or 80) MSS. is nothing but a conjecture. It is clear from his reply that he has done research of the kind which I desire, since on 1.31 he corrects Orelli's ascription of *ille* to Wolf, and assigns it to Gebhard. This I applaud, but my point remains exactly the same, *viz.* why does he print *ille* silently, instead of saying '*ille* Gebhard: *om. codd.*?' It is hardly necessary for me to remark that I did not make myself responsible for the accuracy of Orelli's quotation and that his fallibility is very well known to me.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

ABBOTT'S *JOHANNINE GRAMMAR*.

THE very friendly and appreciative review of my *Johannine Grammar* in your last issue (pp. 172-5), among many kindly statements that I would willingly believe to be true, contains one from which I am forced to dissent, namely, that '*ὁρῶ* in the present' was 'dead' at the time when the fourth gospel was written.

Mr. Nicklin bases this conclusion on an elaborate and useful collection of the verbs of seeing used by John, *e.g.* βλέπει, θεωροῦσιν, ὀψεσθε, ἰθεασάμεθα, εἶδαν. It shows that John uses ἰώρακα very freely, while ὁρῶ does not appear once. Then he says, 'The significance of these facts *prima facie* is this: *ὁρῶ* in the present is dead, and its place is taken by θεωρῶ or βλέπω; the future is unchanged; the aorist is still generally εἶδον, but sometimes ἰθεασάμην; the perfect ἰώρακα, sometimes τεθέαμαι.' This is supported by the following footnote: 'Since this article was in type, I have noticed in Jannaris *Hist. Gk. Gram.* p. 270 "In N(eo-hellenic) ὁρῶ is replaced by θεωρῶ (*i.e.* θεωρῶ) and βλέπω."'

First as to the footnote, it must be remembered that N(eo-hellenic) Greek is defined by Prof. Jannaris (p. xxii) as beginning at 600 A.D. Even if we assume the fourth gospel to have been written as

late as 120 A.D. (I should place it earlier), it does not appear that much light is thrown on the Johannine non-use of ὁρῶ by its non-use 480 years afterwards.

In the next place, Mr. Nicklin supports the '*prima facie*' statement by the rarity of the present in N.T. I do not think it is rare, regard being had to the smallness of N.T. and to the occasions on which ὁρῶ would be used. Moreover, in the sentence 'once or twice it has survived also in the phrase for "beware,"' 'once or twice' appears to be an error for 'twelve times.'

But assume N.T. rarity of usage. Does that suffice to support the *prima facie* inference of 'deadness' at the time when the fourth gospel was written? If my friendly critic will examine late first century and second century literature, he will find that the word he has rashly consigned to a premature death appears abundantly not only in Plutarch and Lucian—whom he might reject as classical—but also in the vernacular Greek of Epictetus as recorded by Arrian. The Egypt Expl. Papyri give, besides other instances, *Fayûm* No. 20 (20) ὁρᾶν (3rd or 4th cent.), and *Oxy.* iii. No. 527(6), 531(9), 532(15), ὁρα μὴ (2nd or 3rd cent.). The Berlin Aegypt. Urkund. give

(as the only instance of $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$ or $\iota\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ in the Index to vol. i.) i. 248 (5) $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ (2nd cent.); vol. ii. 417 (10) has $\delta\rho\alpha$ (2nd or 3rd cent.), 660 (16) $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota$ (2nd cent.) (and only one queried form of $\iota\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$); vol. iii. 840 has $\delta\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ (Byzant.). Let me add *Acts of John* § 2 διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἡμῶν ἀγρυπνίαν . . . οὐ σὺ ῥᾶς, ἀδελφέ μου Ἰακωβὲν οὐχ ῥᾶς δὲ τὸν ἐσιτῶτα . . . Τοῦτον οὐχ ῥᾶ, ἀδελφέ . . . § 4 ῥᾶμεν αὐτόν . . . ὡς μὴ ῥᾶντος αὐτοῦ . . . § 13

$\delta\eta\ \nu\acute{\upsilon}\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\chi\ \acute{\rho}\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ .\ .\ .\ \S\ 14\ \omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\rho}\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\ \sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\acute{\omega}.$

I think I understand why John never uses $\delta\rho\acute{\omega}$ and frequently uses $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha$, but that is not a point of grammar and I abstain from it. The point is the alleged 'death' of $\delta\rho\acute{\omega}$ about 100 A.D. I believe that Mr. Nicklin, reviewing all the facts, will agree with me that it was *not* 'dead.'

EDWIN A. ABBOTT.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PRONUNCIATION OF LATIN *AE*.

In the scheme for the pronunciation of Latin approved by the Philological Societies of Oxford and Cambridge, I see that it is stated that the pronunciation of the Latin diphthong 'ae' as the English 'ai' (in 'Isaiah' broadly pronounced) is of great convenience for class purposes.

I admit the gain of being able to distinguish clearly between 'cedo' and 'caedo,' but I think a greater gain would result from the adoption of the following equations:

French è = German ä = Latin ae = Greek η.

French é = German e = Latin ē = Greek ε.

It is difficult in any case to induce an English boy to appreciate the distinction between a close and an open vowel and unless teachers of modern languages and teachers of classics can co-operate they will obtain small results from their teaching of phonetics.

Moreover, if the English boy makes his open 'e' slightly diphthongal, as he probably will, he will produce what in my opinion is a tolerable approximation to the Latin *ae* of the first century A.D.

W. F. WITTON.

REPORT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—HILARY TERM, 1906.

On February 16th Mr. G. C. RICHARDS, of Oriel College, read a paper on 'The Ionian Islands in the *Odyssey*.'

On February 23rd Mr. G. B. GRUNDY, D.Litt., of Corpus Christi College, read a paper on 'The Transliteration and Pronunciation of the Latin Language.' He first proceeded to produce evidence of the original character of the transliterations in the received texts of certain authors in the centuries preceding and succeeding the Christian era. He then applied the evidence of transliteration in authors and inscriptions to the question of the pronunciation of the Latin *v*, and after comparing this with the evidence obtainable from the grammarians, from languages contemporary with the Latin, and from languages descended from it, drew conclusions at variance with the prevailing view that this letter was pronounced in the Augustan age like the English *w* of the present day.

On March 2nd, at Beam Hall, the PRESIDENT OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE read a paper on 'The Genesis of the Philosophy of Aristotle.'

On March 9th Mr. A. H. J. GREENIDGE, D.Litt., read a paper on 'The Earliest Roman Knowledge of the Germans.'

The Society has suffered a great loss by the death of Abel Henty Jones Greenidge, Fellow of St.

John's and formerly Fellow of Hertford College. He had been an active member for the last ten years, serving on the Committee in 1903 and holding the office of Secretary from 1904 to 1905. During the whole of this period his interest in the Society was unflinching, and it was with the greatest regret that he resigned the office of Secretary owing to a failure in health which was not thought to be grave either by himself or his friends. His death on March 11th, after an illness which lasted for a few hours, was wholly unexpected. His main interest and all his published work lay in the field of Roman History and Roman Law, two cognate studies which are somewhat rarely combined in England. In both he had done work which won high commendation from the best authorities. He was only forty years of age at the time of his death, and the extent of his industry can be seen from the list of his works. Besides a large number of articles in Dictionaries and Encyclopaedias he published '*Infamia*' in *Roman Law* in 1894, followed by *A Handbook of Greek Constitutional History* in 1896, and *Roman Public Life and Legal Procedure in Cicero's Time* in 1901. For some time before his death he had been engaged upon a *History of Rome during the Republic and Early Principate*. The first volume of this work, which was planned upon a considerable scale, appeared in 1904.

F. W. HALL.

VERSION.

K. Phi. Bind up your hairs.
Const. Yes, that I will; and wherefore will I do it?
 I tore them from their bonds and cried aloud
 'O that these hands could so redeem my son,
 As they have given these hairs their liberty!' ¹
 But now I envy at their liberty,
 And will again commit them to their bonds,
 Because my poor child is a prisoner.
 And, father cardinal, I have heard you say
 That we shall see and know our friends in heaven:
 If that be true, I shall see my boy again;
 For since the birth of Cain, the first male child,
 To him that did but yesterday suspire,
 There was not such a gracious creature born.
 But now will canker-sorrow eat my bud
 And chase the native beauty from his cheek
 And he will look as hollow as a ghost,
 As dim and meagre as an ague's fit,
 And so he'll die; and, rising so again,
 When I shall meet him in the court of heaven
 I shall not know him: therefore never, never
 Must I behold my pretty Arthur more.
Pand. You hold too heinous a respect of grief.
Const. He talks to me that never had a son.
K. Phi. You are as fond of grief as of your child.
Const. Grief fills the room up of my absent child,
 Lies in his bed, walks up and down with me,
 Puts on his pretty looks, repeats his words,
 Remembers me of all his gracious parts,
 Stuffs out his vacant garments with his form;
 Then, have I reason to be fond of grief?
 Fare you well: had you such a loss as I,
 I could give better comfort than you do.
 I will not keep this form upon my head,
 When there is such disorder in my wit.
 O Lord! my boy, my Arthur, my fair son!
 My life, my joy, my food, my all the world!
 My widow-comfort, and my sorrows' cure
 SHAKESPEARE (*K. John*, Act III., sc. iv.).

ΦΙΛ. 'Ανδήσαι' ἄν, ὦ γύναι, κόμας.
 ΚΩΝ. καὶ κάρτ' ἔγωγε· πρὸς τί δ' ; ἥτις ἄρτι μὲν
 βία σφε δεσμῶν ἔσπασ', ἔκ τ' ἤϊσ' ἅμα
 'εἴθ' ὥσπερ αἶδε τάσδε λύουσιν τρίχας
 χεῖρες σθένειν ὧδε καὶ λύνειν τέκνον.'
 νῦν δ' αὖ λυθισῶν τῶν τριχῶν φθόνος μ'
 ἔχει,
 δερμοῖσι δέ σφε τοῖς πρὶν ἐνδήσω ἄλιν,
 φρονοῦσα παῖδ' ὥς ἐστι δεσμώτης τάλας.
 καὶ μήν ποτ', ὦ γεραιέ, σοῦ γ' ἤκουσ' ὅτι,
 ὅσοιπερ ἐνθάδ' εἰσεβείς, ὁψοίμεθα
 καὶ γνωριόμεν οἱ φίλοι τὰ φίλτατα
 ἐκεῖ παρ' Ἀΐδην ταῦτ' ἄρ' εἰ σαφὴ λέγεις,
 ἴδοιμ' ἢν αὖθις ὑστερον κάγω τέκνον.
 οὐ γάρ ποτ', ἐξ οὗ ἔβλασσε πρῶτος
 ἀρσένειον,
 ἐς τοῦθ' ὅ τι χθές ἔσχεν ἀμνηνὸς βρέφος,
 ὧδ' ἐσθλὸς ἄλλος τὴν φύσιν βρωτῶν ἐφνι.
 ταῦν γε μὴν λύπη νιν, ὦ καλὸν θάλας,
 δέμας νεμῆται, κἄνθος ἐξελεῖ χρόος,
 ὃ δ' ὥς κενόν τι φάσμι' ἰδεῖν γενήσεται,
 ἀμαρρός, ἰσχρός, ὥς ἂν αὐανθεῖ νόσση,
 τέλος δέ φροῦδος ὧδ' ἔχων οἰχίσεται.
 καὶ δὴ τέθνηκεν· ὧδε κἂν Ἀΐδου δόμοις
 ἔχοντα δήπου, πῶς νιν ἂν γνοίην ἐγώ,
 καίπερ ξυνοῦσα; τοιγαροῦν οὐκ ἔσθ'
 ὅπως
 εὐμορφον αἰθὺς ὀψομαι τέκνου κἄρα.
 ΠΑΝ. ἀλλ' οὐκέτ' ἄλγος σωφρόνως ἀλγείεις,
 γέναι.
 ΚΩΝ. σὺ σωφρονίζεις μ' αὐτὸς οὐ φύσας τέκνον.
 ΦΙΛ. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἦσσον τοῦ τέκνου τᾶλγος
 φιλεῖς.
 ΚΩΝ. τᾶλγος γὰρ ἔστιν ἀντὶ τὰ πάντος τέκνου,
 ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνου δεμνίοις εὐνάξεται,
 ἄνω κάτω μοι κοινόπουν βαίνει βάσιν,
 σαίνει με φαιδρὰ κείνος ὥς ἀπ' ὀμμάτων,
 λέγει τὰ κείνου ῥήμαθ', οἷος ἦν φύσιν
 κείνου φέροι μοι μνήμα, τὰς κείνου κενὰς
 τίποισιν αὐτοῦ ἐνυμέτρους ὀγκοῖ στολαῖς.
 ἦ σμικρὰ ταῦτα φίλτρ' ἔχειν τᾶλγος
 δοκῶ;
 χαίρουτ' ἄν· ὑμᾶς γ' οὐ ἐγὼ πεπονθότας
 παρηγοροῦμ' ἂν κρεῖσσον ἢ χυμείς ἐμέ.
 ἀτὰρ τί κόσμον τόνδε περὶ κἄρα τρέφω,
 τοσὴνδ' ἔχονσα τῶν φρενῶν γ' ἄκοσμίαν;
 οἱ γὰρ τάλαινα δυστάλαινα σοῦ, τέκνον,
 ἄγαλμα μητρὸς. ἐξ ὅτου παρὴν ἐμῷ
 τὸ ζῆν, τὸ χαίρειν, ἡ τροφή, τὰ πάνθ' ὅσ'
 ἦν,
 χήρα περ οὕτῃ κούφισις, κακῶν ἄκος.
 J. I. BEARE.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.

THE second open meeting of the British School at Rome of the present season was held on Friday, Feb. 2nd (*Athenaeum*, Feb. 10, p. 177). The first paper was read by Dr. T. ASHBY, Assistant-Director, on excavations at Caerwent in Monmouthshire—the ancient Venta Silurum—where work has been going on since 1899, and will probably be continued for some years more. A considerable portion of the site has already been examined, and the results are of great importance for our knowledge of Roman Britain. Reports are regularly presented to the Society of Antiquaries and printed in *Archaeologia*. The second paper was read by Mr. A. J. B. WACE, Librarian of the School, upon a historical relief in the Palazzo Sacchetti (Matz-Duhn, No. 3516). Braun (*Mon. ed Ann. Inst.* 1854, 78 and tav. 11) attributes the relief to the Flavian period, and considers that it represents the ceremony preceding the triumph of Vespasian and Titus after the destruction of Jerusalem (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* vii. 5. 4). Mr. Wace, however, pointed out that this was impossible on stylistic grounds, which lead rather to its assignation to the period of Septimius Severus: it represents, in all probability, the presentation of Caracallus to the Senate on the occasion when, after the defeat of Clodius Albinus in 197 A.D., he was declared *Imperator destinatus* by his father. The head of the figure which must then be identified with Caracallus, indeed, resembles his busts, but that of the seated emperor is lost. The architectural background is interesting, but of uncertain interpretation.

Mr. Wace also read a paper on Greek patterns in Italian embroideries, tambour and drawn-thread work, showing the persistence of the principal Greek pattern—a frieze composed of the tree of life, the siren, the cock, and the double-headed eagle—even down to the present day, though with much degeneration and conventionalization.

The third meeting was held on March 12 (*Athenaeum*, March 31, p. 401), when Prof. PERCY GARDNER read the first paper, upon 'Copies of Greek Statues on Coins.' He began by pointing out the value of such representations, and the conventions by which they are governed, taking as examples the Artemis Laphria at Patrae and the Themistocles at Magnesia, the former men-

tioned by Pausanias as having been brought to Patrae from Calydon by Augustus, and as being the work of Menaechnus and Soidas of Naupactus, the latter represented on a coin struck in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and, probably, in a replica in the Glyptothek at Munich, which now generally bears the name of 'a heroic king.'

The second paper was read by Mr. WACE upon some late Roman historical reliefs. He first dealt with the six long reliefs which form the frieze of the arch of Constantine, dividing them into two groups of three, and attributing the first three, in which the emperor's head had been carefully chiselled away, so as to be replaced by another, to Diocletian, and the other three, in which this procedure had not been adopted, to Constantine. He next spoke of the sculptured base of the obelisk of Theodosius at Constantinople. This consists of two large marble blocks, of which the lower bears inscriptions recording its erection under Theodosius, and reliefs representing its transport and setting-up; while the upper block was, it would appear, not originally intended to serve as the base of the obelisk, inasmuch as on two sides it overhangs the lower, and has been damaged in the process of being placed in its present position. It bears reliefs, some of which have been supposed to represent Theodosius and his family in the Hippodrome, but in which Mr. Wace recognized Constantine and his three sons, inasmuch as the figure generally identified with Flaccilla has no feminine characteristics, and the style of the heads agrees with portraits of the Constantinian period.

The fourth and last meeting was held on April 4 (*Athenaeum*, April 21, p. 490), when Mr. H. STUART JONES, ex-Director of the School, read a paper on certain points connected with the historical interpretation of the reliefs of the Column of Trajan. He pointed out that the artist made use of three different styles of narrative in his pictorial representation of the Dacian campaigns—the continuous, in which an unbroken background marked an unbroken progress of events, the successive, in which successive scenes are clearly distinguished from one another, and what may be called the panoramic, in which several events are represented as in a bird's-eye view as occurring simultaneously. With the aid of

this criterion, he proceeded to discuss certain important points in which he was unable to agree with the explanations of the reliefs suggested by Petersen and Cichorius.

The second paper was read by Dr. ASHBY upon a panorama of Rome, hitherto unpublished, which is the last of a series of four preserved in the Bodleian Library, and discovered by Prof. Lanciani, who published the first in the *Bullettino Comunale* in 1895, Pls. VI.-XIII., the other two having appeared (with illustrative text by Dr. Ashby) in the *Bullettino Comunale*, 1900, Pls. IV.-IX. and the *Mélanges de l'École Française*, 1901, Pl. II. respectively. The date of the present view is not later than 1557, as the Pons Aemilius is shown as entire. The panorama is taken from S. Sabina, on the Aventine, and is the work, or a copy of the work, of Anton van den Wyngaerde, a famous artist of panoramic views from the Low Countries. The details of the buildings represented are of considerable interest, and this panorama will appear shortly in the *Mélanges de l'École Française*.

Dr. Ashby also read a paper by Mr. T. ASHEY, SEN., on Neapolitan silver charms, especially the cimaruta, Siren and sea-horse. These are no doubt of pagan origin, and contain no Christian features. The cimaruta, or sprig of rue, has various other elements combined with it; it has been fully discussed by Günther in *Folklore*, xvi. 132. The Siren and sea-horse, on the other hand, are more often found in isolation, though bells are invariably attached to them. All the papers at these three meetings were illustrated by lantern-slides, an electric installation having recently been placed in the library. The meetings themselves were well attended, both by British residents and visitors, and also by scholars of other nationalities resident in Rome.

AUDOLLENT'S DEFIXIONUM TABULAE.

Defixionum Tabulae, quotquot innotuerunt tam in Graecis orientis quam in totius occidentis partibus praeter Atticas in C.I.A. editas collegit digessit commentario instruxit Augustus Audolent. Paris: Fontemoing, 1904. 8vo. Pp. cxxviii + 568.

THIS book is intended to be a complete collection of *Defixiones*. In the introductory chapters, the author passes in review earlier

works on the subject, and discusses the definition of *Defixio*, the objects of those who made them, and the time-limits of the ancient practice.

He then gives the extant examples, arranged geographically. Those collected in the additional volume of the new Greek Corpus are not included here. After the texts come full indices. The texts are excellently edited, with notes, and they alone would make the volume worth having; but the student's way is made smooth indeed by the admirable indices (168 pp.). The heads are as follows: Names (male, female, 'signa', and parents); Number, Sex, Station, and Callings of the cursers and the curst; names of Horses; Gods and other beings invoked in the curses; Kinds and Occasions of *defixiones*; Formulae; Ephesia Grammata compared with the Papyri; Grammar, Palaeography, Epigraphy; Topography; Chronology; Notabilia Variores. The subject-matter of these documents is full of interest, social and psychological: pathetic indeed it is to read of all these petty spite and ambitions of men long since dead. They took their sport even more seriously than a public-schoolboy.

W. H. D. R.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREECE.

Euboea.—At Karystos an inscription recently discovered records the interest paid by the Karystians to Thebes and Histiaea on sums borrowed from these cities. It is of the fourth century B.C. and probably belongs to a time when Karystos was not on friendly terms with Athens, since otherwise it would have been more natural for its citizens to turn to Athens for financial assistance. [It may be suggested that the inscription should be assigned to about 364-363 B.C., at which date Epaminondas' naval expedition had shaken the allegiance of many of Athens' allies. But even as early as 370 B.C. Euboeans from all cities in the island are found espousing the cause of Thebes. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 23.]

Thermon.—A recently excavated inscription records an alliance between the Aetolians and Acarnanians, and describes the delimitation of the frontier, as bounded by the river Achelous. The date of the inscription is probably about 273 B.C.¹

¹ 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1905 (parts 1-3).

Delos.—The excavations of 1905 had the following as their chief results. The *Schola Romanorum* is shown to have been built upon a virgin site, so that this part of Delos remained open until the Graeco-Roman period. The Portico erected by Philip V. of Macedon in honour of Apollo has been completely cleared, and proves to have been intended purely for a promenade and not for business purposes. Within the building was found the base of a large monument, probably erected (as fragments of an inscription suggest) by L. Cornelius Sulla. Here too was discovered a marble stèle inscribed with a law regulating the importation of wood and charcoal into Delos. It was found below the level of the Portico and probably belonged to an agora where merchandise landed on the island was exposed for sale. The law is of great interest, containing stringent provisions as to the declaration by the merchant of the price at which he intends to sell his fuel. This declaration is to be made to the *πεντηκοστολόγοι* and the *ἀγορανόμοι*, and the price fixed must be strictly adhered to. In the district of the Theatre a group of houses was excavated with a view to ascertaining the general arrangement of this quarter of the town. It proves remarkable for the irregularity of its structure. The streets are narrow and the houses are compressed into a very small space. The population was evidently a dense one. The ordinary house of Delos is the peristyle house, *i.e.* a house with a central court surrounded by columns. The rooms are grouped on all sides of this court. The mural decorations are everywhere of a character similar to that of the first Pompeian style of wall-painting. Of isolated discoveries mention may be made of a series of terracotta statuettes, representing Athenè, Cybelè, Aphroditè, etc. They were found together, and most likely come from the shop of a *κοροπλάθος*. Two marble reliefs were found, the one representing an assembly of the gods, the other a woman adoring Athenè. The latter is of fine style, perhaps fourth century B.C. Numerous vases with figures in relief have come to light, and increase the already noteworthy collection of vases of this type found in Delos. An inscription records a dedication made by the *οἰνοπῶλαι*. Important finds of coins have been made. They include (a) 35 Attic coins of the New Style, wrapped in a sheet of lead; (b) 173 coins of the same Style, put in a small amphora; (c) 249 Attic tetradrachms wrapped in lead; and (d) 650 Roman denarii—604 of which are struck in the

name of the legions of M. Antonius. One bears the legend *Rex Iuba* and has a Punic inscription.¹

SPAIN.

Elche.—The excavations carried on from July–August 1905 resulted in the discovery of numerous fragments of Iberian pottery, ranging from vases with simple geometrical designs to those with compositions of human and animal figures (cf. Paris *Essai sur l'art et l'industrie de l'Espagne primitive*, vol. II). Except in the case of the lowest stratum which contained fragments of geometrical style, it was impossible to distinguish the different period with any accuracy.¹

FRANCE.

La Turbie (Maritime Alps).—Excavations have been begun on the site of the monument raised in 7–6 B.C. by the Senate in memory of the submission of various Gaulish and Alpine tribes to Augustus. Several architectural fragments have been found and also a fragment of the inscription given by Pliny (*H.N.*, iii. 20. 136.). Parts of sculptures have also been unearthed. The excavations will be continued.¹

F. H. MARSHALL.

¹ *Acad. des Inscr.* 1905, Nov.–Dec.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NUMISMATIC SUMMARIES.

Athenische Mittheilungen. xxx. 1905. Heft 4.

1. H. Schrader: Cella-frieze of the old Athena Temple. (Plate; three cuts.)

Identifies the 'Wagenbesteigende Frau' and other archaic reliefs found in the upper strata of the Acropolis with the frieze of the old temple, destroyed when it was rebuilt after the Persian invasion; this frieze an early instance of a purely Ionic feature; the temple is held to have survived the building of the Erechtheum.

2. Th. Wiegand: Inscriptions from Asia Minor. (Cut.)

Five inscriptions from Mysia; also a votive relief with dedication to Apollo Krateanos or Kitharoedos.

3. E. Pfuhl: On the history of circular buildings. (17 cuts.)

Discusses history of round buildings in antiquity, shewing that the primitive European type of round hut (as in Italy) really survived in classical times though subordinated to developments of classical architecture; subsequently revived, reaching acme in Pantheon.

4. L. Curtius: Fragment of a relief at Thebes. (Plate; five cuts.)

Publishes a figure of a fallen Amazon from an archaic pediment, which affords interesting parallels with vase-paintings.

5. E. Nachmanson: On the Cononian Wall. (Plate.)
Publishes an inscription from Peiraeus, giving interesting building details.
6. P. Wolters: Sandal-punishment.
Publishes a R.F. vase at Würzburg representing a boy who has been beaten by a girl with a slipper and is defended by a youth before whom the girl kneels in apology.
7. B. Schröder: Note to *Ath. Mitth.* 1904, pp. 21 ff.
Gives an additional example of Apollo Karneios and a correction of 'deer' to 'hare.'
8. C. Fredrich: Two inscriptions from Bithynia.
9. Discoveries, etc.

Jahrbuch des archäologischen Instituts.

xx. 1905. Heft 4.

1. J. Six: Apelles. (Cut.)
Illustrates the *Hercules aversus* of Apelles by a Pompeian painting and a picture of the finding of Telephos from Herculaneum; the latter may be a copy of it.
2. R. Engelmann: On the *Phoenissae* of Euripides. (Plate.)
Republishes a vase at Naples which had been lost (Reinach, *Répert.* i. 351), with two subjects from the *Phoenissae*, the combat of the brothers and the death of Menoikeus.
3. L. Kjellberg: Clazomenae Sarcophagi. II. (Four cuts.)
Publishes one at Stockholm and three in private possession, all painted in style of early Ionic ('Milesian') vases, and throwing back earlier the date of decorative painting in Ionic; important as being undoubtedly local, but Ionic vases probably not to be localised.
4. G. Weber: Aqueducts in towns of Asia Minor. (Three cuts.)
Describes remains in Magnesia ad Sipylum, Thyateira, Philadelphia, and other places.

Anzeiger:—

- (1) Excavations in Numantia (A. Schulten).
- (2) Acquisitions of Brit. Mus., 1904.
- (3) Meeting of Arch. Gesellschaft, Nov.-Dec. 1905.
- (4) Exhibition of Ephesus finds at Vienna.
- (5) Educational meeting at Hamburg, 1905.
- (6) Transactions of Anthropol. Gesellschaft.
- (7) Miscellaneous.
- (8) Bibliography.

American Journal of Archaeology. 1905.

Part 4.

1. H. C. Butler and E. Littmann: Preliminary Report of the Princeton University Expedition to Syria.
Among the finds were 45 Latin and 776 Greek inscriptions (not all new); the chief site explored was Bosra.
2. M. Louise Nichols: Geometric vases from Corinth. (Six plates; four cuts.)
Discusses twelve vases found in 1899, of local style, with very simple decoration, prior to the Dipylon pottery and resembling that of Eleusis.
3. J. D. Rogers: The meaning of ΠΥΡΓΟΣ in two Teian inscriptions. (Cut.)
The deme-registers were known as πύργος because inscribed on tower-like blocks.
4. D. R. Stuart: Imperial methods of inscription on restored buildings (Augustus and Hadrian).
Augustus did not claim merit of re-building except in cases of actual reconstruction; Hadrian respected previous founders in some

cases (e.g. the Pantheon), but not invariably, in spite of Spartianus' statement; his reason for doing so was chiefly to shame the self-laudatory practices of Domitian.

5. J. P. Peters: The Palace at Nippur Babylonian not Parthian.

Claims that the evidence of the excavations is in favour of dating the palace in Babylonian period (sixth-fifth cent. B.C.).

6. Archaeological Discussions (ed. H. N. Fowler). Supplementary Volume: Reports of Meetings, Societies, etc.

American School of Classical Studies in Rome. Supplementary Papers. Vol. 1. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1905.

1. G. J. Pfeiffer, A. W. Van Buren, and H. H. Armstrong: Stamps on Bricks and Tiles from the Aurelian Wall at Rome. (Ten plates, three cuts.)
2. T. Ashby and G. J. Pfeiffer: La Cività near Artena in the Province of Rome. (Two plates, 17 cuts.)
3. G. J. Pfeiffer and T. Ashby: Carsoli, Site and Roman Remains. (Four plates, 24 cuts.)
4. A. Mahler: The Aphrodite of Arles. (Cut.)
5. H. R. Cross: A new variant of the 'Sappho' type. (Plate.)
6. C. R. Morey: The Christian Sarcophagus in S. Maria Antiqua in Rome. (Seven cuts.)
7. A. W. Van Buren: The Text of Columella. (Plate.)
8. C. R. Morey: The Date of the Election of Julian.
9. R. Norton: Report on Archaeological Remains in Turkestan. (23 cuts.)

H. B. WALTERS.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part 1, 1906.

B. V. Head. 'The earliest Graeco-Bactrian and Graeco-Indian coins.' An important paper dealing with various series of coins which seem to have been hitherto mis-attributed, but which, chiefly on grounds of *provenance*, are here assigned to Bactria or north-western India. Among the coins discussed are the double-Darics; imitations of the tetradrachms of Athens; silver coins with the figure of the Great King, hitherto supposed to be Satrapal issues of Western Asia Minor; silver staters with the name of 'Alexander,' previously supposed to be the earliest Macedonian coinage of Alexander the Great. Head also discusses the large 'Bactrian' silver coin in the British Museum representing a Greek horseman fighting an elephant: this he assigns to the time of Alexander, suggesting that the type records his invasion of the Panjāb in B.C. 326. —F. Imhoof-Blumer. 'The mint at Babylon: a rejoinder.' This is an answer to Sir Henry Howorth who had attacked Dr. Imhoof's attribution of Greek coins to the satrapy of Babylon. Dr. Imhoof complains that Sir Henry has read his article 'with scant attention,' and remarks that 'little value can be attached to the endless re-iterations of Sir Henry Howorth that the assumption of a mint at Babylon rests on purely arbitrary grounds. In point of fact, nothing, absolutely nothing, favours his conclusion that the coins in question were struck in the coast-towns of Syria or Asia Minor... After what has been said, it may be hoped that Sir Henry Howorth will not deem it necessary to continue his promised researches, in which he in-

tends to attack the attribution of satrapal coins to Seleukos, and also doubtless, once more, the assumption of a mint at Babylon, which, *a priori*, he entirely rejects.' I may remark that a double-Daric cited by Sir H. Howorth and pronounced by him to be false is, in this same number of the *Chronicle* (p. 5), declared by Dr. Head, with his great practical experience of coins, to be genuine.—F. W. Hasluck. 'Notes on coin-collecting in Mysia.' Describes some of the chief classes of Greek coins usually found or purchased in the coast-district of Mysia. Such a record of provenance is often very helpful, e.g. for distinguishing the coins of the two Apollonias ('ad Rhyndacum' and 'Salbace'). A bronze coin representing a warrior—*Μίλητος κτίστης*—has been usually assigned to Miletus in Ionia, but as Hasluck has found no less than seven examples in the neighbourhood of *Melde* it is almost certain that the coin is Mysian and of Miletropolis.—Lady Evans. 'Hair-dressing of Roman ladies as illustrated on coins.' The coins are chiefly of Imperial times, and a fine selection appears in the four

plates that accompany this interesting article.—Review, by H. G., of Bahrfeldt's *Die Münzen der Flottenpräfekten des Marcus Antonius*.

Rivista italiana di numismatica. Vol. xix. Part 1, 1906.

G. Castellani. 'Il ripostiglio di San Polo di Piave.' Describes a find made in Oct. 1905 at San Polo di Piave in the province of Treviso, and consisting of 575 Imperial bronze coins—nearly all sestertii—from the time of Augustus to the Philips.—G. Dattari, pp. 31 f., describes coins of the Constantine period.—G. Pansa writes, pp. 51 f., on *nummi tincti*, coins washed with silver, Gallienus to Constantine.—E. J. Haebler on the system of Aes Grave and early Roman coinage, translated from his paper in the *Berliner Münzblätter*.—Reviews of G. Macdonald's *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, vol. iii., and his *Coin-types: their origin and development*.

WARWICK WROTH.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

The size of Books is given in inches. 4 inches = 10 centimetres (roughly).

* * *Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.*

Arnold (Matthew) Matthew Arnold's *Merope*, to which is appended the *Electra* of Sophocles (translated by Robert Whitelaw). Edited by J. Churton Collins. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " $\times$ 5". Pp. viii + 170. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1906. 3s. 6d. (or 90 c.).

Bacchylides. The text edited by Sir Richard C. Jebb, Litt.D., O. M. 7" $\times$ 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. viii + 56. Cambridge, University Press. 1906. Cloth 1s. 6d.

Beare (John I.) Greek Theories of Elementary Cognition from Alcmaeon to Aristotle. 9" $\times$ 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. viii + 354. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1906. 12s. 6d. net (§ 4. 15).

Blass (Friedrich) Die Interpolationen in der Odyssee. Eine Untersuchung von F. B. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 6". Pp. 306. Halle a. S., Verlag von Max Niemeyer. 1904. M. 8.

Bolkestein (H.) De Colonatu Romano ejusque origine. 10" $\times$ 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 192. Amsterdam. S. L. van Looy. 1906.

Bücheler (Franz) Gedächtnisrede auf Hermann Usener gesprochen bei der Eröffnung des Bonner Philologischen Seminars am 3. November, 1905, von F. B. Mit einem Bildnis Useners. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 7". Pp. 737-742. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1906. Pf. 80.

Collins (J. Churton), see **Arnold** (Matthew).

Commentationes Philologiae Ienenses ediderunt Seminarii Philologorum Ienensis Professores. Vol. VII. Fasc. II. (I. Paulus Crain. De Ratione quae inter Platonis Phaedrum et Symposium intercedat. Pp. 1-80. II. Paulus Karl. De Placidi Glossis. Pp. 81-138. III. Ericus Merten. De Bello Persico ab Anastasio gesto. Pp. 139-201.) 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 6". Pp. 201. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1906. M. 8.

Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, see *Tertullian*.

Crain (Paul), see *Commentationes Philologiae Ienenses*.

Decharme (Paul) Euripides and the spirit of his dramas by P. D. translated by James Loeb. 9" $\times$ 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xxii + 392. New York, The Macmillan Company. 1906. 12s. 6d. net.

Euripides, see *Decharme* (Paul).

Furtwängler (Adolf) Die Bedeutung der Gymnastik in der Griechischen Kunst. (Sonderabdruck aus "Der Sämman" Monatschrift für Pädagog. Reform.) 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 16. Leipzig und Berlin, B. G. Teubner. 1905. Pf. 80.

Glotz (Gustave) Études sociales et juridiques sur l'antiquité grecque. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. iv + 304. Paris, Librairie Hachette et Cie. 1906. Fr. 3. 50.

Herodotus. (Shuckburgh (E. S.) Herodotus IV. Melpomene. Edited by E. S. S. (*Pitt Press Series*.) 7" $\times$ 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xxiv + 316. Cambridge, University Press. 1906. Cloth 4s.

Jebb (Sir R. C.), see *Bacchylides*.

Karl (Paul), see *Commentationes Philologiae Ienenses*.

Kroymann (A.), see *Tertullian*.

Lecacheux (Paul) Lettres secrètes et curiales du Pape Urbain V. (1362-1370) se rapportant à la France, publiées ou analysées d'après les registres du Vatican par P. L. Fasc. I. (1902), Fasc. II. (1906). (*Lettres des Papes d'Avignon se rapportant à la France.* No. 5. Fasc. I. and II.) 13" $\times$ 10". Pp. 320. Paris, A. Fontemoing. 1902 and 1906. 12 francs each fasc.

Loeb (James), see *Decharme* (Paul).

Lucian, see *Rabe* (Hugo).

Meillet (A.), see *Niedermann* (Max).

Merten (E.), see *Commentationes Philologiae Ienenses*.

Niedermann (Max) Précis de phonétique historique du Latin par M. N. avec un avant-propos par A. Meillet. (*Nouvelle Collection à l'usage des Classes, XXVIII.*) 7" x 4½". Pp. xii+152. Paris, Libraire C. Klincksieck. 1906. Fr. 2 50.

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Rabe (Hugo) Scholia in Lucianum edidit H. R. (*Bibl. Script. Graec. et Rom. Teub.*) 7½" x 5". Pp. xii+336 and 2 plates. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1906. M. 6.

Rand (E. K.) Joannes Scottus. (*Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters heraus von Ludwig Traube. Band I. Heft 2.*) 10" x 7". Pp. xiv+106. München, Oskar Beck. 1906. M. 6.

Shuckburgh (E. S.) Augustus. The Life and Times of the Founder of the Roman Empire.

(B.C. 63-A.D. 14) Illustrated. Second Impression. 8" x 5¼". Pp. xii+318. London, T. Fisher Unwin. 1905. Cheap Edition. 5s. net.

— See also *Herodotus*.

Sophocles, see *Arnold* (Matthew).

Tertullian. Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani opera ex recensione Aemilii Kroymann. Pars III. (*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Vol. XXXVII.*) 9¼ x 6". Pp. xxxviii+650. Vindobonae, F. Tempsky., Lipsiae, G. Freytag. 1906.

Tod (M. N.) and Ware (A. J. B.) A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum. 9" x 5¼". Pp. viii+250. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1906. Paper boards, cloth back. 10s. 6d. net (§ 3. 40).

Usener (Hermann), see *Bücheler* (Franz).

Ware (A. J. B.), see *Tod* (M. N.).

Whitelaw (Robert), see *Arnold* (Matthew).

Wilke (Carolus), see *Polystratus*.

The Classical Review

JUNE 1906.

EURIPIDES, *ANDROMACHE* 655-656.

(THE DEATH OF ACHILLES—MEDIAL PAUSES IN THE TRAGIC SENARIUS.)

‘WHY should one say that old men are wise men, those even whom the world once thought sensible, when you, Peleus, *you*, disgrace yourself in rebuking me, for the sake of a foreign woman? Rather should you have hunted her to the ends of the earth, and bidden me help in the chase! A woman of that Asia, where Greek warriors, in numbers never equalled, lost their lives! A woman part-guilty of your son’s blood! You dwell with her under one roof, you admit her to your table, you suffer her in your house to bear children of her detestable race!’

In such terms Menelaus, in the *Andromache* of Euripides, reproaches the father of Achilles for his domestic relations with the widow of Hector. To the natural suggestion¹ that the Trojan woman, as such, is associated with the death of Achilles,

τοῦ σοῦ δὲ παῖδὸς αἵματος κοινωνομένην,

the traditional text appends an explanation, which, if the reader does not happen to remember it, will surprise him: ‘For Paris, who slew your son Achilles, was brother to Hector, and Andromache was Hector’s wife.’

Πάρις γάρ, ὃς σὸν παῖδ’ ἔπεφν’ Ἀχιλλεία
Ἐκτορος ἀδελφὸς ἦν, δάμαρ δ’ ἦδ’ Ἐκτορος.

This unacceptable interpretation was expelled from the text by Nauck, who gives no reasons, but doubtless held the aesthetic objection to be sufficient, as perhaps it is.

¹ Cf. *Andr.* 247.

The purpose of this paper is to show that Nauck’s surmise can be strictly proved. The verses impugned would be astonishing in Euripides anywhere, and in the *Andromache* are impossible. The failure of the imitation, though only two lines are attempted, is grotesque, and the divergences instructive. The second verse,

Ἐκτορος ἀδελφὸς ἦν, δάμαρ δ’ ἦδ’ Ἐκτορος,

judged by the standard of Euripides, is hardly a verse. It is as bad as, without breach of absolute rule, it could be made, weak in beginning, middle, and end, and it might conveniently be given to a tiro in composition as a *memoria technica* of things undesirable. It combines three distinct and extreme licences.

I.—The first foot² should not consist of a single dactylic word.

This variation, perhaps the least eligible of all which the practice of the tragedians does not prohibit, is here something like an anachronism. It appears, very rarely, in Euripidean plays of the middle period: the *Troades* (about 415 B.C.), for example, has one or two specimens of it.³ Later still, when most licences increase in frequency,

² This use of ‘foot’ is, I am aware, not scientific, but it saves some cumbrousness of expression, and seems to me harmless.

³ *Tro.* 415, 653 (648). Here and elsewhere I naturally do not reckon phrases such as *μηδένα* (*Tro.* 510), which contain not one word, but two, and when emphatic, as in this position they almost necessarily are, would be better so printed.

and the initial foot is often a dactyl, a dactylic word so placed becomes naturally more common, though it remains to the last exceptional. In the early period, on the other hand, in plays of Euripides which certainly or probably were acted before (say) 423 B.C., the licence is hardly, perhaps never, to be found.¹ Now the versification of the *Andromache* is 'early,' resembling in regularity that of the *Medea* or the *Hippolytus*. The dactylic first foot is itself a rarity in the play,² and a dactylic word in this foot, as might be expected, does not occur at all. Yet the interpolator not only uses it, but actually signalizes it by repeating the same word with the normal scansion (— —) at the end of the verse. Such a treatment would be surprising, perhaps even suspicious, in itself.

II.—A punctuation, a pause necessary to the sense, should not (without special reason) occur at the centre of the verse, i.e. between the third foot and the fourth.

This is the most important of all general rules for the tragic *senarius*, more important even than the rule of the *caesura*, which is indeed only another, and a subordinate, application of the same principle. Euripides observes it carefully, and departs from it, generally speaking, only under special conditions, which the imitator does not fulfil.

The reason for the rule is obvious. A verse of six feet is liable, from the nature of the human ear, to break up into symmetrical sections; above all, it is liable to break into a distich, two verses of three feet each. To prevent this is the purpose, and the sole purpose, of the general rule that a *caesura*, a separation of word from word, must occur either in the third foot (where it is most efficient for the purpose and therefore commonest) or in the fourth. But it is manifest that, if a much stronger break, such as the division of clause from clause, is made at the centre, the effect of the *caesura* is overpowered and the unity of the verse is destroyed. Such a sentence as

Ἔκτορος ἀδελφὸς ἦν, δάμαρ δ' ἦδ' Ἔκτορος

will and must be naturally recited as a distich.

Now Euripides, in his departures from

¹ A proper name, such as Ἔκτορος, would be the most likely occasion for the licence; but in fact, down to the *Hecuba* (inclusive), it does not occur, so far as I have observed. It might, no doubt, have occurred in the *Andromache* or anywhere; but that is not the point.

² *Andr.* 169 (ὁ Πρῆλος), 387, 1157, 1214, 1266.

this rule,³ observes a distinction, delicate indeed but approved by common sense. The vice of the medial punctuation is that it gives to the first half of the line the semblance of a completed verse; therefore, the less this resemblance, the less is the objection; and therefore there is difference of degree according to the nature of the third foot, the foot preceding the pause. There are three possibilities:

(1) a trisyllabic foot, dactyl or tribrach, as *Bacch.* 841

δοῦς ἐρήμους ἵμεν' ἐγὼ δ' ἡγήσομαι.

(2) a spondee, as *Ion* 1019

τούτῳ θανέται παῖς· σὺ δ' ὁ κτείνων ἔσει.

(3) an iambus, as *Bacch.* 922

ἀλλ' ἢ ποτ' ἦσθα θήρ; τεταύρωσαι γὰρ οἶν.

It is plain to the ear that the separate unity of the first half, regarded as a verse in the iambic measure, is greatest by far in the third example, less in the second, and much less again in the first. And the practice of Euripides differs accordingly.

(1) *Medial punctuation after a trisyllabic foot (resolved thesis).*

This appears in all parts of Euripides as an artifice, employed with intention and for some special effect, as for instance in *Supplices* 1060: Iphitus is expostulating with his daughter Evadne, who stands over the pyre of her husband and has resolved (though the father does not know this) to throw herself into it:

ΙΦ. κάππειτα τύμβω καὶ πυρᾷ φαίνει πέλας;

ΕΥ. ἐπαῖθα γὰρ δὴ καλλίνικος ἔρχομαι.

ΙΦ. νικῶσα νίκην τίνα; μαθεῖν χρῆζω σέθεν.

The broken verse marks the rising anxiety (cf. *Orestes* 401), and has therefore a rhetorical justification. With different and subtle purpose the pause is used in *Troades* 1177, the lament of Hecuba over the mangled corpse of the babe Astyanax:

δύστηνε, κρατὸς ὥς σ' ἔκειρεν ἀθλίως
τείχη πατρώα, Λοξίου πυργώματα·

³ Such verses as

σιγῇ δόμους εἰσβάσα, ἴν' ἔστρωται λέχος,
with an *elision* between the third foot and the fourth, do not fall within the scope of our consideration, the pause not being strictly medial. They have, 'virtually' as the phrase is, a *caesura* in the fourth foot. They are more common than those without *elision*; the use of them, I believe, to be similar though distinguishable. However they do not concern us at present.

ὄν πόλλ' ἐκήπενσ' ἡ τεκοῦσα βόστρονχον
 φιλήμασιν τ' ἔδωκεν, ἔνθεν ἐκελεῖα
 δοστῶν βαγέντων . . . φόνος, — ἵ' αἰσχροῖα μὴ λέγων.

The punctuation accents the euphemism, substituted for the more horrible expression (μῖσος!) which rises in the mind. Similar in principle is *Helen* 1399

ὁ καινὸς ἡμῖν . . . πόσις, ἀναγκαίως ἔχει,
 τὰ πρῶτα λέκτρα νυμφικὰς θ' ὁμιλίας
 τιμᾶν.

Helen, just widowed, as she pretends, of Menelaus, and falsely plighted to her wooer Theoclymenus, modestly hesitates in addressing him for the first time as her 'husband'. The punctuation emphasizes this. Other examples, where the irregular break seems to have an obvious rhetorical justification, are *Andr.* 47, *Heracles* 593 (the sharp note of warning), *Helen* 1043, 1520, etc.

But in the later plays, from the *Heracles* onwards, other examples are found, where there seems to be no special emphasis or other such justification. There is visible a tendency, corresponding to other changes in the style, to treat medial punctuation, when preceded by a trisyllabic foot, as a mere licence, admissible, though not common, as a mere variation of rhythm; so for example in

Heracles 978 :

ὁ δ' ἐξελίσσων παῖδα κίονος κύκλω,
 τῶρνευμα δεινὸν ποδός, ἐναντίον σταθεῖς
 βάλλει πρὸς ἡπαρ.

Ion 1030 :

οἶσθ' οὖν ὃ δρᾶσον; χειρὸς ἐξ ἑμῆς λαβὼν
 χρύσωμ' Ἀθάνας τόδε, παλαιὸν ὄργανον,
 ἐλθὼν κ.τ.λ.

See also,¹ *El.* 43, *Iph. T.* 484, 1040; *Helen* 290, 449, 1236, 1241, 1449; *Phoen.* 46, 449, 846; *Or.* 549, 1585; *Bacchae* 298, 353, 841, 975; *Iph. A.* 468, 747, etc. The specimens cited will show the effect, which, though strange to an ear trained on the *Medea* or the *Hippolytus*, must be taken as in itself unobjectionable. In the *Andromache*, as in the early plays generally, I find no

¹ I ignore, here and elsewhere, cases (such as *Heracles* 8, *Hecuba* 398) where, though we may put a comma, we cannot say that there is any break of sense, and, *a fortiori*, cases such as *Andr.* 698, where not even a comma is required. My lists are fairly full, but completeness is not necessary for the present purpose, and it is probable that some instances have been overlooked. Indeed completeness is scarcely possible, where in delicate cases there must be room for difference of judgment and estimate.

example of this pause treated merely as a licence.

(2) Medial punctuation after a spondee.

As a rhetorical device, to mark a sharp emphasis or specially significant pause, this is extremely effective, and is found in Euripidean work of all periods, e.g. :

Alc. 789 :

εὐφραίνει σαντόν, πῖνε, τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν
 βίον λογίζου σόν, — τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῆς τύχης.

with which, for the emphasis given to the word σόν, compare *Hecuba* 253, *Hipp.* 888, *Phoen.* 521, 524, *Helen* 987, *Orestes* 1053. See also *Med.* 701 :

δίδωσι δ' αὐτῷ τίς; πέραννέ μοι λόγον.

Hec. 879 :

τίς σοι σύνεσται χεῖρ; πόθεν κτήσει φίλους;

Heracles 1256 :

ἄκουε δὴ νῦν, ὡς ἀμυλληθῶ λόγους
 πρὸς νοουτήσεις σάς. ἀναπτύξω δέ σοι
 ἀβύτων ἡμῖν νῦν τε καὶ πάροιθεν ὄν.

where the gravity of the opening is produced mainly by the unaccustomed pause.

Helen 585 :

τίνος πλάσαντος θεῶν; ἀέλπτα γὰρ λέγεις.

with which compare *Phoen.* 738.

Phoen. 1005, where the whole passage from v. 991 should be read, in order to appreciate the value of the break in

ἐγὼ δὲ πατέρα καὶ κασίγνητον προδοῦς
 πόλιν τ' ἑμάντοῦ, δειλὸς ὡς, ἐξω χθονὸς
 ἀπειμ'; ὅπου δ' ἂν ζῶ, — κακὸς φανήσομαι;
 μὰ τὸν μετ' ἄστρον Ζῆνα κ.τ.λ.

Different in kind, but equally satisfactory, is the unusual rhythm of *Heraclidae* 837 :

τὸ δεύτερον δὲ ποὺς ἐπαλλαχθεῖς ποδὶ,
 ἀνὴρ δ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ στάς, ἐκαρτέρει μάχη.

To these add *Alc.* 939, *Andr.* 412, *Heraclidae* 238, *Hipp.* 1319, *Hec.* 232, *El.* 248, 1042, *Heracles* 1301, *Ion* 1019, *Iph. A.* 667, 1461 (in all of which a rhetorical purpose is obvious), and also *Andr.* 973, where the purpose should not be overlooked. Orestes speaks to Hermione :

ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀχιλλέως δεῦρ' ἐνόστησεν γόνος,
 σῶ μὲν συνέγγνων πατρί, τὸν δ' ἐλυσσόμην
 γάμον ἀφείναι σούς, ἐμὰς λέγων τύχας
 καὶ τὸν παρόντα δαίμον', ὡς φίλων μὲν ἂν
 γήμαμ' ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν, ἔκτοθεν δ' οὐ βραδύς,
 φεύγων ἀπ' οἴκων ἄς ἐγὼ φεύγω φυγὰς.

The point of the emphasis on *σοῦς* is that *Hermione*, and only *Hermione*, being in the circumstances a possible bride for *Orestes*, *Neoptolemus*, to whom the world was open, should in fairness have resigned his pretensions to *her*.

That medial punctuation after a spondee is never admitted by Euripides without special purpose, would be too much to say, but examples of such treatment will be found very rare.¹ Three I find in the *Supplices*,—a play distinguished from all extant works of the poet by other and more important peculiarities:

Suppl. 268:

ἔχει γὰρ καταφυγὴν θῆρ μὲν πέτραν,
δοῦλος δὲ βωμοῦς θεῶν, πόλις δὲ πρὸς πόλιν,
ἐπτήξε χεῖμασθείσα.

ib. 704:

λόχος δ' ὀδόντων ὄφεος ἐξηνδρωμένος
δεινὸς παλαιστής ἦν· ἔκλινε γὰρ κέρας
τὸ λαὸν ἡμῶν.

ib. 754:

ὧν οὐνεκ' ἀγὼν ἦν, νεκροὺς κομίζετε;

Nothing so lax as these two last² is to be found, I believe, anywhere else; but *Hec.* 1133, *Electra* 382 (if we make any stop), *Hel.* 1410, and *Orestes* 1220 may be noted as perhaps less careful than usual. Little reliance should be placed on the prosaic and (as I think) rather clumsy verses in *Bacchae* 680:

ὀρῶ δὲ θιάσους τρεῖς γυναικείων χορῶν.
[ὧν ῥηχ' ἐνὸς μὲν Αἰττονόῃ, τοῦ δευτέρου
μήτηρ Ἀγανὴ σή, τρίτον δ' Ἰνώ χοροῦ]³
ἦνδον δὲ πᾶσαι κ.τ.λ.

The names of *Agave's* sisters are of no importance to the play, and on the other hand an erudite commentator would like to supply them. This couplet (and *Bacch.* 229–230) may well be spurious.⁴

¹ In *Tro.* 386 I do not find any pause. In *Hecuba* 979 I should prefer to punctuate before, not after, *σοῦς*, though if the other punctuation be preferred, the emphasis thus put on *σοῦς* can be justified. In *Hecuba* 321 it is possible that the comma should follow, not precede, *τάδε*.

² Contrast the calculated and excellent effect of a similar flatness, followed by change of tone, in *Sophocles Phil.* 435. For the general practice of *Sophocles*, which is similar to that of *Euripides*, but I think rather less strict, see *Phil.* 57, 297, 366, 389, 503, 589, 907, 1009, 1021, 1049, 1237, 1302.

³ τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου and τρίτη δ' Ἰνώ MSS.

⁴ In *Andr.* 929 πᾶς οὖν τάδ', ὥς εἶποι τις, ἐξημάρτανες; a medial punctuation, very strange and peculiar, is produced by the conjecture πᾶς οὖν, ἂν εἶποι τις, τάδ' ἐξημάρτανες; which for this and other

The *Andromache* itself has an example of medial punctuation after a spondee (*v.* 1268), where the unwonted pause has a singularly delicate and pathetic significance. *Thetis*, having promised immortality to *Peleus*, continues thus:

ἀλλ' ἔρπε Δελφῶν ἐς θεόδοιμον πόλιν,
νεκρὸν κομίζων τόνδε, καὶ κρύψας χθονί,
ἐλθὼν παλαιᾶς χοῖράδος κούλον μυχὸν
Σηπιάδος ἵζον· μίμνε δ', ἐς τ' ἂν ἐξ ἀλὸς
λαβοῦσα πεντήκοντα Νηρήδων χορὸν
ἔλθω κομιστήν σου·—τὸ γὰρ πεπρωμένον
δεῖ σ' ἐκκομίζειν. Ζηνὶ γὰρ δοκεῖ τάδε.
παῦσαι δὲ λύπης κ.τ.λ.

The best commentary on this is furnished by *Euripides* himself, who does the same thing, with a difference, in the similar address of *Artemis* to the dying *Hippolytus* (*Hipp.* 1426):

σοὶ δ', ὦ ταλαίπωρ', ἀντὶ τῶνδε τῶν κακῶν
τιμὰς μεγίστας ἐν πόλει Τροίῃνιᾳ
δώσω· κόραι γὰρ ἄζυγες γάμων πάρος
κόμας κεροῦνται σοι·—δί' αἰῶνος μακροῦ
πένθῃ μέγιστα δακρύνω καρπούμενῳ. κ.τ.λ.

3.—Medial punctuation after an iambus.

This division, which, as we have already remarked, breaks up the verse completely, may of course be used, like any other irregularity whatever, if there is sufficient reason, but without grave reason ought manifestly not to be admitted. Such a verse as that cited above, *Bacchae* 922

ἀλλ' ἢ ποτ' ἦσθα θήρ; τεταύρωσαι γὰρ οὖν,

violently arrests the ear accustomed to tragic rhythm, and is of course here intended to so. It is the exclamation of *Pentheus*, when he first sees in the 'Lydian stranger' the signs of his divinity. For other examples, differing in kind, but all appropriated to great agitation, see *Hipp.* 313, *Heracleidae* 424, *Helen* 86, *ib.* 575, *Phoen.* 761, *ib.* 1317. In two places the break serves to mark hesitation before the suggestion of something extremely painful: *Ion.* 1527

ὄρα σύ, μήτηρ, μὴ σφαλεῖς' ἂ παρθένους
ἐγγίγνεται νοσήματ' ἐς κρυπτοὺς γάμους
ἔπειτα τῷ θεῷ προστίθης τὴν αἰτίαν,
καὶ τοῦμὸν αἰσχρὸν ἀποφυνεῖν περρωμένην
Φοῖβω τεκεῖν με φῆς,—τεκοῦς' οὐκ ἐκ θεοῦ.

See also, with the context, *Troades* 619 (615).

reasons is to be rejected. As I have said elsewhere (note *ad loc.* in Appendix to my essay on this play, in *Four Essays* etc.), I believe the archaic optative without *ἂν* to be, in such a traditional formula as *ὥς εἶποι τις*, admissible and natural.

The peculiar and in some respects unique verse, *Ion* 1041

ἀγ', ὦ γεραιὲ πούς, νεανίας γενοῖ

a pure iambic with medial punctuation, is excellently adapted to the meaning, as is the similar, but delicately differentiated, *Troades* 1275

ἀλλ' ὦ γεραιὲ πούς, ἐπίσπευσον μόλις,

where the 'aged foot' makes an effort, but instantly flags. Such examples are no rule for anything beyond themselves.

To find a single example of this pause (medial punctuation after an iambus), treated by Euripides as a mere licence and without regard to the effect, is harder than might be supposed. It occurs naturally, among all imaginable blunders of prosody and rhythm, in the spurious part of the *Iphigenia at Aulis* (1593). Another instance, much less objectionable,

Λήδας μὲν εἰμὶ παῖς, Κλυταιμνήστρα δέ μοι
ὄνομα, κ.τ.λ.

occurs in the same play 827, where it may be genuine, but, considering the history of the play, one cannot be sure. *Ion* 1580 is doubtful in reading.¹ *Iph. T.* 87

λαβεῖν τ' ἄγαλμα θεῶς, ὃ φασιν ἐνθάδε
εἶ τοῦσδε ναοὺς οὐρανοῦ πεσεῖν ἄπο

will be a case of negligence, though a very mild one, if we admit the punctuation; but since the genitive θεῶς belongs to ναοὺς as much as to ἄγαλμα, the comma is better away. In *Bacch.* 49 we may suppose an intentional emphasis on εἶ, and so elsewhere. The plain truth is, that the thing ought not to be done without reason, and Euripides hardly ever, if ever, so did it. Nor, by the way, does that extraordinary imitator (if imitator he is), the author of the *Rhesus*, whose practice in this matter (see *vv.* 161, 388, 579) is as good as, and rather better than, that of the *Suppliants*. But the author of

"Εκτορος ἀδελφὸς ἦν, δάμαρ δ' ἦδ' "Εκτορος

does it without scruple or palliation. And he treats in the same way a third rule.

III.—The rule against a 'cretic pause' (or cretic caesura).

The author thinks, as 'mechanical' composers commonly do, that he satisfies this rule, because in ἦδ' "Εκτορος the cretic word

¹ "Οπλητες Ἀργαδῆς τ', εἰμῆς δ' ἀπ' αἰγίδος κ.τ.λ. (Dindorf), which modifies the medial punctuation by an elision. The whole passage (1575-1594) is poor and of doubtful authority.

is preceded by a monosyllable. He does not perceive that, to make this remedy effective to the ear, the monosyllable should be linked in sense to the cretic, joined to it more closely than to what precedes, as in *Andr.* 680

'Ελένη δ' ἐμόχθησ' οὐχ ἐκοῦσ', ἀλλ' ἐκ θεῶν,

and generally throughout the play² and in the practice of the tragedians. It is hardly worth while to discuss here the exact limits of the rule, and the shades of possible infringement with or without special reason. The interpolator's treatment is slovenly, and is made peculiarly offensive (to my ear) by the ugly sound of the peccant monosyllable (δ' ἦδ') in δάμαρ δ' ἦδ' "Εκτορος.

To sum up then, this imitator of Euripides' *Andromache* unites in a single verse three licences, the dactylic word in the first foot, the medial punctuation after an iambus, and the cretic caesura, of which not one is justified by the model. Nor is his first line flawless:

Πάρις γάρ, ὃς σὸν παῖδ' ἔπεφν' Ἀχιλλέα.

It is by no means certain that Euripides, in the pure, simple, and normal language of this speech and scene, would have admitted such an archaism as ἔπεφνε for ἔκτεινε, though he might doubtless have used the word in a proper place. The couplet is a monster, and should be expiated without hesitation.

To establish this point is of more than merely technical interest; for the interpolator is as little acquainted with the facts of the play as with its metre, and misrepresents an important part of the story. He imports into the *Andromache* the common legend, made familiar to us by the Latin poets, that the slayer of Achilles was Paris. But that is not the version of the *Andromache*; for we read there that Neoptolemus, Achilles' son, fell 'by the hand of the same Delphian who slew Achilles himself' (*vv.* 1149 foll.)

² Ἀχιλλέως πίττει

παῖς, ὕξνθῆκτω πλενρὶ φασγάνῳ τυπείς

Δελφοῦ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς (ὅσπερ αὐτὸν ὤλεσεν),³

πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων κ.τ.λ.

² See *Andr.* 367, 378, 460, 640, 680, 750, 905, 975, 979, 1081. In *ib.* 875 there is no 'cretic pause': the scansion intended is δωμάτων τῶνδ' ἐκ-πεσεῖν, the preposition being treated as separable. In *ib.* 230 τῶν κακῶν γὰρ μητέρων| φεύγειν τρόπους χρῆ τέκνα, the rule is violently broken, and we must either correct (δὲ Pierson) or suppose an intention, a sharp and intentionally disagreeable emphasis on τῶν κακῶν. I prefer the second alternative.

³ That this means αὐτὸν Ἀχιλλέα, opposed to Ἀχιλλέως παῖς, is in my opinion certain. The words

This version of the death of Achilles, that he was slain, either accidentally or (as we should rather suppose) treacherously, by a Greek soldier from Delphi, is not mentioned, so far as I know, elsewhere; but this is by no means the only point in which the *Andromache* diverges from common tradition. Indeed the whole story is peculiar, and was invented in all probability by the dramatist. That Delphi was directly responsible for the death of Achilles, as well as for that of his son, is an assumption harmonious with the story, and almost necessary to it. For the very basis of it is the demand of Neoptolemus (v. 52) that the god of Delphi should 'pay' for the death of Achilles. The Delphians clearly understood this demand as a literal demand for blood-money, made upon Apollo and themselves as proprietors of the Delphic treasure; for they conceived, in consequence of it, a suspicion that the demander intended to compel payment by pillage (vv. 1085-1099); and I see no reason to doubt that, according to the story of this drama, the demand of Neoptolemus was really preferred against Delphi, and not only against an inaccessible deity. Now such a demand, impious of course according to orthodoxy in any case, would be scarcely intelligible, and certainly impudent, if Delphi had no nearer connexion with the death of Achilles than that Paris, who slew him, was alleged to have done it by the aid of the Trojan Apollo. But the demand was natural enough and, though retracted by Neoptolemus under pressure of adversity, was not unreasonable, if the responsibility of Delphi at any rate, according to the facts as conceived at Phthia, was certain. A reader familiar with the play will feel that such a conception suits it in all respects better than the common version, which brings in Paris. This therefore, notwithstanding the interpolator of our couplet, we should here exclude and reject.

A starting-point or hint for the story, that Achilles as well as his son was the victim of Pythian hatred and fanaticism, is furnished by the *Iliad*. That the treasures of the Phocian sanctuary were envied and coveted by the fierce cavaliers of Thessaly, was already a tradition when the 'Embassy' (*Iliad* IX) was composed, and Achilles himself was made to say (v. 404) that, as the price of his life, he would not accept all the wealth contained in the Pythian precinct, since 'oxen

and sheep may be won by plundering, and tripods and horses may be gotten,' but life is irrecoverable. This language may be innocent, but it would not sound very well in Pythian ears. And when we consider the enmity of Thessaly and Phocis in the fifth century, and the natural disposition of Achilles to offend everybody, there is all the material required for that version of his death, which Euripides invented or used. The Delphian traitor and assassin would of course be an anachronism in Homer, but is a proper figure in the *Andromache*.

To account for the allusive reference to the Delphian in this play, we must of course suppose that somewhere the story of Achilles' death was so related. There is no difficulty in supposing this, nor is it perhaps difficult to guess where it was told. But to discuss that would take us beyond the present subject.

The foregoing paper, almost exactly as here printed, was written in April, 1906, and had just been read to the Philological Society of Cambridge (May 10), when I received, by the kindness of Mr. T. D. Goodell of Yale University, a copy of his paper on 'Bisected Trimeters in Attic Tragedy,' published in the *American Classical Philology*, Vol. i. No. 2, April 1906, which before I had not seen. His list of medial pauses in Euripides agreed, as I found, with mine as nearly as, in such a matter, could possibly be expected between any two independent readers. I have borrowed a few additional references. Still more striking and satisfactory is our agreement as to the nature of the phenomenon, and the general line of explanation. See especially Mr. Goodell's last page, and the reference to *Hippolytus* 1426 ('1436,' but see p. 163, note), where our impressions of the poet's purpose, though quite differently worded, are plainly identical. The scope of Mr. Goodell's discussion is in one way larger than mine, in another less: he approaches the subject from a different side; he is occupied more particularly with the two elder tragedians; the distribution and proportion of topics is totally unlike; our technical phraseology is in some respects distinct. In short, we are each individual. Yet in substance I find scarcely the least divergence of doctrine; and I have thought it better to publish my paper without modification, for the support which it may give or receive. On a few details I might raise a doubt. But in substance I accept everything which Mr. Goodell propounds.

cannot be otherwise translated. The attempts to improve the passage (by omitting *ῥοπαῖες... ἔλλαων* and otherwise) proceed upon the mistaken assumption that *αὐτόν* must mean Neoptolemus.

Two questions, neither of them vital, I would briefly indicate. Mr. Goodell sometimes speaks of the medial pause as a 'caesura.' There is abundant authority for this use of the term. But would it not be desirable to keep the term *caesura* for a division *between words*? In the discussion of metre we want a distinct term for this, and to make the same term cover a pause (division dictated by the sense of the sentence) may perhaps lead to confusion. However this is a mere matter of convention. Further, Mr. Goodell includes in his review some consideration of verses not having either of the normal caesurae (divi-

sion between words at the penthemimeral or hepthemimeral place). That this subject is connected with the other, I would by no means deny. All phenomena in the practice of a given poet will have some connexion. But I think it desirable to make a sharp distinction here. Departures from the normal practice as to 'necessary caesura' differ widely from examples of medial pause in number, in distribution, and, I think, in origin. But this again is no fundamental question. I hope to return to it on another occasion.

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NOTE ON PLATO, *REPUBLIC* 488 D.

τοῦ δὲ ἀληθινοῦ κυβερνήτου περί μὴδ' ἐπαίοντες, ὅτι ἀνάγκη αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ ὥρων καὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀστρων καὶ πνευμάτων καὶ πάντων τῶν τῇ τέχνῃ προσήκοντων, εἰ μέλλει τῷ ὄντι νεὼς ἀρχικὸς εἶσεσθαι, ὅπως δὲ κυβερνήσει ἐάν τέ τινες βούλωνται ἐάν τε μή, μήτε τέχνην τοῦτου μήτε μελέτην οἰόμενοι [οἰομένῳ] δυνατόν εἶναι λαβεῖν ἅμα καὶ τὴν κυβερνητικὴν.

In *A.J.P.* xvi. p. 234 I argued that, waiving discussion as to the precise extent of anacoluthon in this passage, the essential meaning must be that the true pilot denies that there is any art of securing the helm or practice of it compatible with the mastery of the science of navigation. In other words his attitude is that of Burke when he tells his constituents 'I could hardly serve you as I have done and court you too.' I venture to renew the discussion of the much vexed passage because (1) a question is not settled till it is 'settled right'; (2) I have some new parallels that seem to me decisive; (3) Mr. Adam, while rightly recognizing that Ast and Jowett have missed the meaning, has himself misled others (e.g. Stewart, *Myths of Plato*, p. 254) by an interpretation plausible but, I think, quite impossible. He following Schneider understands ὅπως δὲ κυβερνήσει to mean 'how he shall steer,' and takes the expression to be a mere anticipatory periphrasis of κυβερνητικὴν the science of navigation. I hold that ὅπως δὲ κυβερνήσει means and can only mean in antithesis to κυβερνητικὴν the knack of getting or keeping possession of the helm by violence or persuasion, as expressed above in the words ὅπως ἄρξουσιν ἢ πείθοντες

ἢ βιαζόμενοι. The words μήτε . . . δυνατόν ἅμα, etc., mark the incompatibility of the two opposed things preferably in the judgment of the pilot, conceivably in that of the crew.

I should say that this was apparent as a mere matter of construing, if I had not ceased to be surprised at any construction which good scholars will defend in controversy. But since further evidence is needed, here it is: Xenophon, *Rep. Lac.* xiv. 4, expresses a thought allied to Plato's in the words: νῦν δὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον πραγματεύονται ὅπως ἄρξουσιν ἢ ὅπως ἀξιοὶ τοῦτου ἔσονται.

In *Laws* 714 c Plato himself assails those who hold that the aim of statesmanship is ἡτις ἂν καθεστηκυῖα ἡ πολιτεία ταύτη ἰδεῖν τὸ ξυμφέρειν ὅπως ἄρξει τε δεῖ καὶ μὴ καταλυθῆσεται. Again, in *Laws* 962 D E he traces the failures of existing governments to false criteria of justice: τοῖς μὲν τὸν ὅρον εἶναι τῶν δικαίων ὅπως ἄρξουσὶ τινες ἐν τῇ πόλει εἴτ' οἷν βελτίους εἶτε χείρους τυγχάνουσιν. It is evident that Plato everywhere is thinking of the antithesis between the science of rule and the knack of seizing the helm, and that ὅπως ἄρξει or κυβερνήσει in such a context necessarily signifies the latter. Further confirmation is found in Aristotle's discussion of the same idea with obvious reference to the passage of the Republic. In *Politics* vii. 2, p. 1324 b 23 Aristotle says: καίτοι δόξειεν ἂν ἄγαν ἄποπον ἴσως εἶναι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐπισκοπεῖν εἰ τοῦτο ἔστιν ἔργον τοῦ πολιτικοῦ τὸ δύνασθαι θεωρεῖν ὅπως ἀρχὴ καὶ δεσπόζῃ τῶν πλησίον καὶ βουλομένων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων. (cf. Plato's ἐάν τέ τινες βούλωνται ἐάν τε μή.) This view of the political art,

he adds, is refuted by the analogy of the other arts: ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπιστήμαις τοῦτ' ὁρώμεν. οὐτε γὰρ τοῦ ἱατροῦ οὔτε τοῦ κυβερνήτου ἔργον ἐστὶ τὸ πείσαι ἢ τὸ βιάσασθαι τοῦ μὲν τοὺς θεραπευομένους τοῦ δὲ τοὺς πλωτῆρας. 'Αλλ' εἰκόασιν οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν δεσποτικὴν πολιτικὴν οἶσθαι. This error of the multitude is that of Plato's crew. They think the true pilot is he who can seize the helm, and do not know that he must give himself to the study of navigation and does not believe (or reading οἰόμενοι, they do not believe) that study compatible with attention to the arts of getting control of the ship. Though οἰόμενοι is possible, then, Sidgwick's οἰομένω is preferable for two reasons. (1) The whole passage starts to tell us about the true pilot (and his opinions)

τοῦ δὲ ἀληθινοῦ κυβερνήτου πέρι, etc. (2) It is more reasonable to attribute the appreciation of this Platonic thought to the true pilot than to the mutinous crew.

In conclusion, since I have referred to Mr. Adam's excellent edition, I may be permitted to point out that, by a pardonable inadvertence in *longo opere*, he in his note on 581c by omitting 'not' in quoting my words attributes to me the very interpretation which I reject in favour of that wherein he follows me. My words (*A.J.P.* viii. p. 366) are 'Not "we may begin by assuming," etc., "but "that the three primary classes are," etc.

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ARIST. DE MEM. 452^a 17-26.

- 17 εἰκοι δὴ καθόλου ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ μέσον πάντων· εἰ γὰρ μὴ πρότερον, ὅταν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἔλθῃ, μνησθῆσεται, ἢ οὐκ ἐτ' οὐδὲ ἄλλοθεν, οἷον εἰ τὴς νοήσειεν ἐφ' ὧν ΑΒΓΔΕΖΗΘ·
 εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ε μέμνηται, ἐπὶ τοῦ ΕΘ ἐμνήσθη· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἐπ' ἄμφω κινήθηναί ἐνδέχεται, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ Δ καὶ ἐπὶ
 22 τὸ Ε. εἰ δὲ μὴ τούτων τι ἐπιζητεῖ, ἐπὶ τὸ Γ ἐλθὼν μνησθῆσεται, εἰ τὸ Η ἢ τὸ Ι ἐπιζητεῖ· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐπὶ τὸ Α· καὶ οὕτως αἰεὶ. τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνίοτε μὲν μνησθῆναι, ἐνίοτε δὲ μή, αἴτιον ὅτι ἐπὶ πλείω ἐνδέχεται
 26 κινήθηναί ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς, οἷον ἀπὸ τοῦ Γ ἐπὶ τὸ Ι ἢ τὸ Δ.

do so when he has come to this, or if not, nothing will help him: as *e.g.* if one were to bring before his mind the numerical series denoted by ΑΒΓΔΕΖΗΘ. For if he does not remember [what he wants] at Ε [the text being perhaps, not dittographic, but right here, and the sense:—'if Ε *itself* is not what he is trying to recollect,' as of course it might be], then at Ε he remembers ['con-suetudinal' aor.] Θ [before which insert τοῦ. *I.e.* when he has come to 5, which is the chosen μέσον and ἀρχή of the κινήσεις, he will remember 9]; because from Ε a movement in either direction is possible, either to Δ or to Ζ [which by our original assumption must be here read, instead of Ε. He remembers the number 9 because in moving from Ε (which he does not however *abandon*) to Δ, τὸ ἐφεξῆς in the series, *i.e.* from 5 to 4, both these being added together on the principle of τὸ σύνεγγυς (see 451^b 18-20) suggest 9 (as a σύνολον) to his mind. From Ε he can move to Δ, and thus, as has been said, remember 9; or he could move from Ε to Ζ in which case by the same principle he would remember (*i.e.* get into his mind) 11; but this is not here spoken of, as 11 is a number which lies outside the limits of the series chosen for illustration. Thus, it has been shown that, once at Ε, he can command for memory the numbers 4 and 6, by their

Such is the Berlin text of a passage which has hitherto baffled all attempts at explanation. The following solution suggested itself to me in consequence of my investigation of Greek Logistic (*Mélanges Nicole*). It assumes (with one or two other things to be mentioned below) that the letters are numerical signs, and that F—the symbol of 6, the so-called 'stigma'—was lost after Ε, which, when the F is restored, thus becomes a real μέσον in the series of numbers from 1 to 9. The meaning of the whole would then be: 'It seems true in general that the middle point also of all things [which have a middle] is a [good mnemonic] starting point [from which to reach, *i.e.* recollect any of them]. For if one does not recollect before, he will

being ἐφεξῆς in the series backwards and forwards, and also the number 9 by addition of 5 (the ἀρχή) and 4 (its next in order). Thus, the middle number having been shown to give mnemonic command of 4, 6, 9 and the extra-serial 11, Arist. goes on]. But if it is not for one of these [viz. 4, 6, or 9] that he is searching, he will remember [what he is searching for] when he has come to Γ, if he is searching for H or Ι [i.e. when he has come to Γ (3), still of course, as throughout, keeping in touch with his μέσον, i.e. E (5), he will remember H, i.e. 8 = 3+5 (by the same principle by which he thought of 9 in the former case); or else he will remember Ι, i.e. 7, by the principle of ἐναντιότης, which is the second principle laid down in 451^b 18-20. For in the series 3, 5, 7, of which 5 is the μέσον, 3 and 7 are ἑσχατά ἐναντία. Cf. N.E. II. 5, 1106^a 33 seq. εἰ τὰ δέκα πολλά, τὰ δὲ δύο ὀλίγα, τὰ ἐξ μέσα λαμβάνουσι κατὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα· ἴσω γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἔχει καὶ ὑπὲρ ἔχεται, τοῦτο δὲ μέσον ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀριθμητικὴν ἀναλογίαν. As ἐναντία tend to recall one another to memory, 3 will tend to recall 7 to the mind of one who starts from 5, and still keeps one hand, so to speak, on it]. But if [it is] not [for H or Ι that he is searching, but for one of the terms which remain], he will remember by going to A, and so in all cases. [I.e. Such excursions from the middle point will in cases of this kind always be most favourable for recollection. It is noticeable that the movement here described is steadily downwards; because were it upwards the larger numbers got by addition would take us at once outside the series itself, which, however, by hypothesis contains what is to be remembered. The order in which the numbers are suggested to the mind and the means by which they are suggested, are 5 (μέσον or ἀρχή), 6 (by τὸ σύνεγγυς), 4 (by τὸ σύνεγγυς), 9 (by πρόσθεσις 4+5), 3 (by τὸ ἐφεξῆς, from 4), 8 (by πρόσθεσις 3+5=8), 7 by ἐναντιότης. When we have arrived at this point, all the numbers of the series have been exhausted except

2 and 1; hence if the object of search is included in the series, as by hypothesis it is, and if we have not yet reached it, we shall do so on proceeding to 1; which we do by (τὸ ἐφεξῆς) going from 3 through 2. Καὶ οὕτως αἰ probably means that in all cases the best and shortest (κάλλιστα καὶ τάχιστα, 451^b 31) way of recollecting is, when we can, to start from a μέσον as ἀρχή. This will afford most ἀφορμαί for remembering. The person trying to remember does not abandon the μέσον at any stage in the process above described; once he has got to it, he makes excursions mentally from it, bringing it into relations of contrast or proximity, etc. with the numbers on each side of it.] The cause of one's sometimes remembering and sometimes not, though starting from the same point, is that from the same ἀρχή a movement can be made in several directions; as for instance, from Γ to Ι or Δ [i.e. by ἐναντιότης to Ι, by τὸ ἐφεξῆς to Δ, as before explained].

If this explanation be correct, the only alterations of MSS readings are: (1) the insertion of F after E; (2) the alteration of E to F in 452 ^a22; both of which are palaeographically very easy; (3) the insertion of τοῦ before Θ in ^a20. Dr. J. Gow in his *History of Greek Mathematics*, pp. 45-48, maintains that the alphabetic notation of numbers was invented at Alexandria by some man of learning supported by some paramount political authority; but none of his arguments are convincing, and since the publication of his book the evidence of Greek papyri has been pushed back from 257 B.C. to the 5th year of Soter (301 B.C.)—just twenty-one years after the death of Aristotle. On the other hand Dr. Wilhelm Lurfeld (*Griechische Epigraphik*, I. Müller's Handbuch I² p. 544) adduces very strong arguments in support of his statement:—'Ich nehme dieses Zahlenalphabet unbedenklich für Milet in Anspruch und setze die Erfindung desselben um spätestens 800 v. Chr.'

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THE κύριος IN GREEK STATES OTHER THAN ATHENS.

THE rôle of the κύριος of the woman at Athens has been dealt with at considerable length by most writers on ancient Greek law, but while the Attic sources have been ex-

hausted, the epigraphical evidence from other quarters of Greece, though cited incidentally, has not, so far as I am aware, been handled thoroughly and systematically, either in its

bearing upon Athenian law, or as enabling us to form some idea of the position and duties of the *κύριος* in non-Attic Greece in general.

It is therefore in the hope of supplying this deficiency to a certain extent that the following notes are published.

Before proceeding to an examination of the texts it is necessary to point out that the *κύριος* has a double function, which corresponds to the double meaning of the word in its non-technical use. There is the *κύριος* who disposes of the woman, is her lord, and there is the *κύριος* who ratifies her acts. The two functions are no doubt united in one person, and have very probably a common origin, but in practice they are distinct and to a certain extent contradictory.

Now, for Athens we have documents dealing with the position of the woman as the subject both of family and of property law: for the rest of Greece (with the exception of Gortyn through its code, and to a very limited extent one or two other states, such as Myconos through the register of dowries), we know of her position as the subject of the law of property alone.

Consequently we have very little evidence as to the status of the *κύριος* in non-Attic Greece as the master of the woman's person, but abundance of evidence as to the part he played as ratifier of her acts.¹

We have it is true the description of the betrothal of Cleisthenes' daughter to Megacles, at Sicyon, by a regular *ἐγγύησις*, her father giving her in marriage.² For Myconos we have the register of marriage settlements,³ where of the nine entries left us each mentions the relative who gave the woman in marriage, e.g.

Κάλλιππος: Ἀν: τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀριστολόχην
ἐνεγγύησε Σωστράτῳ γυναῖκα.

And finally at Gortyn we find the woman

given in marriage by her father or brother, when either is still alive.⁴

But neither at Sicyon, nor at Myconos, nor at Gortyn is the term *κύριος* used, and though we may perhaps assume that at Sicyon⁵ and at Myconos, where the phrase *ἐγγυῶν* is used as at Athens, the analogy extended further, as for Gortyn, every clause of the code which deals with the woman is diametrically opposed to the theory of the existence of a *κύριος* for the woman.

On the other hand the *κύριος* as the ratifier of the woman's acts is found all over the Greek world, and it is only for Gortyn that we can assume the non-existence of the institution.

We may lay it down as a general principle that in every contract, to which a woman is one of the principal parties, the assent of the *κύριος* is given, and this rule admits of only two exceptions

(i) acts of manumission,

(ii) donations to, or foundations of, a religious corporation, with which exceptions we will deal later.

The character of the documents and their sources are so varied that the above generalisation would appear to be fully justified.

We have women dealing in land, and as tenants, in Tenos,⁶ Amorgos,⁷ Delos,⁸ and at Olymos,⁹ acting as witness to a formal *ἐμβασις* in her capacity of landed proprietor adjoining the estate in question at Mylasa,¹⁰ taking up a municipal loan, as Nicarete at Orchomenos,¹¹ buying and transferring priesthoods at Erythrae,¹² and in Cos,¹³ founding religious communities, as Epicteta in Thera,¹⁴ making donations to religious objects, as at Lindus,¹⁵ manumitting slaves in every quarter of Greece, and in all these acts they are assisted by *κύριοι*.

⁴ *Ibid.* i. p. 378, col. viii. 21.

⁵ The phrase *ἐγγυῶ παῖδα τὴν ἐμὴν—νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίων*, would seem to imply that the ordinary law of Sicyon differed from that of Athens.

⁶ *Inscr. jurid. gr. 1^{re} série*, No. vii. (third cent. B.C.) *passim*.

⁷ *S.I.G.* 828. 8; *ibid.* 829. 2, 831. 3.

⁸ *B.C.H.* xxvii. (1903), p. 65. *Comptes des hieropes de l'arch. de Sosisthenes*, 250 av. J.-C. Cf. *ibid.* p. 83.

⁹ Le Bas 323 (cf. *Inscr. jurid. gr. i.* 258).

¹⁰ Le Bas 415.

¹¹ *C.I.G.S.* i. 3172.

¹² *S.I.G.* 600.

¹³ *Ibid.* 591 (cf. *ibid.* 598. 27, where he is the pro-tector of the priestess).

¹⁴ *C.I.G.Ins.* iii. 330.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* i. 764, ll. 98 and 118.

¹ In some cases indeed the *κύριος* appears to have been appointed *ad hoc*.

Cf. Cic. *Pro Flacco* 30, Tutor his rebus Graecorum legibus adscribendus fuit: Polemonatem scripsisti. *Pap. Fayûm* xciv. μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ δεδομένου. *Pap. Oxyrh.* first series, lvi. 16, and probably also *ibid.* cclxxiii. 4.

In these latter cases at any rate the necessity for the appointment of a *κύριος* is probably due, as Mitteis (*Reichsrecht u. Volksrecht d. östl. Prov. d. röm. Kaiserreichs*, p. 54) suggests, to the comparatively recent introduction of the institution into Egypt.

² Hdt. ii. 130.

³ *Inscr. jurid. gr. i.* p. 48 *sqq.* (of the Macedonian epoch).

But at the same time the rule is not invariable for two of these three classes, namely manumissions, and foundations of, or donations to religious corporations. As to manumissions, the cases where a woman manumits without the consent of husband or relative are mainly found at Delphi, where they are numerous. At Chaeronea, Lebadea, Orchomenos, Coronea, the assistance of one or the other is invariable, so far as I have been able to discover. We find exceptions also at Edessa in Macedonia,¹ at Hyampolis in Phocis,² at Mantinea,³ all of the imperial epoch, and also at Amphissa,⁴ Panticapaeum,⁵ and Dodona.⁶

Some of these latter exceptions may possibly be explained away. In the cases at Amphissa for example the signature is that of a man made on behalf of an illiterate woman, and the man may be her husband or relative. But the question is not worth raising, as there would still remain the large number of exceptions consisting of manumissions by women unassisted at Delphi.

How is this irregularity to be explained?

It has been suggested that the consent of the *κύριος* was given though not recorded: that the woman at Delphi enjoyed exceptional freedom: that in the Dorian and Aeolian states to which most of these exceptions refer, the woman had attained greater liberty than in the others.

But of these explanations none is satisfactory: the consent of the *κύριος*, if necessary, was too important a part of the act to be mentioned or passed over at will: the second explanation is not supported by any further evidence of such freedom: the third is invalidated by the fact that in some Dorian and Aeolian states the *κύριος* is found assisting even in these acts.

I am inclined to think that Foucart's solution is the most consistent with the facts, viz. that the manumission of a slave having been originally a religious act would fall under the law of exception that appears to have relieved all acts in favour of a deity. It must however be admitted that there is at least one case which would appear to defy explanation by this hypothesis, viz. the sale of a slave by one woman to another at

Dodona, which contains no religious formality whatever.⁷

It must moreover be borne in mind that in many cases where there is no express consent given to the act of the woman, she is joined in her act by her husband, so that his consent is *ipso facto* existent: cases of this are found in quarters where otherwise the express consent is the rule, e.g. at Chaeronea,⁸ Thisbe,⁹ and Coronea.¹⁰

As to the donations to, and foundations of, religious corporations without the assistance of a *κύριος*, we find in the Megarid a woman dedicating half of an estate which she has bought from the people of Aegosthena to Poseidon and the commune of Aegosthena: the revenue is to be devoted to maintaining the brilliance of the festival of Poseidon.¹¹ Again at Mantinea we have a woman charging her estate with the payment of certain sums for the maintenance of the services of Demeter.¹² In neither of these cases is a *κύριος* mentioned.

Another case possibly occurs in the inscription on a *ὄρος* at Amorgos¹³: *ὄρος οἰκίων καὶ κήπων τῶν πρὸς ταῖς οἰκίας τῶν ἀποτετιμημένων Νικησαρέτης εἰς τὴν προῖκα καθιερωμένων καὶ ἀνακειμένων τῇ Οὐρανίῳ Ἀφροδίτῃ τῇ ἐν Ἀσπιδί ὑπὸ Νικησαρέτης τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς Ναυκράτους καὶ κατὰ τὰς διαθήκας τὰς κειμένας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης κ.τ.λ.*, but it is just possible that the mention of the husband may imply his consent, though it seems hardly emphatic enough for that.

A striking exception to the prevalence of the *κύριος* in the Greek world is afforded by the legislation of Gortyn as remodelled by the well-known Code.¹⁴

It is true that on two occasions, in the section dealing with the remodelled law of inheritance (Col. V. l. 1.) and that dealing with the *πατρώϊκος* (Col. VIII. l. 21), the father and brother are referred to as giving the woman in marriage: but the word is *δοῦναι*, which does not convey any very definite idea of the legal relation in which they stood to the woman, and there is no trace of the *κύριος* elsewhere; the woman on becoming *πατρώϊκος* may even refuse to marry the next of kin (*ὁ ἐπιβάλλων*) and in general evidently enjoyed an independence unknown to the woman in the rest of Greece: unless indeed it be at

¹ *Ath. Mitth.* xviii. 415 (third cent. A.D.); cf. *D.H.R.* ii. p. 249.

² *Inscr. jurid.* gr. ii. p. 295 (second cent. A.D.).

³ Le Bas-Foucart, 352 k (second cent. A.D.).

⁴ *C.I.G.S.* iii. 318 and iii. 1066 (first cent. B.C. at earliest).

⁵ *C.I.G.* add. p. 1005, 2114 bb (first cent. B.C.).

⁶ *Inscr. jurid.* gr. ii. p. 315 (second cent. B.C.).

⁷ *Inscr. jurid.* gr. ii. p. 315.

⁸ *C.I.G.S.* i. 3315, 3321, 3328, 3358.

⁹ *Ibid.* 2228.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 2872.

¹¹ Michel 1347.

¹² Le Bas-Foucart 352, i. (43 B.C.).

¹³ *S.I.G.* 437.

¹⁴ v. *Inscr. jurid.* gr. i. p. 352.

Sparta, but the passages¹, which convey to us the picture of considerable freedom of the woman in that State, do not enable us to assert, as in the case of Gortyn, that the *kúrios* did not exist.

We find therefore that the *kúrios* existed in almost all the non-Attic states of Greece for which we have any documents, though certain types of contract were excepted from the necessity of his approval.

On whom then did this function devolve? In the register of dowries of Myconos already quoted, out of the nine entries left us, in seven the father gives his daughter in marriage, in one the woman's brother, and in the remaining case a man whom the editors of the *Inscriptions juridiques grecques* believe to be her grandfather: if this be so, we have a striking parallel to the provisions of the Athenian law. I am however inclined to think that in the last instance the man may be the woman's half-brother. It should however be observed that the word *kúrios* is not used.

Elsewhere we find father, brother, son, husband, and even friends assisting at the woman's act.² In the records of manumission at Chaeronea for example we have instances of all five.

In the will of Epikteta of Thera her *kúrios* is her daughter's husband.³

Again in the register of sales of landed property at Tenos⁴ we find as *kúrios* of women, father, brother or brothers, son or sons, and others whose relation is not stated.

The papyri of the Fayûm and Oxyrhynchus show us all these with, so far as I have seen, the exception of the father.

We find the cousin,⁵ a kinsman,⁶ a daughter's son,⁷ a nephew,⁸ a granddaughter's husband,⁹ a first cousin's son,¹⁰ uncles of various kinds,¹¹ and all manner of other relatives, connections, and strangers.

There is however no proof that the husband was anywhere *kúrios* quâ husband: on the contrary there are, I think, texts to

show that in some states at any rate he was not.

For example at Amorgos¹² we find *ὁρος χωρίων . . . καὶ τῶν ἐπικυρβίων ὑποκειμένων συνεπιχωρούσης τῆς γυναῖκος Ἐρατοκράτης καὶ τοῦ κυρίου Βρονκίονος*, and also at Amorgos we find the record of a sale of certain property by Nikeratus and Hegekrates with her *kúrios* Telenikos to one Ktesiphon.¹³ I am inclined to see in both cases a sale or mortgage carried out by husband and wife conjointly, the woman's *kúrios* intervening: in the first case there can be no doubt of it. It would then follow that husband and *kúrios* are coexistent but different persons.

Lewy¹⁴ thinks that the *kúrios* is discharging himself of his function, '*quæ dote collata jam de jure suo cedit.*' That would be well enough, if the sale were to the husband, but it is not, it is to a fourth person.

The texts of non-Attic source supply us therefore with no confirmation of the theory that at Athens the husband was *de jure* *kúrios* but rather the reverse.

That we find many persons holding the office of whom we have no record as holding it at Athens is probably due to the greater number of occasions on which the *kúrios* intervened in the non-Attic states.

The reason of this divergence is doubtless to be found in the important part which women played in business life elsewhere than at Athens.

The Athenian law of inheritance, which excluded the woman from any share in the estate, excluded her from business. Even the *ἐπίκληρος* was merely a passive agent in the transmission of the inheritance, of which she was merely a concomitant. Whereas elsewhere, at Gortyn for example, the daughters, after certain deductions had been made from the estate in favour of the sons, share the residue with the latter, each daughter taking one part to the two parts of the son.¹⁵

At Tenos¹⁶ again we find sons and daughters both inheriting, and by the will of Epikteta of Thera, Epiteleia her daughter is to succeed her.¹⁷

So too, according to Mitteis,¹⁸ under the Syrian code brothers and sisters succeeded to their father's estate *pâri passu*, but this divergence from the Athenian law he attri-

¹ Ar. Polit. 1270^a 24, Plut. Agis 7.

² Cf. Gaius, i. 193 (quoted by editors of *Inscr. jurid. gr.* ii. 106 in note) Apud peregrinos non similiter ut apud nos in tutela sunt feminae: sed tamen plerumque quasi in tutela sunt: ut ecce lex Bithynorum, si quid mulier contrahat, maritum auctorem esse jubet aut filium ejus puberem.

³ I.G. Ins. iii. 330, ll. 2 and 110.

⁴ *Inscr. jurid. gr.* i. No. vii.

⁵ Pap. Fayûm 99. 3.

⁶ *Ibid.* 100. 1.

⁷ Pap. Ox. i. 45.

⁸ *Ibid.* i. 48.

⁹ *Ibid.* ii. 261.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* ii. 270.

¹¹ *Ibid.* iii. 504, l. 6.

¹² S.I.G. 828. 8.

¹³ *Ibid.* 831. 3.

¹⁴ *De civili conditione mulierum Graecarum*, p. 38.

¹⁵ *Inscr. jurid. gr.* i. 367, col. iv. ll. 31 sqq.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* No. vii. *passim*.

¹⁷ I.G. Ins. iii. 330.

¹⁸ *op. cit.* p. 327.

butes to Roman influence of Constantine's time.¹

However that may be, there can be no doubt that in the third and fourth centuries B.C. there was a wide divergence

¹ A further indication of the same tendency is the large number of records of *θυγατροποιία* found in the eastern parts of the Greek world.

E.g. Le Bas-Waddington, iii. 507; *ibid.* iii. 115. Cf. Rayet in *Annuaire*, 1875, ix. No. 10.

between the Athenian law of inheritance and that of the Greek world in general, a divergence entailing a corresponding difference between the rôle played by the *κύριος* in Athenian life and that played by his fellow in other states, as well as a difference in the moral relation in which he stood to his ward.

T. W. BEASLEY.

SUNDRY GREEK COMPOUNDS AND BLENDED WORDS AND SUFFIXES.

1.—*σκερβολλεῖ* (*Hesychius*), *σέρβολλε* (*imprv.*, *Aristophanes*).

À propos of Brugmann's explanation of this group in *I.F.* 15, 97, I venture to communicate a suggestion I entered in my notes some years ago. I define *σκερβολλεῖ*, in the terms of a piece of American campaign slang, by 'throws mud at.' In *Aristophanes*, *Eg.* 821, *μη σέρβολλε πονηρά* addressed to the sausage-seller would mean, put in the mouth of an American campaign audience, 'Let's have no nasty mud-throwing' (= 'foul and abusive language'). I connect *σκερ-* with *σκόρ* (cf. *Lat. mus-(s)cerda* 'stercus murium').¹ By way of illustration we may quote the sausage-seller's remark in *vs.* 295, *κοπροφορήσω σ' εἰ λαλήσεις* 'I'll heave-dung at you if you say a word.' Similar is *σκορακίζει* 'abuses,' which occurs in (*Pseudo*-) *Demosthenes*, 153, 11, in the following context, *μάλιστα σκορακίζονται καὶ προπηλακίζονται*. In this context, I suspect *σκορακίζει* of being compounded of *σκορα-* ('*σκόρ* 'dung') + a verb cognate with *κιδναται* 'scatters,' for it

is hardly open to doubt that *προπηλακίζονται* means 'are bemuddled,' whether we derive it from *πηλακ-* (**πηλαξ* 'bit of mud': *πηλός* 'mud') or from *πηλα-* (*heteroclitic accus. sg.* or *neut. plur.* of *πηλός*) + *-κίζονται* (: *κιδναται* 'scatters').

On the accent of *σέρβολλος* 'abusive' see Brugmann, *l.c.*

2.—*κέρτομος* 'jeering'.

I agree with Brugmann (*l.c.*) in regarding *κερ-* as a derivative of *κείρει* 'cuts,' but not in deriving *κέρτομος* from **κερστομος* 'having an abusive mouth.' Rather, I look upon *-τομος* as connected with *τομός* 'cutting' (of speech, *Plato*), and I see in the compound a sort of semantic reduplication, such as we find in German compounds like *Bittfehrende*, *Eidschwur*,² cf. *λιθόλευστος*.³

3.—Other Blended Words.

In view of an array of modern instances like those presented in *Meringer and Mayer's Versprechen und Verlesen* there is nothing inherently improbable in the blending of words into complexes, not true compounds, but compounded. The more ancient the

¹ Here we may call attention to the Latin gloss *crea* 'stercora,' or, as it stands in *Placidus*, *cirea* 'stercus': unde nos ea quae ex ore abieimus excreare dicimus, id est expuere. Before Latin *crea* (*cirea*) and *-(s)cerda* doubts ought to disappear as to the identification of *σκόρ* with *Skr. apaskaras kārīṣam*, *O. Bulg. skardū* 'dirty' (cf. *dirty* in *Skeat's Concise Etym. Dict.*). Whether these words are to be connected with primitive (*s*)*ker-* 'to cut' = 'was ausgeschieden, abgesondert wird' (cf. *Uhlenbeck*, *ai. Woert. s.v. apaskaras*, and *Kluge, Etym. Woert.*, cross reference *s.v. scheiden*) is questionable, in view of the child's 'do' and a word like 'business' in biblical English (spelt *bizzness* in a spelling book in vogue in my childhood). Query: was *cera* 'wax' originally conceived as an excretion (secretion) of the bees? Or, as a thing chewed and taken out of the mouth, was 'wax' concretely likened to other 'excrements'?—In the Western States *wax* is a colloquial name given to cattle-dung.

² For further examples, see *Polle, Wie denkt das Volk üb. d. Sprache*,² p. 110.

³ Similarly *Prellwitz (Etym. Woert. s.v.)* derives *ἄρταμος* 'butcher' from a root *ere* 'to separate' + *ταμεῖν* 'to cut.' I would myself, however, derive *ἄρταμος* from **ἀρ[το] :* (*Lat. artus* 'joints') + *ταμος* 'joint-cutter'; or else, in view of the definition of 'cook' also given to *ἄρταμος*, we might derive it from **ἀρ[το]-ταμος* 'bread-slicer' (cf. *ἀρτοκόπος* 'bread-cook'), specialised in meaning as in English *meat*, which once meant 'meal, flour, food,' but has come to mean specifically 'flesh.' A boasting cook in the Greek Comedy (*Kock*, ii. 423, 2, v. 15) speaks of cutting up the food (*τεμεῖν ἡδύσματα*) as part of the elements of cookery.

words, however, the less certain must such suspected cases of blending remain, because of our inability to control their elements and the blending process historically; but the following cases, chiefly of Greek words, seem worthy of a succinct provisional mention. Nor does it seem expedient to try to exhibit the conjectured syncretisms by diagrams after the manner of the authors cited (cf. also Oertel in his *Lectures on the study of Languages* pp. 162 fg.). It is no less complete a presentation of the facts to say, e.g., that colloquial English *persciver* is a blend of *perceive* and *discover* (with the dialectic pronunciation *discover*), and *reremember* a blend of *recollect* and *remember*.

(1) *δαρ-δάπτει* 'rends': blended, of *δέρει* 'flays' (cf. fut. *δαρώ*) and *δάπτει* 'rends'.

(2) *κελαρύζει* 'gurgles': blended of *κελαδεῖ* 'sounds as rushing water' and *ρύζει* 'grows, snarls' (cf. undae latrantes, which attests the possibility of the blending semantically).

(3) *λήθαργος* 'forgetful, lethargic': blended of *λήθη* 'forgetfulness' and *ἀργός* 'idle, lazy.'

(4) *σκαπερδεῖσαι* 'to insult': blended of a cognate of *σκάπτει* 'insults' and *πέρδεται* 'pedit.'

(5) *σκαρδαμύσσει* 'winks': Prellwitz in his *Etym. Woert.* has already suggested the blending in this word of *σκαίρω* 'I skip, frisk' and *μύω* 'I wink.'

(6) *σκαριφέται* 'scratches': blended of (σ)κείρει 'cuts' and a cognate of German (w)reibt 'rubs.' This blend, because of Lat. *scribit* 'writes', would fall in the primitive period.

(7) *σκέπαρνον* 'adze': a derivative with elements from *σκάπτει* 'hacks' (cf. *σχάζει* 'splits') and *πείρει* 'pierces, bores through.'

(8) *συνδμαίνει*, is 'wroth': blended of *σνύζεται* 'is wroth' and *μαίνεται* 'rages.'

(9) *τημελεί* 'takes care of': shows elements from *ταμίας* 'care-taker' and *μέλει*, *μελετᾷ* 'cares for.'

(10) *ψηλαφᾷ* 'gropes, feels, touches': a blend of a derivative of *ψῆν* 'to touch' (cf. *ψάλλει* 'touches, twitches') and *ἄφᾶ* (*ἄφασσει*) 'feels, handles.'¹

(11) Skr. *jar-bhrtás* 'borne,' *jabhāra* 'he bore': blended of *hāratī* 'takes' and *bhāratī* 'bears.'

I shall not attempt expressly to forestall all the objections that might arise to the suggestions set down above, such, for instance, as the claim that in *δαρδάπτει* *δαρ-* is an intensive reduplication to *δάπτει*, as the older books had it, or of *δρέπει* 'plucks' as

it stands in contemporary authorities (e.g. Brugmann's *Gr. Gr.*³ § 61. 4). Nor will an American who uses *takes* ('nimmt') every day of his life in the sense of *bears* ('trägt') feel the cogency of Uhlenbeck's reasoning who, in his *ai. Woert.* s.v. *hāratī*, declares *hāratī* in the sense of 'bears, trägt' to be a byform for *bhāratī*, though *hāratī* 'nimmt' was doubtless primitive as *χείρ* 'hand' shows, cf. Gothic *handus*:-*hinþan* (see Uhlenbeck, *got. Woert.* s.v.).

4.—σκέραφος 'abuse.'

That Brugmann (*I.F.* 15, 97) correctly explains the significance of this word seems to me probable. In regard to its form, it seems worth suggesting that in *σκέρα-φος* 'abuse' and *φλίγνα-φος* 'nonsense' (cf. *φληννίει* 'bubbles')² we have excellent illustrations of the suffix *-φος* 'speaking' (cf. Prellwitz, *B.B.*, 22, 107), combined with neuter plurals or heteroclitic accusatives singular in *-ᾱ* (?). To be sure, *σκέραφος* and *φλίγναφος* have become nomina actionis, and are no longer nomina agentis. Does this shift account for the recessive accent of the compounds? This would make us set down **σκέραφός* 'abusive': *σκέραφος* 'abuse,' **φληννάφός* 'speaking nonsense': *φλίγναφος* 'nonsense.' Or have these abstracts in *-αφος* taken their recessive accent from the animal names in *-αφος* which correspond to Skr. animal names in *-(a?)-bhās* (oxytone)?

5.—The ordinal-superlative suffix *-τμμο-*.

There is no difficulty in building up this suffix from the suffixes *-to-* (or *-sto-?*) and *-mo-*³ as Brugmann does (*I.F.* 14, 6), or in otherwise accounting for it by analogy (cf. e.g., Sommer, *I.F.* 11, 262). But in view of the correspondence of the numerals, Lat. *tricesimus*: Skr. *trīṃśat-tamās*, *vicesimus*: *viṃśatitāmās* (cf. also Lat. *quotimus*=Skr. *katamās*), the suffix *-τμμο-s* must be assigned, with its complete ordinal-superlative functions, to the primitive speech. The ordinal function was doubtless the first to develop, and it is interesting to note that the Sanskrit ordinals are oxytone, while, in the superlatives, *-tamās* is barytone. There can hardly be a doubt that this accentual divergence was of diacritic purport, as the divergence of accent between dissyllabic

² Since this was written Fick (*l.c.* p. 103) makes *φλίγναφος* a compound of *φληννο-* + a derivative of *ἄφᾶω* and defines by 'geschwätz anknüpfender.'

³ As though from Gr. *πρῶτος* and *πρόμος* a blend **προταμος* (**πρωταμος*=Skr. *prathamās*) had been made.

¹ Since this was written Fick in *B.B.* 28, 102 expressly derives *ψηλαφᾷ* from *ψηλ.*, the aorist of *ψάλλω*, + *ἄφᾶ*.

nomina agentis (oxytone) and nomina actionis (paroxytone) in both Greek and Sanskrit is diacritic.

When we derive **-tmmo-** from **-to-** + **-mo-** or by the proportional analogy, compr. **-ero-** : superl. **-mmo-** :: compr. **-tero-** : superl. **-tmmo-** (cf. Sommer, *l.c.*) we comfort ourselves by dealing with suffixes of undiscoverable meaning¹ and provenance, and the result is an algebraic not an arithmetical solution. It may be true that **-tero-** is the more frequent and widespread, and so appears older than **-tmmo-** (so Brugmann, *l.c.* p. 6), yet for all that **-tmmo-** might be the older, the source from which **-tero-** was derived, by a reversed proportion **-mmo-** : **-tmmo-** :: **-ero-** : **-tero-**. It seems possible, at any rate, to fix upon **-tmmo-** a meaning consonant with the form and yielding the signification required, and this does not seem to be the case for **-tero-**. The Sanskrit ordinals are often used as fractional, and the thought suggests itself that **-tmmo-** was of fractional signification and meant 'cut, section,' belonging with the group represented in τέμνει 'cuts.' Thus *trīṇṇat-tamās* would mean something like 'a cut of thirty (cuts), a 30th.'

This derivation of **-tmmo-** sheds some light on the Latin groups (1) *mari-tumus*, *fini-tumus* and (2) *aedi-tumus*, *legi-tumus*, in which it seems possible to isolate **-tumus** and find traces of its relation to the root **tem-** 'cuts.' Cicero is cited for *homines maritimi* 'sea-faring men,' and in Plautus (*Rud.* 310) fishermen are addressed as *fures maritimi* which, in its context, seems to be the language of parody for 'sea-faring pirates.' An etymological definition of *mari-tumi* might accordingly yield 'sea-cleaving, 'qui mare secant,' and we might define *ora marituma* by 'coast cleaving the sea,' *cursus maritumus* by 'sea-cleaving voyage.' Similarly, *finitumus* would yield 'boundary-cleaving' and be fit for use of 'one whose lands cleave the boundary line', 'one who dwelt beside the boundary line.'² It is not to be denied, however, that *finitumi* may be a Latin formation based on *citimi*, *ultimi*, and the like. In view of *ταμίης* 'divider, dispenser' (cf. *ταμίης τῆς θεοῦ* 'keeper of the

treasury'), I take the archaic word *aeditumus*, later altered to *aedituus* 'qui aedes tuetur,' to mean 'temple-keeper' (cf. *ταμία* 'house-keeper'), or perhaps ultimately 'qui aedem *temnit' (cf. *τέμενος*, *templum*), used of the priest that first marked off the sacred enclosure. So *legitumus* may be defined as 'law-keeping.' In *aes-tumat*, the root **tem-** seems to have developed the sense 'to score, tally' (cf. Skeat, *Concise Etym. Dict.* s.vv.).

That the suffix **-tumus** in the words under discussion does not closely accord in meaning with the ordinal-superlative suffix **-tumus** I cheerfully admit, but either suffix may be derived on simple semantic lines from the root **tem-**.

6.—The Ordinal Suffix **-tho-** (**-stho-**?).

In the *Bulletin de la Soc. de Ling.* 7, ciii, Professor V. Henry derived Latin *testis*, which he defined as 'le tiers <assistant>,' from **tri-stis* 'tertius.'³ This etymology met a brilliant confirmation some years later when the newly found Oscan inscriptional form *trstus* 'testis' led Professor Skutsch to propound anew, and independently of the previous discovery, the same definition for *testis*. But Skutsch wrote the primitive form **tri-sto-*, and the syllabification of Henry seems to me the better,⁴ as I cannot see how *iris-* 'thrice' instead of *tri-* 'three' played a part in developing the word.

Henry further suggested (1) that the suffix *sti-* was derived from *stare*, or (2) that it contained (e)s- 'to be' + *ti-*. The first of these suggestions seems to me the truer. Projecting Oscan *trstus* on the primitive period we are entitled to write a stem **tri-sto-*, parallel to **tri-to-* inferred from Greek *τρίτος*, Skr. *trītās* 'Tertius' (cf. Lat. *ter-ti-us*: Skr. *tr-tī-ya-s*). But in the non-isolated Sanskrit ordinals the suffix is not **-ta-** but **-tha-**, e.g. in *ṣaṣṭhās*, *caturthās*, *saptathās*. We are not, I suggest, to regard the suffixes **-st(h)o-** and **-t(h)o-** as different in origin, but the latter as developed from the former. I suggest that, in the primitive form behind Lat. *sextus*, Skr. *ṣaṣṭhās* which, in view of all the cognates, may have been (k)s(w)eks-(s)t(h)os, the s- of **-stho-** was lost. Or if the primitive form were (k)s(w)ekst(h)os, its misdivision to (k)s(w)eks-t(h)os was likely, owing to the

¹ Hirt, *Griech. Gram.* § 354, writes, apropos of the suffix **-tero-**: eine entscheidung über die verschiedenen ansichten wäre nur zu gewinnen, wenn es möglich wäre, die etymologie des suffixes **-tero-** nachzuweisen. I take it that underlying these words the author intimates the hope that a satisfactory meaning will yet be discovered for the suffix **-tero-**.

² In the Greek inscriptions *τέμος* 'piece of land' is found (cf. Liddell and Scott).

³ V. Salva in the *Nuevo Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana por la Academia Española* defines Spanish *tercero* 'third (person)' by (1) 'mediator, internuntius,' (2) 'tertius arbiter.'

⁴ Sommer, *Lat. Gram.* § 142 also writes **tri-stis*, but his note is so abbreviated one cannot infer whether he derives **tri-stis* from 'three' or not.

cardinal (k)s(w)eks, and thus again the apparent suffix would be -tho-.

That the suffix -st(h)o- signified 'standing' and belongs with the root st(h)ā seems to me probable. In view of the fact that persons who number themselves in a group, as soldiers, e.g., number by the cardinals rather than by

the ordinals, a form like *testis* (*tri-stis) might well mean 'standing 3.' In English *testis* thus explained is 'bystander,' though *bystander* leaves out any express numeral connotation.

EDWIN W. FAY.

LAST NOTES ON THE VERRINES.

Actio Prima, § 48 (Müller, p. 137, 19). *Ita res a me agetur ut in eorum consiliis omnibus non modo aures hominum, sed etiam oculi populi Romani interesse videantur.* In a previous note (*C.R.* vol. xvii. p. 200) I have defended the vulgate against the unnecessary conjecture (adopted by Müller) *sed etiam oculi et manus interesse videantur.* Two parallel passages should have been cited, which will appear conclusive: *Act. Prim.* § 7 (Müll. p. 124, 18) *Intellegit me ita paratum atque instructum in iudicium venire ut non modo in auribus vestris, sed in oculis omnium sua furta atque flagitia defixurus sim*, and ii. 1, § 29 (Müll. p. 151, 18) *Itaque non modo vos, quibus est iudicandum, nostra crimina tenetis, sed etiam populus Romanus totam accusationem causamque cognovit.*

These analogies suggest at the same time the change from *ares hominum* in the passage under consideration to *ares omnium* (i.e. the whole jury). The antithesis seems always to be between the court before which the orator is pleading and society at large.—A list of passages where *omnes* and *homines* have been interchanged in our texts of Cicero would be interesting. At *Pro Cluent.* § 79, I notice that Mr. A. C. Clark follows me in reading *opinionibus omnium* for *opinionibus hominum*. In the *Verrines*, the following places deserve consideration: Book V, § 16 (Müll. p. 434, 29), where it may be as well to read *Expectatio summa omnium* with the dett. against R's *hominum* (at § 75 in the same book, Müll. p. 456, 27, R is more obviously wrong with *homines* for *omnes*): *ibid.* § 100 (Müll. p. 465, 20), where the vulgate *populi Romani nomen, hominum conventum* may be greatly improved by the insertion of *omnium* before *hominum* (Müller suggested *tantum*, Zielinski *tot*): *ibid.* § 152 where edd. are probably right in reading *omnibus* (which I find in Par. 7775) against R's *hominibus*.

ii. 1, § 39 (Müll. p. 155, 14). *Nam eum qui palam est adversarius facile cavendo*

vitare possis; hoc vero occultum intestinum ac domesticum malum non modo non existit, verum etiam opprimit antequam prospicere atque explorare potueris. This passage may be made to illustrate the virtue of a well-considered system of punctuation. It will be noted that I differ from previous editors (except Mr. Long) in restoring the *non* of the MSS. after *non modo*. It is the gratuitous and unnecessary insertion of an innocent-looking comma after *opprimit* that has misled commentators. The clause *non modo non existit* is meant to stand by itself: it has no connection with the *antequam* clause following, which is limited to *opprimit*. Like the pestilence that walketh in darkness the mischief here spoken of not only lurks concealed (*non existit*) but is on you without warning.—Incidentally, I may state that the true reading *Nam eum qui*, hitherto supported only by a reference to Aug. Civ. D. 19, 5 is found in Par. 7823 (D), the codex which I have shown to be as important for the earlier *Verrines* as is the Regius (R) for the later: also in Par. 7776, and Harl. 2687, 4105, 4852.

ii. 2, § 34 (Müll. p. 211, 16). *Cuius modi cohortem putatis hoc principe fuisse? † sicuti videtis edictum SI QUI PERPERAM IUDICARIT SENATUS. Eum quoque ostendam, si quando sit datus, coactu istius quod non senserit iudicasse.* A very slight change is needed here to make everything right: *Sicubi videtis . . . SENATUS, eum quoque (sc. senatum) ostendam*, etc.

ibid. § 57 (Müll. p. 220, 12). *Attendite; iam intellegitis hanc pecuniam, quae via modo visa est exire ab isto, eam semita revertisse.* This is the received reading, but it cannot be what Cicero wrote. The antithesis is between *via* and *semita*: cp. *per pseudothyrum* § 50 (217, 25). Most codd. have *qua via*, but Lg. 42 (which represents the *Cluniacensis*) rightly gives *quae via*. On the other hand Lg. 42 is the only MS.

that has *eam*. All other codd. give *eadem*. Such forms are often confused. If for *eadem* we read *eodem*, both the construction and the sense become apparent: the money found its way back to the source from whence it came.

iii, § 3, (Müll. p. 271, 24). It might be nearer the tradition of the MSS. to follow editors here in putting a full stop at *susceperat*, and then to commence a new sentence with *Atque minus etiam*. The codd. have *susceperat quo minus*. The *quo* is undoubtedly wrong, and has obviously been accommodated to the *minus* which follows it. I had previously (*C.R.* xviii, 25) suggested *quod* or *quoniam minus*: perhaps *quando minus*. But *at* may have dropped out after the last syllable of *susceperat* whereupon *que* would readily become *quo*. Cp. 293, 20 where editors now read *A Q. Apronio*, instead of *quo Apronio*, the readings of the Vatican palimpsest, or *Atque Apronio* which is found in Lg. 42 and Par. 7776.

iii, § 66 (p. 296, 5). *Quid est hoc?* *populi Romani imperium, populi Romani leges, iudicia, in socios fideles, provinciam suburbanam?* This is the reading of Müller, following Halm. The preposition *in* is found in no MS. and all except Lg. 42 omit *socios*. The vulgate is *leges? iudicia? socii fideles? provincia suburbana?* Instead of *populi Rom. leges*, we should probably read *praetoriae leges* (cp. 276, 31): Lg. 42 has. *pr.* But a deeper corruption seems to lurk in *iudicia*,—probably an omission *ex homoeo-*

teleuto. I suggest *Quid est hoc? populi Romani imperium? praetoriae leges? iudiciali iure iudicare socios fideles, prov. sub.?*

ibid. § 196. (p. 351, 3). *Quid poscit? Attendite et, vos quaeso, iudices simul aequitatem praetoris attendite.* Müller here gives the right punctuation: *vos quaeso* is parenthetical, and *quaeso* governs *vos* in the accusative (pro Roscio § 11). Other editors take *vos* as a vocative and punctuate accordingly. The doubt may have led to the inversion *iudices simul*, which occurs only in Lg. 42 and was received into the text first by Zumpt, who ridicules the vulgate *et vos, quaeso, simul, iudices, aeq.* But the emphasis is on *simul* (after the parenthetical *vos quaeso*), and this seems to be one of the many cases (*C.R.* xvi. p. 402, note) in which the authority of Lg. 42 is not to be followed, as regards the order of words, against Par. 7776 and the other codd. The point is, however, an extremely difficult one to decide. I have recently called attention to the fact that in some places the authority of Lg. 42, representing the Cluni codex, is reinforced by the extant fragments of the Vatican palimpsest (*Am. Journ. Phil.* xxvi, p. 428). The manufacture of what may be called transposition variants seems to have been quite an industry with the copyists of our MSS. In the Second and Third Books of the Verrines, for instance, there is an average of two on every page of the Teubner text.

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NOTES ON PHAEDRUS.

I 15.

in principatu commutando ciuium
nil praeter domini nomen mutant pauperes.
id esse uerum parua haec fabella indicat.
asellum in prato timidus pascebat senex.
is hostium clamore subito territus 5
suadebat asino fugere, ne possent capi.
at ille lentus 'quaeso, num binas mihi
clitellas inpositurum uictorem putas?'
senex negauit. 'ergo quid refert mea
cui seruiam, clitellas dum portem meas?' 10

meas in the last verse is said to mean *solitas*. It must mean more than that, it must mean *nullas praeter solitas*; and then

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the word is overburdened, if the ass was not. The best adjective to give the required sense, 'dum ne plures clitellas portem', was also the easiest to confuse with *meas*:

clitellas dum portem *unicas*.

u disappearing between *m* and *n*, the remaining *nicas* is the same thing as *meas*. At Il. Lat. 573 *ut meus* is corrupted to *unicus*, at Ouid. ex Pont. iv 3 16 *unica* to *uinea*, at Hor. carm. ii 18 14, I agree with Dinter, *uineis* to *unicis*; for the explanations of 'satis beatus unicis Sabinis' given by Madvig adu. crit. ii p. 54 and by Haupt opusc. iii p. 578 are both refuted by Lucian Mueller.

In our fable the *mea* of u. 9 made it easier for the scribe, and harder for Phaedrus, to write *meas* in u. 10.

I do not see what purpose is served by the conjecture 'clitellas *cum* portem meas' which Lucian Mueller and Havet adopt from Bergen, and I do not even know what it is intended to mean. If it does not alter the sense of *meas*, it is without effect. If it does, it would seem to signify 'since I am not to be rid of my load', which has no relevance to the preceding conversation: it implies that the ass had asked 'num mihi, si tecum fugero, clitellas detracturus es?'

III 17 5-11.

Minerua admirans quare sterilis sumerent 5
interrogavit. causam dixit Iuppiter:

'honorem fructu ne uideamur uendere'.

'at mehercules, narrabit quod quis uoluerit,
oliua nobis propter fructum est gratior.'

tum sic deorum genitor atque hominum
sator: 10

'o nata, merito sapiens dicere omnibus'.

genitor V (and N?), *gentium* PR. If Phaedrus falls into the hands of this generation of Germans, we shall find *gentium* in the text and this note in the commentary: 'Die Ueberlieferung der besten Hss. ist ohne Tadel: vgl. Verg. Aen. viii 36 gente deum, x 228 (Catull. 64 23, Sil. xiii 862) deum gens, xi 305 gente deorum, Hor. carm. i 3 26 gens humana, Manil. i 236 gentes hominum atque ferarum'. Meanwhile the editors read *genitor* with the inferior authority. But 'deorum genitor atque hominum sator', as the words are usually understood, is a phrase of the same sort as Alschevski's 'singulis bubus priusque tunicis' in Liu. vii 37 2: 'ridicula prorsus copulatio' (to adapt Madvig's comment) 'usitati uocabuli et antiqui, ut deorum Iuppiter genitor sit, hominum autem sator, hoc est genitor'. For *genitor* and *sator* mean the same: *πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε*, which is *pater diuomque hominumque* in Ennius, is *hominum sator atque deorum* in Virgil. Virgil and Ennius both say *diuom pater atque hominum rex*, the two nouns meaning different things; but if the notion is repeated, so is the word: Rutil. i 49 *genetrix hominum genetrix que deorum*. I know one parallel, which is presented by the MSS of Ovid in fast. v 157 sq. 'ne non imitata *maritum* | esset et ex omni parte secuta *uirum*'; but there *uirum* lies under the suspicion of having come from u. 156 'uirgineo nullum corpore passa *uirum*': Gierig and Madvig propose *suum*, Postgate *ducem*,

and at Luc. v 300 the fragmentum Bobiense has *uirum* for the *ducem* of the other MSS.

Lucian Mueller accordingly alters *genitor* to *coepit*. But the verse is to be understood as if punctuated thus:

tum sic, deorum, genitor, atque hominum
sator.

tum sic *genitor* 'then thus spake her father' (and he begins *o nata*): to this is added in apposition Virgil's phrase (Aen. i 254, xi 725) *hominum sator atque deorum* with its words rearranged to fit the iambic metre. For the misleading position of *deorum* compare ii prol. 10 'dictorum sensus ut delectet uarietas', that is 'dictorum uarietas', and iv 19 28 'non est legatos regis non dimittere', that is 'non est regis non dimittere legatos'; Mart. viii 32 7 sq. 'haec a Sardois tibi forsitan exulis oris, | fratre reuersuro, nuntia uenit auis' (exulis nuntia), Germ. frag. iv 107 'haec eadem fundens praedicet Aquarius imbrem' (imbrem fundens, haec eadem praedicet), Ouid. amor. iii 5 18 'iterum pasto pascitur ante cibo' (iterum pascitur cibo ante pasto), Val. Fl. i 265 sq. 'placido si currere ductu | Pelea uultis, ait, uentosque optare ferentes' (si uultis Pelea optare currere): see also what I say below on app. 13 1. II. Lat. 572-4, which I mentioned above for another reason, will serve also as an example of hyperbaton, 'precor, o pater optime, dixit, | ut meus hic, pro quo tua numina, natus, adoro, | uirtutes patrias primis imitetur ab annis' (ut meus hic natus imitetur), and so will ib. 319 'quem, tali, postquam conspexit, uoce locuta est'.

IV 9 3-12.

cum decidisset uulpes in puteum inscia
et altiore clauderetur margine,
deuenit hircus sitiens in eundem locum. 5
simul rogauit, esset an dulcis liquor
et copiosus. illa fraudem moliens:
'descende, amice; tanta bonitas est aquae
uoluptas ut satiari non possit mea.'
inmisit se barbatus. tum uulpecula 10
euasit puteo nixa celsis cornibus,
hircumque clauso liquit haerentem uado.

No Roman ever said *simul* in such a case, nor any Greek *ἄμα*, nor any Englishman *at the same time*. To change the punctuation with C. W. Nauck and take *simul* as *simul atque* (simul rogauit, illa 'descende') is equally unlike the discourse of ancient or modern man. Write *simus*, that is *ὁ σμῶς*: Theocr. viii 50 *σμαι ἔριφοι*, Verg. buc.

x 7 *simae capellae*. The descriptive nickname is in Phaedrus' manner: verse 10 *barbatus*, i 16 *laniger* for *agnus*, 116 *auritulus* for *asellus*, iv 4 3 *sonipes* for *equus*. Lest *simus* should here be thought superfluous since *hircus* is the subject of the immediately preceding sentence, compare i 17 6 sqq. '*ouis* damnata falso testimonio | quod non debebat soluit. post paucos dies | *bidens* iacentem in fouea conspexit lupum'. *simus* is corrupted to *simul* in the best MS of Ovid. met. xiii 214.

APP. PEROTT. 13 1-5.

per aliquot annos quaedam dilectum uirum amisit et sarcophago corpus condidit: a quo reuelli nullo cum posset modo et in sepulchro lugens uitam degeret, claram assecuta est famam castae uirginis.

1. Lucian Mueller, followed by Havet and Gow, alters *per* to *post* in order to avoid a tribrach of this form in the first foot: for the same reason, and no other, he changes ii prol. 2 and app. 3 17. Mr Havet defends the text in those two places, but says that *per* in this verse is 'suspectum propter sensum'. Not at all: the construction is 'uirum per aliquot annos dilectum', as Verg. Aen. ix 85 'multos dilecta per annos'. Such an order of words is legitimate even in prose: Liu. iii 1 4 'T. Quinctii ductu et auspicio agri capti priore anno aliquantum a Volscis esse' = 'esse aliquantum agri T. Quinctii ductu et auspicio priore anno a Volscis capti'.

5. In place of *uirginis*, which is too jocose even for the improbity of Phaedrus, Mueller writes *mulieris*. Rather confusing: this confusion (*ciugis*, *uginis*) recurs at Ovid. met. xv 836. *castitudinis* is equally near to *caste uirginis*, but Phaedrus would hardly use the word.

APP. PEROTT. 14 5-8.

maerens propinquos contulit se in hortulos, 5 quos ultra paulo uilla splendida diuitis erat acceptura uirginem e matris sinu, parum ampla in urbe uisa quod fuerat domus.

uilla ditis splendida Bothe: I should prefer

uilla splendens diuitis.

ens absorbed by *end* leaves *splendidiuitis*. Horace epod. 1 29 has 'uilla candens' at the same place in the verse.

APP. PEROTT. 17

premente partu scrofa cum gerneret iacens, accurrit lupo et obstetricis partibus se posse fungi dixit, promittens opem. quae uero nosset pectoris fraudem improbi suspectum officium repudiauit malefici 5 et 'satis est' inquit 'si recedas longius'. quod si perfidiae se commisisset lupi pari dolore fata deflesset sua.

8. '*parens* (or *impar*) *dolori* (or *priuate prole*) fata deflesset sua', '*partus* dolore fata complotisset sua', '*raptos* (or *rapi*) *dolore fata* deflesset suos (or *parta* deflesset sua)'. Far be it from me to affirm that any single verse in the whole appendix Perottina is certainly sound; but this verse can at any rate be construed, and yields a more pointed sense than any of the conjectures. It means as it stands 'gigni doloribus mortem deflesset suam', she would have wept to find that her travail was bearing no fruit but her own destruction: dolor non prolis uitam sed matris exitium pariturus fuit. For *dolore* instead of the usual *doloribus* see Plaut. Amph. 1100 'sine dolore peperit' beside 879 'pariat sine doloribus'.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

THE EARLY NUMERALS.

THAT the early Indo-Europeans counted on their fingers is evident from the numeral-words and from the decimal character of the numeral system. But it is my belief that the decimal system represents an advance in the arithmetical art, and that it was preceded by a more primitive system, of which some traces may still perhaps be discerned.

This theory is not *a priori* wholly improbable, if we may judge by the analogy of those backward peoples of our own day who

still remain in a primitive state of culture. It is well known that such peoples find counting extremely difficult; and many tribes cannot count above three or four, or even two.¹ The Indians of Brazil have words for One, Two, and Three, while Four and all higher numbers are simply 'Many'. Many Australian tribes can count up to Four, but everything after that is 'Many'. Not all Australian tribes have reached even this

¹ Tylor, *Primitive Culture* 4, i. ch. vii.

stage of development. The New Hollanders count thus 'One, Two, Many, Very Many,' and the Tasmanians say 'One, Two, Plenty.'

Tribes that have learnt to count above Four have almost invariably done so by using their fingers to help them in reckoning, and so we find that their higher numeral-words are finger-names, and their numeral systems are quintal, decimal, or vigesimal, being based upon the number of the fingers and toes. But scarcely any language bases the numeral-words One to Four on finger-names. Presumably this is because the earlier numerals had been formed before a step upward in the art of notation was taken, through the idea being conceived of using the fingers as an aid in that process.

It is possible I think to find amongst the I.-E. languages traces of a state of things as primitive as that found to-day amongst the low tribes of Australia. It is true that a decimal system had been established long before the primitive unity of the I.-E. peoples was dissolved, for we find in all the I.-E. languages not only words for the first ten numbers, but also a highly developed system of derivatives therefrom. Before the first separation the I.-E. people could certainly count up to a hundred, if not up to a thousand. But a closer examination of the evidence may enable us to see some of the steps by which the I.-E. people attained to this high stage of development.

In the simple numerals One-Ten a line of cleavage may be discerned between the lower numbers One-Four and the higher numbers Five-Ten. The former are declinable, the latter indeclinable. It is true that in Sanskrit the numbers Five-Ten are declined, but this seems to be a later development, for in the Rîg-Veda we find instances of their original use as indeclinable words, e.g. *pañca kṛṣṭiṣu* (R.-V. ii. 210). But no such use of the numbers One-Four is ever found. The indeclinability of the numbers Five to Ten can scarcely be adequately explained by saying with Brugmann¹ that it is 'a survival from the time when the attributive adjective needed no case-endings.' For the numbers One-Four are declined, and in the nature of things they must be of more ancient formation than the numbers Five-Ten, and therefore more likely to exhibit traces of primeval conditions. The period when the attributive adjective needed no case-endings must have passed away before the numbers One-Four were formed: *a fortiori* therefore it must have passed away before the numbers Five-Ten were formed.

¹ *Grundriss*, ii. § 169.

More probable, and more in accordance with what we know of primitive peoples, is Dr. Gow's² explanation. He supposes that the numbers One-Four are of considerably greater antiquity than the higher numbers. The I.-E. people learned to count up to Four, and for long were unable, as are many tribes to-day, to count beyond Four. But at last they began to use their fingers to help them in counting, and immediately they took a stride upward in the art, and learned to count up to Ten. Consequently the numbers Five-Ten are in all probability finger-names. They are not adjectives, as are the earlier numbers, but nouns. To quote Dr. Gow's words 'The higher numbers being nouns are names of things, and being uninflected are names of things which are not really connected with the subject in the same relation as the other things mentioned in the sentence.' That is to say, the numbers Five-Ten are as it were finger-names *in quotation-marks*, hence their indeclinability.

But even within this archaic set of numbers One-Four another line of cleavage may be traced. The first three are declined in all I.-E. languages, but the Latin *quattuor* is indeclinable. Hence one might be tempted to suppose that the word for Four was a slightly later addition to this early set of numerals. It is noteworthy also that the original language distinguished *three* numbers, and three only, viz. Singular, Dual, and Plural. Is it fanciful to suppose that the system of inflection distinguishes only three numbers because its authors could only count up to Three? Had they been able to count further one would have expected to find either more than three numbers or else only two—Singular and Plural. And perhaps here lies the explanation of the frequent use of Three and Thrice in the sense of 'Many' 'Much.' So—to give two examples out of many—Horace exclaims³ '*felices ter et amplius quos irrupta tenet copula*,' and Odysseus⁴

τρισμάκαρες μὲν σοὶ γε πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ,
τρिसμάκαρες δὲ κασίγνητοι.

The use of Three as a lucky number may perhaps be due to the same cause.

If Four was a later addition to the early set of numerals, it would have been natural to group things in threes and fours, and so we find the phrase 'thrice and four times' used to express superlativeness, e.g.⁵ '*ο ter*

² *History of Gk. Mathematics*, ch. i. p. 9.

³ *Odes*, i. xiii. 17.

⁴ *Od.* vi. 154, 155.

⁵ *Virgil, Aen.* i. 94.

que quaterque beati,' and $\tau\rho\iota\varsigma^1$ $\kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omega\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\varsigma$. But it is needless to multiply instances.

A parallel is afforded by the Egyptian Hieroglyphs, in which three strokes III denotes plurality.

So far my conclusions are :

1. That the simple numbers One-Ten may be divided into two sets, viz.

(a) The numbers One-Four, which are declinable adjectives.

(b) The numbers Five-Ten, which are indeclinable nouns.

2. That the second set (b) are finger-names, whereas the first set (a) are not, but were invented before the idea of using the fingers as an aid in calculation was conceived.

3. That the first set originally consisted only of the numbers One-Three, and that Four is a later addition.

We must turn now to a more detailed examination of the numeral-words in this first set, with the object of recovering, if possible, their original meaning.

One.

'One' is usually expressed in the various I.-E. languages by derivatives from the root *oi formed with the suffixes, -no-s, -uo-s, and -go-s, as Lat. unus, Gk. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$ 'Ace,' Gk. $\acute{\alpha}\iota\omicron\varsigma$ 'alone'; Skt. $\acute{e}\kappa\alpha$ -s. It is noteworthy that though Sanskrit does not use the stems *oino- and oiyo- in the sense of 'one,' as do the other I.-E. languages, yet these stems are found in Sanskrit. The Lat. unus has an exact phonetic equivalent in the Skt. defective pronoun *ena*- 'he.' The adverb *enā* 'in this way' is an old Instrumental of this stem. Again we find corresponding to the Gk. $\acute{\alpha}\iota\tilde{\iota}(f)\omicron\varsigma$ the Skt. *evā* 'so,' i.e. 'in this way.'

In these Skt. words we seem to have preserved the original sense of the root *oi, which is elsewhere used to signify 'one.' And an analysis of the root *oi will, I believe, justify this conclusion. *Oi may be divided into o+i. If this division be correct o will be the pronominal stem seen in the Skt. *a-sya* and *a-smāi*, of which the high grade e is seen in the Gk. $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$, Lat. *e-quidem*, and in the augment. The meaning was apparently 'this'; the augment meant 'then.' Again a root -i- is found in the demonstrative pronoun Lat. *i-s*, Gothic *i-s*, Skt. *i-d-am*, *i-m-ām*, etc., and

¹ Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 851.

doubtless also in the Relative stem $\iota\omicron$ -, Skt. *yds*, Gk. $\acute{\delta}$ -s. Compare the double use of 'that' as a demonstrative and as a relative pronoun in English. Probably the Loc. Sing. suffix -i and the -i of the Loc. Pl. suffix -s-i is the same i, with the locative sense 'here.' To these examples may be added the -i of the Lat. *qu-i* and the deictic $\acute{\iota}$ of the Gk. $\acute{\omicron}\iota\omicron\sigma$ - $\acute{\iota}$. It is evident from all these instances that the root *i* meant 'here,' 'this.'

The root *oi then consists of the pronoun o 'this' + the deictic i 'here,' and means 'this here,' 'this' emphatically.

I hope to shew the development of meaning from 'this' to 'one' more exactly when dealing with the next number, two. But in any case the development is quite natural, whatever be the original meaning of 'Two.'

At this point it will be convenient to discuss the Gk. forms $\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ Masc. (Homer, Gortyn Inscr.) $\acute{\iota}\alpha$ Fem. (Homer, Lesb. Thess.) 'one.'

J. Schmidt, in an article in *K.Z.* (xxxvi. p. 391), has effectively disposed of the many explanations previously offered. He holds that $\acute{\iota}\alpha$ must be from the same root as $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$, on the ground that the same language would not have different words side by side for the same number. Such a parallel as the O.H.G. pronominal declension *si era iru si*, or the Skt. *iyām asyās asyāi imām* he does not regard as really analogous, for these stems are all demonstratives of very similar meaning. But *sem denotes unity produced by junction, and we may not therefore derive $\acute{\iota}\alpha$ from some hypothetical root denoting original unity.

This difficulty does not seem very great. If $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$ and * $\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ had originally different shades of meaning, it would be natural to find them standing side by side in the same language, just as do 'two' 'pair' 'brace' 'couple' in English. Supposing $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$ originally signified 'joined together' and * $\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ was a demonstrative used to point out the first of a series, 'no. 1.' These two notions would easily coalesce in the idea of 'One.' Then when the original difference of meaning between the two stems *sem and * $\acute{\iota}\omicron$ had faded away, these stems, now identical in meaning, might be welded together into one declension. But the forms from the stem *sem gradually drove out those from the other stem * $\acute{\iota}\omicron$, and we only find traces of the latter in Homer and the dialects, not in classical Greek. This supposition offers an adequate explanation of the fact that the extant forms of this word * $\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ are chiefly confined to the feminine gender and to the oblique cases. There is no proof that the masculine form

ἰῶ found in *Il.* vi. 422 and in the Gortyn inscription is less primitive than the feminine forms found elsewhere.

Schmidt points out that in most of the Homeric instances ἰᾱ is found in the genitive and dative. ἰῆ occurs four times in the *Iliad*, ἰῆς twice, but ἰᾱ three times as against μῖα twelve times, ἰᾱν once in the *Odyssey*, as against μῖαν four times in the *Iliad*, and thrice in the *Odyssey*. Considering how small is the total number of instances, these figures prove little. Schmidt however argues from them

(1) That the disputed forms were originally confined to the Feminine

(2) And to the Gen. and Dat. cases of the Feminine, on the analogy of which the other cases were built up, and he continues

(3) That differences of accentuation caused different treatment of *i* in the Nom. and Acc., where it remained vocalic—*smiā*, and in the Gen. and Dat., where it became consonantal—*smiās*.

(4) That a prothetic *i* was added: ἰσ(μ)ἰᾱς. Cp. ἰσθι, Zend *zdi*.

(5) That the sounds σ, μ, and ξ have all disappeared, leaving only the prothetic *i* and the suffix -ἰᾱς. The stages would be *smiās* > *sīās* (cp. Skt. *tāsyāi* from *tasmyāi*) > *iṛiās* > *iās*.

These five steps, if difficult to disprove, seem equally hard to prove. Any one of them might be accepted alone, but an explanation which involves five doubtful steps, and supposes that the word under discussion (*iās*) contains only two sounds (-ἰᾱς) of the original word (**smjās*), and those sounds the case-suffix of an *a*-stem, does not seem to me particularly convincing.

My own belief, already mentioned, is that the stem **io-* *iā-* was originally declined throughout, but that when it came to coincide in meaning with εἰς it was gradually driven out by the forms of this word, and accordingly we only find stray examples of it in archaic and dialectal Greek. And I would derive **ios* from the demonstrative *i* spoken of above. In the two passages in the Gortyn inscription where ἰῶ occurs, it seems to have two different senses. In vii. 23 'ὀπνέθαι ἰῶ τῷ ἐς τὸ πρεγίστῳ . . . ἄλλῳ ὀπνέθαι τῷ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐς τὸ πρεγίστῳ' ἰῶ = 'the eldest son'¹ as contrasted with τῷ ἄλλῳ 'the second son.' But in viii. 8 'ἀποδιδέθαι δὲ τὸν κρέματόν ἰῶ' ἰῶ seems to be a pronoun, and = 'to him.'

In this second passage we have, I think,

the original sense of **ios*, viz. a demonstrative pronoun, just as in the Skt. *ena* we have the original sense of **oinos*.

In the original language there existed then side by side:

(1) The simple root *i*, or + an adjectival suffix, *io-*

= { i. 'This,' e.g. Lat. *i-s*.
= { ii. 'One,' e.g. Gk. *iā*.

(2) The compound stem *oi-* + the suffix -*no-*, -*yo-*, or -*go-*

= { i. 'This,' e.g. Skt. *ena*, *eva*.
= { ii. 'One,' e.g. Lat. *unus*.

The simple and the compound forms did not originally differ in meaning, save in so far as the latter was more emphatic: both alike had, first, a demonstrative, and then a numeral signification. But gradually the simple form became confined to the demonstrative use, while a trace of its other use as a numeral remains in the Gk. *iā*. On the other hand **oinos* became specialised as a numeral, though its original demonstrative force is attested by the Skt. *ena*.

A third root employed to signify One is **sem*, in its various ablaut forms **sem*, **som*, **sm*, **sm*, seen e.g. in Gk. εἰς, μῖα, ἓν, Lat. *simplex*, Skt. *sa-kr̥t* 'once.'

The original meaning of *sem* is generally held to have been 'united' and hence 'one.' It is doubtless connected with the Skt. prepositions *sam* and *smāt* 'with.' Gk. ὁμοῦ 'together' is also cognate.

It may be suggested in passing that the suffix -*sm* found in the pronominal declension, e.g. Skt. *tā-sm-ād*, *tā-sm-ai*, *tā-sm-in*, Gk. ἑμῖν (for ἑ-σμ-ν), etc., may be the weak grade -*sm-* of this same adverbial root **sem*. That, by the addition to a stem of a preposition of such a meaning, a case should be formed would be a very natural development, and with it might be compared the Oscan use of post-positions.

Two.

The word commonly employed to denote 'Two' has three different stem-forms, *duo*, *duo*, and *dui*, seen e.g. in Eng. *two*, Lat. *duo*, Eng. *twice*. All three are evidently formed from the same root **du*.

This root **du* I hold to be a compound, of which the latter part -*u* is identical with the deictic particle *u*, seen in Gk. ο-ἕ-τος, Skt. *a-sā-u*, Zend *hā-u*, and in the loc. pl. suffix -*s-u* (cp. -*s-i*), and perhaps in adverbs like Skt. *muh-u* 'immediately,' Gk. μεταξὺ, εἰθ-ύς, ἐγγ-ύς, πᾶν-υ, etc. This -*u* doubtless meant

¹ Baunack, p. 132.

'there,' 'that,' and it may be compared with the other deictic particle -i 'here'

The prior part of the compound **du* may be the reduced form of the demonstrative seen in Gk. $\delta\delta\epsilon$, $\delta\delta\epsilon$, $\delta\delta\epsilon$, $\eta\delta\eta$, Lat. *de-nique*, *do-nec*, Zend and Russian *dī* 'he,' O.Ch.Sl. *da* 'so,' and possibly also in the nom. acc. neut. sing. suffix -d of the pronominal declension, e.g. Lat. *istud*. In such a compound **de-u*, **de* might easily be reduced to *d-*, if the stress accent was, as one would expect it to be, on the emphatic particle **u* — **d(e)u* 'that there.'

The strong form **deu* appears in Gk. $\delta\epsilon\upsilon$ - $\rho\sigma$, $\delta\epsilon\upsilon$ - $\tau\epsilon$ 'hither,' and is perhaps identical with the root **deu* from which comes Skt. *dū-ra* 'afar.' The transition in meaning from 'there,' 'yonder' to 'away,' 'afar' is but slight.

The use of this root **den-* **du* as a numeral might have arisen as follows. Primitive man, endeavouring to count two objects, might point to the first and say 'this here' — **o-i-nos*, and then to the second and say 'that there' — **d(e)-u-o*. Compare Lat. *alius*, Gothic *anþar* 'other' in the sense of 'second.' By the constant use of these words to denote the 'first' and the 'second' respectively, the words might gradually acquire the meanings 'One' and 'Two.' The transition of meaning would be facilitated by the existence of simple demonstratives (*i* and *u*) beside the compound forms, for the former could be retained as demonstratives, while the latter were specialised as numerals.

√*u* = there, yonder, e.g. $\sigma\delta\tau\sigma$.

(A) = two
e.g. Skt. *u-bhāu*.

(B) = away, apart, e.g. Skt. *vi-ṣ*
= far off, e.g. Skt. *vi-tarām*
= lack, e.g. Skt. *ū-na*.

√*deu* = that there, e.g. $\delta\epsilon\upsilon$ - $\rho\sigma$.

(B) = away, afar, e.g. Skt. *dūrā*
= be far off, e.g. Gk. $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$
= lack, e.g. Gk. $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$.

(A) = Two,
e.g. Gk. $\delta\upsilon\omicron$.

In support of this supposed connection between the √*u* and the √*deu* may be cited also this parallelism:

√*yi*.

- (1) *yis* = apart, e.g. Skt. *vi-ṣ*.
(2) *yī* = two, e.g. Lat. *vi-ginti*.

√*dyi*.

- (1) *dy-is* = apart, e.g. Goth. *twis*.
(2) *dy-is* = twice, e.g. Gk. $\delta\iota\varsigma$, Lat. *bis*.

Perhaps the Conjunction **ue* — **ue* 'or-or' also comes from a form *ue* of this same root *u*.²

It is conceivable also that this same *ue* makes its appearance amongst the personal pronouns. For a stem *ue* - *uo* is used for

¹ M. U. v. 24.

² It has been suggested to me that possibly the *u* of the difficult Latin *u-ter* is identical with this root *u*.

It is noteworthy that beside the root **du* there is another root **u* which has the same signification. It is found in the Skt. *u-bhāu* 'both' and possibly also in the -*u* suffix of the Skt. N.V.A. dual masc. This *u* also I would connect with the deictic *u* mentioned above. The numeral *u* bears the same relation to the numeral **du* on the one hand and the demonstrative *u* on the other, as does the numeral *i* (Gk. *īa*) to the numeral **oi-nos* on the one hand and the demonstrative *i* on the other.

The numeral *u* is almost certainly connected with the root *ui* employed as the prior part of the I.-E. word for 'Twenty.' This root *ui* Brugmann¹ identifies with the Skt. *vi-ṣ* 'apart' *vitārām*, Zend *vitārām* 'further,' Gothic *vi-þra* 'against,' Eng. *with* in 'withstand,' Skt. *vi-ṣu*, *vi-ṣa* 'on both sides.' And he analyses *ui* as the root **u* + the formative suffix -i. Cp. **du-i*, **tr-i*. This root **u* he connects with Zend *u-yamna*, Skt. *ū-na*, O.H.G. *w-an* 'lacking,' Eng. *want*. The original meaning therefore he supposes to have been 'to separate,' 'go away.'

This explanation does not necessarily contradict that suggested above. The meaning 'separate' might arise from the meaning 'there' by the following steps. *u* = (1) There, yonder; (2) Away, apart; (3) Be far off; and so (4) Lacking. This development would be exactly parallel with that postulated above for the root **deu*. The parallelism will be clearer if expressed in tabular form:

the 1st per. pl., cp. Skt. *vayām*, Eng. *we*. And for the 2nd per. pl. there is also used a stem *ue* - *uo* - and *ues*, *uos*, cp. Skt. *vas*, Lat. *vos*, etc. Apparently then this pronominal stem **ue* was not originally attached to any particular person, but simply indicated plurality. Might not its original meaning then have been 'both,' viz. 'I and thou,' i.e. 'we,' or 'thou and he,' i.e. 'you?' And if *ue* originally meant 'both' it would

be natural to connect it with the *u* of Skt. *u-bhāu* and the *ut* of Lat. *vi-ginti*.

At this point it seems necessary to discuss the Greek ordinal *δεύτερος*. If it be connected with *δύο*, having the vocalism of the strong grade, then it is a weighty piece of evidence in favour of the derivation of *δύο* from I.-E. **du-o*. Brugmann¹ holds that it is not connected with *δύο*. His view is based on the use of *δεύτατος* in *Il.* xix. 51, *Od.* i. 286, and *Od.* xxiii. 342, where it does not mean 'second' but 'last of all.'

This meaning Brugmann explains by supposing that *δεύτερος* and *δεύτατος* are connected, not with *δύο*, but with Skt. *dūra* 'distant,' superlative *daviṣṭha*. With this root *deu* he connects also the verb *δέομαι*, which he supposes to have meant originally 'be at a distance.' Then *δέομαι τινος* = 'I stand far from something' and so 'I lack.' And *δεύτερός εἰμι τινος* 'I am behind, stand after someone,' 'inferior sum.' In support of this view of the original meaning Brugmann adduces several passages where *δεύτερος* means 'inferior' and 'later.' The formal resemblance of *δύο* and *δεύτερος* would of course facilitate the use of the latter word in the sense of 'second.'

But it is just as easy for the senses

'inferior,' 'later,' in which *δεύτερος* is sometimes used, to come from the sense of 'second' as *vice-versa*. So that the passages wherein *δεύτερος* is used in these senses by no means prove Brugmann's point. The three Homeric passages where *δεύτατος* cannot mean 'second' but must mean 'last' are more convincing. But it is remarkable that in all three cases the word is not *δεύτερος*, but *δεύτατος*, and it is at least as possible that the unusual sense is due to the force of the superlative suffix as that it is due to the original meaning of the root itself. Dr. Leaf, in his note² on *Iliad* xix. 51 explains *δεύτατος* as 'a formation on the analogy of *ἵστατος* made at a time when *δεύτερος* had so far lost its original force as to be regarded as an equivalent to *ἵστερος*.' That is, if *δεύτερος* = *ἵστερος*, then *δεύτατος* = *ἵστατος*. This explanation seems quite satisfactory, and consequently in spite of Brugmann's theory it is possible, I think, to connect *δεύτερος* with *δύο*, and therefore to employ it as evidence in favour of the derivation suggested above.

At this point it will be convenient to illustrate in tabular form the curious parallelism between the words for 'One' and 'Two.'

	One.
(1) Simple stem <i>i</i> =	{ i. 'Here,' 'this,' e.g. Lat. <i>i-s</i> . ii. 'One,' e.g. Gk. <i>ἓα</i> .
(2) Compound stem <i>f</i> <i>oi</i> =	{ i. 'This,' e.g. Skt. <i>ena</i> . ii. 'Two,' e.g. Lat. <i>ūnus</i> .

	Two.
(1) Simple stem <i>u</i> =	{ i. 'There,' 'that,' e.g. Gk. o-ῦ-τος. ii. 'Two,' e.g. Skt. <i>u-bhāu</i> .
(2) Compound stem <i>d(e)u</i> =	{ i. 'There,' e.g. Gk. <i>δεῦπο</i> , Skt. <i>dūra</i> . ii. 'Two,' e.g. Gk. <i>δεύτερος</i> .

In each case the simple stem tends to become a demonstrative only, the compound stem a numeral only.

A third stem **bho-* is seen in Skt. *u-bhāu* Gk. *ἄμ-φω* and perhaps also *σ-φώ*, Lat. *am-bo*, O. Eng. *bā*, Mod. Eng. *bo-*th**, all meaning 'both.'

Perhaps this **bho* is connected with the Gothic preposition *bi*, English *by*, Skt. *a-bhi*. The meaning of **bho* might develop thus: (1) By, beside (2) Together (3) Both. For the difference of vocalism between **bho* and **bhi*, cp. **dyo* and **dvi*. In favour of the connection between, **bho* and **bhi* are the closely parallel forms Gk. *ἄμ-φί*: *ἄμ-φω* and Lat. *am-bi*: *am-bo*.

It is not unlikely that from this Idg. preposition **bhi* come the Gk. instrum. suffix *-φι* and the *-bhi* of the Skt. case endings *-bhy-ām* (Dat. Abl. Inst. Dual), *-bhy-as* (Dat. Abl. Pl.), *-bhi-s* (Loc. Pl.). The Lat. dat. pl. suffix *-bus* (for *-bhos*) is very like the

¹ *K.Z.* xxv. 293.

Skt. Loc. pl. suffix *-bhi-s*, but seems to come from the byform of **bhi*, viz. **bho*. The use of a preposition **bhi* 'by' as a case-suffix is perfectly natural, and one can easily see how instrumental and locative uses might arise.

Three.

The word for 'Three' in most I.-E. languages come from a stem **tri*, but such forms as Skt. *tr-tiṣas*, Lesbian Gk. *τέρ-τος* and Latin *ter-tius* seem to shew that the original form of the root was **ter*, and that the *i* of *tri-* was a suffix, added to the weak grade *tr* of the root *ter*.

It has been plausibly suggested that *ter* may have been a name for the middle finger, connected with Skt. *tārman* 'top of a sacrificial pillar' and Gk. *τέρ-θρον* 'end-point, top.' But the general considerations mentioned at the beginning of this article pre-

² In *Story of Achilles*, 1882, and so too in ed. of *Iliad*, 1888.

vent me regarding the word 'Three' as a finger-name. Yet at the same time it may be that the numeral **ter* is identical with the root **ter* seen in the Skt. verb *tar* 'to pass' and its derivatives, including *tarman*; in Gk. τέθρον, τέμμα, 'end'; Lat. *terminus*, and Eng. *through*.

Before discussing the connection of meaning between the numeral **ter* and the Skt. verb *tar* it will be necessary to examine this verb *tar* with its derivatives in order to discover, if possible, its original meaning.

The preposition¹ *tiras*, apparently the genitive case of a weak form of I.-E. *ter*, is used chiefly in four senses, viz.

- (1) *Over*
- (2) *Through*
- (3) *Across*. Cp. *tiryác* 'crossways' apparently from a loc. *tiri* + *ac*.
- (4) *Against*.

This last sense is found also in the use of the verb *tar* to signify 'withstand,' 'fight.' It probably arises from the meaning 'Across,' compare our verb 'thwart.' The sense of 'to meet' in which the $\sqrt{\text{tar}}$ is sometimes used, might certainly come from the sense 'Across.' Cp. our phrase 'to come across anyone.' And the transition in meaning from 'to meet' to 'meet in battle,' 'fight' is but slight.

Turning now to the verbal root *tar*, we

find that Grassmann classifies its usages under the following heads:

- (1) Pass through; (2) Pass over, cross;
- (3) Traverse; (4) Attain; (5) Overcome;
- (6) Surpass; (7) Meet fortunately; (8) Resist; (9) Accomplish; (10) Pass time;
- (11) Succeed; (12) Acquire, conquer;
- (13) Rescue.

These may be reduced to the same three heads as those under which the prepositional usages were classified, viz.

(I.) *Through*, whence (1) Pass through, (10) Pass (time), and perhaps (9) Accomplish, i.e. 'get through.'

(II.) *Over*—(5) Overcome, and (6) Surpass, whence (4) Attain, (11) Succeed, (12) Conquer, and (13) Rescue (i).

(III.) *Across*, whence (7) Meet, (8) Resist (cp. 'thwart'), and perh. (2) Cross, and (3) Traverse. But these might come from 'Over.'

Grassmann assumes that the root meaning is 'through,' 'pass through.' But the ideas of 'overcoming,' 'surpassing,' and 'exceeding' (found in the derivatives *táras* 'haste,' and *táru* 'swift') can scarcely come from the meaning 'Through,' but only from the meaning 'Over.' And the idea 'Across' can as well come from 'Over' as from 'Through.' I suppose then the development of meaning to have been as follows:

- Go over (verb)
- |
- (1) Go over, pass $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pass through, as in } \sqrt{\text{tar}} \text{ (1)} \\ \text{as in } \sqrt{\text{tar}} \end{array} \right. \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{cross, cp. } \textit{tára} \text{ 'crossing,' } \textit{tarutra} \text{ 'bringing over,' and } \sqrt{\text{tar}} \text{ (2) cross.} \\ \text{'Traverse' } \end{array} \right.$
- |
- (2) Overcome, cp. *tarutr*, *taruša* 'conqueror,' *tarutra* 'victorious,' *táruš* 'victory,' and $\sqrt{\text{tar}}$ (5) overcome, (12) conquer, (11) succeed.
- |
- (3) Surpass, $\sqrt{\text{tar}}$ (6) 'surpass.'
- |
- (4) Exceed, cp. *táras* 'energy,' and *tarāṇu*, *táru* 'swift.'
- |
- (5) Be over, cp. $\sqrt{\text{trā}}$ 'watch over, guard,' and $\sqrt{\text{tar}}$ (13) 'rescue.'

For the idea of *excess* compare our use of the word 'Over' in expressions like 'overhaste.' The notions 'Over' and 'Beyond' lie very near together.

An original meaning 'Go over' seems thus to account easily for all the usages of the verbal root *tar* and its derivatives, whereas it would be difficult to derive them all from an original meaning 'Go through.' The development in meaning of the adverb *tiras*, I suppose to have been as follows:

- (1) *Over*
- |
- (2) *Across*
- |
- (3) *Through* (4) *Against*

The development from 'Across' to 'Against' has been explained above. And it is not difficult to see how the sense 'Across' might arise from that of 'Over.' 'To go over' and 'To cross' are synonymous terms. It is more difficult to connect the

¹ Grassmann's *Wörterbuch*, z. R. V.

ideas 'Over' and 'Through.' But the following steps will, I think, explain the development.

Over <verb = (1) Go over—pass—go through.
<adverb = (2) Over—across—through.

'Through' is the meaning preserved in Gothic¹ *pair-h* (h = que) and O. Irish *tar*. But the sense 'Across' is kept by the Latin *trans*, Umbr. *traf*² (for **trants*. Nom. Sing. Masc. of Pres. Participle of **trāre*).

Having thus cleared the way by investigating the original meaning of the root **ter*, it is now possible to enquire what connection, if any, existed between this root **ter* and the numeral **ter*.

The numeral meaning arose, I believe, from that shade of meaning of *ter* 'over,' which inclines to the notion 'beyond,' from which comes the idea of 'excess' perhaps found in Skt. *tāru*. For it would be natural for anyone who could only count 'One' and 'Two'—and obviously before a word for Three was invented, no one could count beyond Two—to speak of Three as 'Beyond, Over,' i.e. 'More.' We may compare the Tasmanian mode of counting 'One, Two, Plenty.'

It would not of course be legitimate to explain 'Three' in this way, if it was formed at the same time as the number Four and the higher numbers. No one would count 'One, Two, Over (two), Four, etc.' But on other grounds we concluded above that 'Four' was of later origin than 'Three.'

At the same time it is not perhaps altogether fanciful to suppose that 'Three' is not quite so old as 'One' and 'Two.' The latter distinguish gender in all I.-E. languages, but 'Three' only in Aryan (Skt. *tisras*, Zend *tiçarō*) and Celtic (O. Irish *teoir*), which shew a feminine stem **tiser*, **tisr*, doubtless for *tri-sr* by dissimilation. A form which is found in such widely separated languages as Aryan and Celtic must almost certainly be I.-E., but its non-appearance in the other languages might lead one to suppose that it was not often employed in the parent speech. Moreover, while several stems are used for One—*oi*, *i*, and *sem*—and for Two—*du*, *u*, *bho*—only one is used for Three. Again, while the ordinal of One is never, and that of Two rarely, formed from the same stem as the cardinal, the ordinal 'Third' is regularly formed from the cardinal Three.

These facts taken together may indicate

that 'Three' was formed some time after One and Two. For these several words are employed, because the very idea of 'One' and 'Two' was only gradually arising. But by the time the word 'Three' was coined the notion of numbers had become more fixed with the growth of the practice of counting, and so for one number only one word was employed. In the interval then that elapsed before 'Three' was invented the original meaning of 'One' and 'Two' might have faded, and the words have become stereotyped as numerals pure and simple. Therefore it would be natural for the early Indo-European to say 'One, Two, Over,' whereas it is less easy, though still perfectly possible, to suppose that he counted 'This, That, Beyond,' just as an Englishman might say 'This, that, yon,' or a German 'dies, das, jenes.'

Four.

The I.-E. form of this word seems to have been **q^{et}etuer*, with numerous ablaut variations, as *q^{et}etiores*, *q^{et}etur*, etc. Comparison with the Skt. Fem. *catasras* shews that the *-uer* of *q^{et}etuer* is a suffix, and that the root is simply *q^{et}*, from which the Masc. **q^{et}et-uer* and the Fem. **q^{et}et-eser* are alike formed.

No satisfactory explanation of this root **q^{et}* has yet been offered. The form would tempt one to connect it with the Interrogative Pronominal stem *q^{uo}- q^{ui}-*. For of this there is a third form³ *q^{ue}-*, seen in the Zend *ca-* 'anyone'; Ionic *τέο, τέψ, τέων, τέουσι*, and Cretan *τέϊων* corresponding to Attic *ποῖον*; O.Ch.Sl. *čemu, čemi*; Lat. *-que*, Gk. *τε*, Skt. *ca*, O.Ch.Sl. *če*. This Interrogative stem has a form ending in *-t(i)*, as Lat. *quot(i)*, Gk. *πόσος* (for *ποτός*), Skt. *kati* 'how many?' Gk. *πότε*, 'when?' Schmidt holds too that the Latin *cottidie* comes from **quettidie*, like *coquo* from *quequo*, and he thinks accordingly that once the forms **quet* and **quot* existed side by side. It is however doubtful, according to F. Sommer,⁴ whether *que-* becomes *co-* in Latin except before *qu*, *c*, *l*, and *m*.

The connection of meaning between **q^{et}etuer* and the Interrogative stem is even more difficult to prove than the connection of form. Perhaps it is not impossible that from the meaning 'How many!' (exclamatory) might arise the meaning 'Very many' and that this word might then be applied to the number Four, which, to a rude people unable to count above Three, might seem a

¹ K.Z. xxxvi. 198-201.

² Brugm. *Kurze Grammatik*, ii. § 615.

³ J. Schmidt in K.Z. xxv. 91.

⁴ Lat. Laut- und Formenlehre, p. 75.

large number. Compare the New Hollanders' 'One, Two, Many, Very many.'

But this does not seem very plausible, and

I am inclined to think that 'Four' presents an insoluble mystery.

LILIAN M. BAGGE.

REVIEWS.

BLASS'S INTERPOLATIONS IN THE ODYSSEY.

Die Interpolationen in der Odyssee. Eine Untersuchung von FRIEDRICH BLASS. Halle a. S. Verlag von Max Niemeyer. 1904. 9½" x 6". Pp. 306. M. 8.

WHEN I reviewed (*C.R.* 1905, p. 359) Prof. Henning's work on the *Odyssey*, I observed that that book marked the end of the German or Wolfian period of Homeric criticism. I was not consciously following the rule never to prophesy unless you know; but here is Herr Blass' book to confirm my vaticination. It contains the most sensible view of Homer published for a hundred years—may I say the only sense written about Homer since Wolf? To assert so much would be unjust to G. W. Nitzsch, who though unreadable has many good conclusions, but the remark would be true of other writers, both German and English. *Iam redit et uirgo*, and that the harbinger of a better age is the soundest and most encyclopaedic Hellenist now living increases our satisfaction. We have a guarantee that no factors will be overlooked, least of all the linguistic, in which Herr Blass is a past master. The tone of the book is sane, the style terse and even blunt. The writer works with the external evidence, wherever there is any. A reader accustomed to the vagaries of Blass' distinguished predecessors, Kirchhoff and v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, feels that he has escaped from Plato's cave into the light.

The preface is the part of the work which will find most acceptance. It contains several remarks of a quality which we do not often meet; as (p. 12) that the difficulty of conceiving a single Homer author of both poems decreases as our knowledge of antiquity increases: that the Cyclic poets (p. 9) were 'Sagengelehrter' rather than poets, and (p. 3 n.) died a natural (though since Proclus read them, lengthy) death of their own inferiority; his hearty admiration of the proportion and arrangement of the *Odyssey*, as a single work of art, and his comparison of it to Plato's *Republic*, and to tragedies, to their disadvantage (p. 6); the

remark (p. 1) that Archilochus' Homer was substantially the same as ours; and that (p. 24) on the extraordinary inability, of both ancients and moderns, to accept the heroic standard of morality and propriety. The writer, however, holds that the poems are indubitably not in the state in which their author left them; two species of 'fremde Händen' have had dealings with them, diasceuvasts, who added episodes, rhapsodes and scribes who added lines here and there. The preface gives us Herr Blass' tests for discovering these foreign elements. His tests are of two degrees; proofs, *τεκμήρια*, and presumptions, *σημεία*. Proofs are un-homeric allusions and usages—Sicily in ω , Hermes *ψυχιοπομπός* likewise in ω ; the atthesis of ancient commentators, omissions in ancient MSS. On the other hand, discrepancies within the poems, chronological and material, are to be used with caution; repetitions (of formulae, etc.) are but *σημεία*. Interruption in a context, delay in an action, is always a *σημείον* and often amounts to positive proof. Herr Blass is alive to the relative and provisional nature of some of these rules (and I fancy he overestimates the authority of the ancient grammarians), but his procedure is reassuring, and compared to that of any other critic, satisfactory. However, the bearing of his remarks lies in their application, and we must see him at work.

He takes the rhapsode (and the scribe) first, and traces his mole-run over the text from α to ω . A reviewer cannot follow him all the way. I will take the Phaeacian books, ξ - θ .¹

ξ 119 ὦμοι ἐγὼ, τέων αὖτε βροτῶν ἐς γαῖαν
 ἰκάνω;
 ἦ ῥ' οἷ γ' ὕβρισται τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ
 οἴκαισι,
 ἦε φιλόξενοι καὶ σφιν νόος ἐστὶ θεοῦδης;
 ὥστε με κούρων ἀμφήλυθε θῆλυς ἀντή,
 ννμφάων αἰέχονσ' ὀρέων αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα

¹ But as the English which falls from my pen is apt to be misunderstood, I should like to say that I have read the whole book.

καὶ πηγὰς ποταμῶν καὶ πῖσκα ποίειντα ;
 125 ἦ νύ που ἀνθρώπων εἰμὶ σχεδὸν αὐδην-
 ^{των}
 ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἐγὼν αὐτὸς περιήσομαι ἡδὲ
 ἴδωμαι.

The unprejudiced reader finds no stumbling-block here, any more than Herr Blass, on a general reading, did in α-ζ (p. 4).

The learned, however, feel differently ; one cuts out 120, 121 ; another 123-125. Herr Blass adstipulates to the former. This is a typical case of the minor critical operation. It implies two working principles : (a) the 'dispensable supplement' ; nothing may be kept which the syntax does not necessitate. We can get on with 119, 122, 126. 'Then make it so.' (b) Nothing, except sunrise and sunset, must be repeated. The original poet was sensitive on this point ; the rhapsodes (and scribes) were victims to association. In this passage 120, 121 = 175, 176, and 123-5 = γ 8-10 (nearly). Both these canons require demonstration, and both are contradicted by the nature of epos, Greek and foreign. Abundance and formulism are the first characteristic of hexameter verse, in vocabulary, phrase, figures, and ideas. Particularly weak is the assumption of additions ; ζ 221

ἄτην δ' οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε λοίσσομαι· αἰδέομαι γὰρ
 γυμνοῦσθαι κούρησιν ἐνπλοκάμοισι μετελθόν.

'Der Vers 222 ist peritōs wenn einer' ; then whose interest was it to add it ? The first line was clear ; the second involves a difficulty of construction which moves Herr Blass to reject it. This is not the place to enuntiate a definition of insertions ; we shall come directly to a case of them where they are legitimate. Similar criteria are employed, with a somewhat pettifogging verbal exegesis, upon the end of the book. ζ 328 ὧς ἔφατ' εἰχόμενος is inconsistent with η 1 ὧς ὁ μὲν ἔνθ' ἤρᾱτο. But η 1 resumes after a pause. ζ 329 αὐτῷ δ' οὐπω φαίνεται ἐναντίη is contradicted by η 18 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ἄρ' ἔμελλε πόλιν δίσσεσθαι ἑραινῆν | ἔνθα οἱ ἀντεβόλησε θεά. The contradiction requires a microscope to make it visible ; to the naked eye οὐπω is well balanced by ὅτε δὴ. The same niggling procedure removes η 40-42, on the ground that the mist which Athena threw over Odysseus is mentioned a second time, and that as he entered the town (ἐρχόμενον) it was too late for him to notice the docks and the town-wall ! The same inability to deal with common things recurs η 103 sq., where we cut out the Gardens of Alcinoos because 'Odysseus von seinem

Standorte aus, vor dem Hause, zwar von dem Innern etwas sehen und dies bewundern kann, das Weitere aber . . . unmöglich.' So Alcinoos' house blocked out his fruit-trees ; but at Monaco, which must be something like Scheria, you catch a glimpse of the Prince's gardens without passing the sentry. It is a lesson to us philologists, this scholastic criticism, which emasculates the poem of its best portions, compared to the objective method of Bérard, resting on facts, which is capable of admitting a false quantity, but shows us things as they were.

On the other hand the remark that in η 51, 52

θαρσαλέος γὰρ ἄνηρ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀμείνων
 ἔργοισιν τελέθει, εἰ καὶ ποθεν ἄλλοθεν ἔλθοι

52 is an addition, is true. This is a type of real expansion, the amplification of a gnome, and in so far the easing of the sense. It is 'gag,' and has its parallel in Tragedy. I am glad to see that Herr Blass resists Kirchhoff's extirpation of η 56-68, the effect of which would be to make Alcinoos and Arete brother and sister. It is important, however ; if as Bérard believes, the Scherian civilisation is non-Hellenic, the custom would have given offence in the heroic age, and we should have a τεκμήριον ! The reference to Athens, η 80, is justly defended ; after all it was there. The professor also stands by Alcinoos when he offers his daughter to Odysseus (η 311 sq.). He gets rid too lightly of the Delphic oracle (θ 79, 80). It existed, as we know from I 404. Why should not Agamemnon have consulted it ? Because no one else did ? How do we know that ? No one else launched a thousand ships. You cannot prove a negative, and an oracle implies applicants. It was just over the gulf from Agamemnon's kingdom. On θ 20 sq. I observe that the plural ἀεθλοὶ recurs 146, 155 ; the Phaeacians offered Odysseus all or any ; on θ 144 sq. that Odysseus is aware his passage is safe, but he wants it at once. The games bore him, and Laodamas' gibe turns on this unsportsmanlike spirit.

θ 219 οἷος δὴ με Φιλοκτῆτης ἀπεκαίνυτο τύψῃ
 δῆμῳ ἐνὶ Τρώων ὅτε τοῖς αἰοίμει' Ἀχαιοί

How did Odysseus betray himself by 220 ? There were numerous warriors with special gifts at Troy. It was not more compromising than to have engaged Philoctetes at home in Magnesia. It is too bad of the professor to exclaim θ 249 εἰματὰ τ' ἐξημοιβὰ λοετρά τε θερμὰ καὶ εἰναί on the ground that 'dieser Vers auf die Kunstfertigkeiten, die

Alkinoos an den Phäaken rühmen will, keinen Bezug hat.' I daresay Schütz and Nitzsch thought so, but they had not enjoyed the picture of the Phaeacians as an athletic and hygienic people which has been so brilliantly put before us. We know, *nous autres*, that the complements of ποσι κραίνῳς θέλειν and νηυσὶν ἀριστεύειν are warm water and clean clothes, and Alcinous includes these points in his general account of his people. Herr Blass will not have the sailor's knot by which Arete advises Odysseus to secure his treasure (θ 443); 'seltsam ist dass Arete ihre Phäaken verdächtigt.' What, with Odysseus all alone, in a deep sleep? Even today in some countries you are advised to insure your baggage, or to tie it in string and seal it with lead. The mention of Circe (448) is not fatal. I presume Homer's audience knew Odysseus' wanderings in general. Does anyone suppose Homer *invented* Circe?—Here I stop, though the reading is very interesting. Herr Blass in this department is practically an Alexandrian. He finds 'Anstoss' constantly, and where he cannot climb over his obstacle he takes it out. For my part, while I read him I believe; but when I turn to the poet I see the rock of offence is imaginary. Herr Blass is the superior of the Alexandrians in linguistic, of his German predecessors in historical sense and taste; but he seems the slave of a false conception of literature. No poet's mind, no early poet's, and especially no epic poet's, ever worked in the way he supposes.

I pass to the second part of the book, the discussion of the larger alterations, the work of late epic poets. The interests here are greater, and we expect to find the criteria correspondingly clear. Herr Blass begins with ψ and ω and takes a crab-like course back to α. I will follow the order of nature. In θ he almost assumes Demodocus' lay must go, but pays little attention to its immorality and irreligion—which indeed are difficult to maintain, if one remembers that all we know about the morals and religion of the heroic age is what Homer tells us and then considers Ξ 294, 315, 333, Ω 130, the grotesque stories in Hesiod, the non-devotional tone of Hesiod *Theog.* 27, 28, *h. Herm.* 577, 578 and the familiarity with Heaven shown throughout the poems. Herr Blass rejects the lay on account of its want of connection. 'Mit den Tänzen hat das Lied nicht das Mindeste zu thun.' How does this appear? Blass admits the age of the episode and even quotes the chair at Amyclae (Φαιάκων χορὸς καὶ ἄδων ὁ Δημό-

δοκος); no want of 'connection' was felt at that period. The evidence of later centuries does not authorise us to exclude the bard from the heroic agon. The Phaeacians had a long card; foot-race, wrestling, jump, quoits, boxing (incident of remarks on Odysseus and Odysseus' exhibition), dancing to music (troupe), Demodocus' lay, dancing (pas de deux). Herr Blass, who knows everything, is aware that in historical Greece some ἀγῶνες were athletic, some artistic, and some mixed. In the *Iliad*, there being a state of war and bards left at home, we have only games, but at the wake of Amphidamas, which Hesiod attended, there were 'hymns,' at the Panionia hymns, prosodia, paeans, etc.; Delphi began by being entirely musical, races were not added till 586. At Hermione, in what is called a μουσικῆς ἀγῶν, there were prizes for diving and swimming (Paus. ii. 35. 1); Pausanias infers from Eumelus' words that the Ithomaea were at first musical (iv. 33. 2). Why is not the Phaeacian entertainment the first instance of the mixed festival? Demodocus' 'lay' about the Gods, contrasted with his previous excerpt from the Tale of Troy, resembles the ραψῳδὸς and ἐπων ποιητῆς, or ραψῳδὸς and ἐγκωμιὸν ἐπικόν (once ἐγκωμιὸν εἰς μούσας *C.I.G. Sept.* 1773) which are standing categories in the Boeotian agonistic inscriptions of s. iv-i B.C. Dem. sings 'unbidden': why not? An ἀοιδὸς was not an instrument. He sang when the Muse moved him, the Muse knew when.

The Nekyia has a good deal to suffer; the Heroines and Minos, Orion, etc. (κ 568 sq.) must go. The latter passage constitutes an Orphic interpolation. Herr Blass extols Wilamowitz's demonstration of this (*Hom. Studien*, pp. 199 sq.), but he leaves little Orphic in the passage. Minos, Orion, Tityos, and Heracles are unorphic, Sisyphus and Tantalus remain: their names are reduplicated, and the vagueness of their description shows they are types, like the Danaides. I am surprised that so careful a philologer as Herr Blass should build anything upon the etymology of heroic names: he admits that Tantalus is not transparent: why should Sisyphus be Hellenic Greek at all? On the other hand, the Ephyrean Sisyphus is an historical personage, and the absence of genealogy in these two cases is merely for variety. The writer is correct in rejecting the agency of Onomacritus. We can have no dealings with a sixth century Homer. Herr Blass defends the relevancy of λ as a whole with, naturally, success: it is an adventure,

an ἄθλος. Such things are not relevant, but they have to be undertaken. The Heroines, those Queens of Song, 225 sq., are dismissed as Hesiodic, and put on the same level as the Catalogue of Ships. It is plain that 'Katalog' like 'Zusammenhang' is a term of occult power: otherwise by what mental process do critics restrict catalogues to Boeotia, and establish a connection between women and ships? Ulysses sees the Heroines because they are part of the population of Hades: they are there in obedience to a habit of mind which we may call 'gemeingriechisch,' certainly not Hesiodic. I presume, given the idea of divine fathers, limited in number, the detailed family interest must fall upon the mothers. To derive the Achilles-episode from the Μικρὰ Ἰλιάς (with Wilamowitz) is craziness. In general Herr Blass takes the obvious view that so far as there is any relation at all between Homer and the Cycle, the latter depends on the former. He is, however, wrong in inferring from the citation of the Κήρυτοι (λ 521) from Alcaeus and not from the Μικρὰ Ἰλιάς that Lesches' poem did not contain the name of this people. The Cycle is rarely quoted; the lyric and melic poets completely overshadowed it. Stesichorus extinguished the Iliupersis, and, similarly, Alcaeus' hymns to Apollo and Hermes are quoted in preference to the long and important hexameter hymns still extant.

Books ο-σ may be passed over on this occasion. In the discussion of τ-χ the first thing that strikes me is that τ 31-4, the lines in which Athena goes before Od. and his son, a golden lamp in her hand, while they remove the arms from the hall, is called 'die geschmackloseste Stelle in der ganzen Odyssee.' The ancients I know agreed (δουλοπρεπὲς καὶ λίαν εὐτελὲς τὸ τῆς διανοίας κτλ. schol.). Well, 'il gusto' is a delicate subject. Other readers feel the exact opposite. At all events in view of the perpetual interference of Athena (she picked up Diomedes' whip and broke Eumelus' yoke, ψ 390) it is impossible to cut anything out. Next we come to two of the most striking ἐπεισόδια in the poem, the Νίπτρα and Τὰ ἐν Παρνασσῷ. Herr Blass is 'decidedly of opinion that the Νίπτρα is an Einheit,' for which we may thank him, but he gives up Parnassus and Autolyceus. Parnassus is 'far away'; is it? What can we say about distances in the heroic age, as affecting practical relations? Penelope's sister had married at Pherae, μάλα πολλὸν ἀπόπρωι (δ 798 sq.): these islanders moved about easily. Noemon (δ 635) kept his

horses, and Odysseus (Telegonia arg.) his cattle, in Elis: the people of Pheneus in Arcadia (Paus. viii. 14) took care of his horses. Pheneus is further from the coast than Parnassus, and neither meant a long voyage. The episode delays the action. What else do episodes do? Delay is of the nature of epos, as I find Göthe laid down (Nitzsch, *Beiträge z. Gesch. der ep. Poes.* p. 108, n. 160) 'daher sind alle retardirende Motive episch.' Anxiety to arrive depends on century, civilisation and even race. The Parisian house, I am told, begins to go out when the dénouement comes in sight, the ancients, as we know from their historians and tragedians, adored protraction.

The finale, ψ 297 to the end, is in a different position. The unprejudiced reader, who like Herr Blass finds nothing wrong in α-ζ, is sensible of a change, of a somewhat mechanical compression and repetition and of the inferiority of the second νέκνια to the first. Whether Aristophanes and Aristarchus had better grounds for their athetesis may be doubted. Herr Blass' Oxford friends may yet find scholia to state *ὅτι ἐν τισιν οὐ φέρονται*, but so far no omission of such a size is attested. Herr Blass acknowledges the literary merit of most of this passage. The description of the country part of Ithaca is excellent. The principal question is, where are we to look for the author of this sequel? Hardly at Corinth as Blass thinks (p. 221): I suppose he means Eumelus. The writer who occupied himself with Odysseus' domestic affairs and wound up his story was Eugammon.¹ Herr Blass will not enter into the Leucas-Ithaca question (p. 298); but he has the key in his hand. The lines ω 377, 8 οἷος Νήρικον εἶλον (Laertes) *ἐκτίμενον πολίεθρον | ἀκτὴν ἡπείροιο* show that Homer, or as we should say the author of ω, considered Nericus (in Leucas) to be mainland; in other words that at this very early period Thiaki was already Ithaca.

This part of the poem is touched on also in the first Appendix (p. 285). In ω 76 sq. Thetis buries Achilles. In Arctinus' Aethiopis Thetis carries him to Leuce in the Pontus. 'Also ist Arktinos von ω abhängig.' Now the νέκνια is later than the rest of ω; the rest of ω is of about 700 B.C. at earliest. The νέκνια is later than this, Arctinus is later than the νέκνια. Arctinus and the Aethiopis are therefore not earlier than 600,

¹ Who is, however, rather late for the present purpose. Other candidates are the Thesprotis, which occupied itself with Penelope (Paus. viii. 12. 5), and Musaeus, from whom Eugammon borrowed (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 2. 25).

perhaps as late as 550.—What a house of cards! It does not follow that Arctinus borrowed the funeral of Achilles from ω ; Thetis presumably intervened at her son's death from the beginning of legend. It does not follow that ω is as late as 700 because Sicily is mentioned in it. Were Sicilian slaves unheard of till the foundation of Syracuse? Knowledge of a place, and some relations with it, must be assumed to exist before a colony is sent out.¹ ω may be given another hundred years; and Arctinus may

¹ The Sicels it is admitted are mentioned ν 383, and Hesiod discusses the formation of the island *fr.* 183.

return to his traditional date of ol. 9 (Artemon the chronologer of Clazomenae).

This book will meet I expect with no too warm a reception in its own land. With us, who regard facts, and make light of pseudoliterary canons, it should be welcome. We hope the learned author will try his hand at the *Iliad*, and at the Homeric question generally, for without a place and time for Homer, 'interpolation' has hardly a meaning. My own opinion of the book is doubtful. When I think of all the other critics I say *οἷος πέπνυται*; when I open Homer I repeat the Cambridge epigram, *σφόδρα Τεύρων*.
T. W. ALLEN.

RAEDER'S PHILOSOPHIC DEVELOPMENT OF PLATO.

Platons Philosophische Entwicklung. Von HANS RAEDER, von der Königlich Dänischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften Gekrönte Preisschrift. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1905. 8vo. Pp. 435. M. 8.

PLATONIC students have no reason to complain of the quantity of the books dealing with their subject which have appeared during the last decade. For, not to mention slighter works devoted to the elucidation of special problems or of particular dialogues, there have been published within this period quite a number of volumes which aim at expounding more or less completely and systematically the whole range of Plato's doctrine, such as those by Lutoslawski, Gomperz, Natorp, and now finally by M. Raeder. It would be interesting to compare the main features of these latest expositors, but I must content myself here with the general observation that they all break away from the Zellerian tradition, and all bear witness to the current popularity of 'stylometric' methods and of views which ascribe to Plato what is euphemistically termed 'Entwicklung.'

M. Raeder commences with a chapter on the history and present position of 'the Platonic question,' in which the methods and results of the chief systematic expositors of Platonism—Schleiermacher, Hermann, Ribbing, Zeller, Ueberweg, Grote, Gomperz—are briefly stated and estimated. The second chapter discusses, first, questions of authenticity; and with regard to these M. Raeder is decidedly conservative, vindicating, for example, the Platonic authorship

of the *Hippias major* and *minor*, as against Horneffer, as well as rejecting the more extreme views of Schaarschmidt and Horn. The second section is occupied with the 'stylometrists'—Campbell, Dittenberger, Lutoslawski, and the rest; various points in Lutoslawski's method are criticized, and, it is shown that it is open to the charge of what is civilly described as 'willkürliches Verfahren' (p. 35). M. Raeder, however, seems inclined to attach a good deal of weight to 'stylometric' results, when carefully sifted, as providing a criterion for chronology superior in objectivity to that derivable from philosophic interpretations. In the following sections the subjects treated are the literary form and dramatic setting of the dialogues, the literary and historical references they contain, and the general character of their philosophic content, whether positive or negative, constructive or critical; and all these matters, like those which occupy the earlier sections, are handled mainly from the point of view of their bearing on the chronological sequence of the Platonic writings. For the main purpose of M. Raeder's book is, in fact, to establish a certain fixed order for the dialogues. And the order he arrives at is this: (1) the Socratic dialogues—*Apol.*, *Ion*, *Hipp. min.*, *Lach.*, *Charm.*, *Crito*; (2) *Hipp. maj.*, *Protag.*, *Gorg.*; (3) *Menex.*, *Euthyphro*, *Meno*, *Euthyd.*, *Cratylus*; (4) *Lysis*, *Sympos.*, *Phaedo*; (5) *Republic*; (6) *Phaedrus*; (7) *Theaet.*, *Parmen.*; (8) *Soph.*, *Polit.*; (9) *Phileb.*, *Tim.*, *Critias*; (10) *Laws*, *Epinomis*.

It will be seen from this list that

M. Raeder's order agrees in general with that of 'stylometrists' like Lutoslawski, and of the adherents of the 'later theory' doctrine. There is nothing novel or striking in this order in itself: the interesting question is, what interpretation of Platonism lies behind this order? To ascribe to Platonic doctrine an 'Entwicklung' may mean much or little: how much it means in M. Raeder's case will presently be seen.

M. Raeder deals separately with each dialogue, and in his discussions of relative position and date he furnishes a useful collection of the views of his predecessors. Some of the arguments, however, upon which he bases his conclusions are of doubtful value, and, like most Platonic expositors, he seems guilty occasionally of special pleading. For example, in attempting to fix the date of the *Cratylus* there is very little solid ground to go upon. M. Raeder, however, feels sure that it is inseparable from the *Euthydemus*: possibly he is right, possibly not. But how does it stand with reference to the *Phaedo* or *Symposium*? M. Raeder answers with equal confidence that it must be prior to both these dialogues, because, forsooth, it contains no mention of a separate 'Ideenwelt' or of systematic grades of Being. And if it be objected that the *Cratylus*—and perhaps even the *Gorgias* (dated by our critic before 390 B.C.)—seems to approximate to the still later *Republic* in so far as it mentions an Idea of an art-object (389 B), this must be explained away as something which involves no theory of 'übersinnlichen Ideen.' The *Cratylus* for its sins, must on no account be allowed to set foot beyond the 'court of the Gentiles': it is at the best merely 'introductory' to the dialogues which expound Idealism. Similarly, in a manner that savours too much of Teutonic vigour and rigour, we are assured that the *Symposium* must be posterior to all dialogues which speak of the Notion (Begriff an sich) as inherent (anwesend), because it gives us only the 'transcendent' Idea (p. 167). This argument is, to my mind, just about as good, or as bad, as that which makes the *Symposium* comparatively early because it mentions only one Idea.

Apparent inconsistencies in Plato's psychology are used as grounds for equally dubious inferences. For whereas in the *Phaedo*, the soul is represented as a unity, in the *Republic*, *Phaedrus*, and *Timaeus* it is regarded as tri-partite or bi-partite. M. Raeder insists that all the varied statements must be construed *au pied de la lettre*, and holds that the unitarian doctrine of the *Phaedo*

proves that dialogue to be earlier than the others. He will not allow us to dodge the difficulty by assuming the lower parts of the soul to be non-essential, and due to its corporeal manifestation: he pins us down to the letter of the text, and would force us to believe that the horses in the *Phaedrus* myth are of necessity equally immortal with their driver. The most poetic of writers must be rendered into the baldest of logical prose—when it suits our thesis! And the thesis which M. Raeder seems specially concerned to maintain in this connexion is the comparative lateness of the *Phaedrus*: it is later we are told—as M. Lutoslawski told us before—than any of the 'middle' period dialogues, not excepting the *Republic*. As against Gomperz and Natorp, who refused to accept this conclusion, M. Raeder argues that to regard the *Phaedrus*, with its tone of awe and mystery, as giving the primary exposition of Idealism is to assume an unjustifiable identification of Plato himself with the Platonic Socrates, and to misconstrue what is merely a literary device due to the desire for dramatic effect. Herein we find a recognition of the truth that Plato was a literary artist as well as a logician, and a doubt of the wisdom of interpreting his every expression with the prosaic literalness of the pedant. But for the most part, M. Raeder seems to lose sight both of this doubt and of this recognition in his handling of the arguments and counter-arguments. The method by which he endeavours to extract an argument for assigning a relatively late date to the *Phaedrus* from a comparison of the eschatological myths of the *Phaedrus*, *Phaedo*, and *Republic*, strikes one as supremely matter-of-fact. Equally pedantic is the syllogism that, because the τροφή δοξασιγ of *Phaedr.* 248 B would be a riddle for readers ignorant of *Rep.* v. and because a riddle is inadmissible in a 'Streitschrift,' and the *Phaedrus* is a 'Streitschrift,' therefore the *Phaedrus* is posterior to the *Republic*. Nor are the arguments for proving the *Phaedrus* posterior to the *Symposium* a whit more substantial: in fact, to my mind, there is more to be said for the views of Ueberweg, Bruns, and the others who make the *Symposium* the later dialogue than for the refutation here attempted.

In his treatment of the *Republic* M. Raeder shows, I think, good sense in siding with the advocates of unity; although, if one is a stickler for Platonic evolution, perhaps consistency lies rather with the dissecting school. Similar good sense is shown in the rejection as worthless of the argu-

ments drawn by Zeller and others for the date of the *Theaetetus* from the statements about the Heraclian kings (175 A) and about peltasts (165 D).

M. Raeder adopts the now familiar view which makes the *Theaetetus* the first of the series of dialogues in which Plato criticizes his own earlier theory and works up to a revised theory of Ideas. Following Jackson and Tocco, he finds in the first part of the *Parmenides* a critique of the earlier Idealism, and in the second part indications towards its reconstruction. Similarly, the 'friends of Ideas' in the *Sophist* are to be identified with Plato himself in his earlier period; and the ascription of ποιῆν and πάσχειν to the Ideas is not merely, as Apelt contends, a dialectical 'Kunstabgriff' but an innovation seriously intended. The main philosophical doctrine to be deduced from the *Sophist* and its companion dialogues is this: the Ideal world is not made up of simple units, but each Idea comprises unity and plurality: τὸ ὄν is itself a μικτόν, including τὸ μὴ ὄν. This is most clearly brought out in the exposition of the four kinds of Being in the *Philebus* (23 C): instead of attempting to equate the Ideas with some one of the four kinds, M. Raeder maintains that all four kinds are to be found in the Ideal world as well as in the Real world, the latter existing as an exact μίμημα of the former. That an Idea is largely made up of ἀνείρον might strike the uninitiated as a paradox; but, paradoxical

or not, it is seriously argued by M. Raeder that this is in fact the Ideal theory of the *Timaeus* as well as of the *Philebus*, and that Plato supposed that by constructing the Ideas out of the same elements as the particulars he had successfully met the objection of 'Parmenides' that the two worlds were unconnected. In much of this, our expositor is following Ueberweg, and attempting also to keep in accord with Aristotle. But to agree with Aristotle is the surest way of misrepresenting Plato. On the other hand, M. Raeder is wise in holding fast to the independent objectivity of the Ideas and refusing to identify them with the thoughts of souls or of God, and wise also in hesitating to educe from the *Timaeus* an esoteric doctrine of the 'self-evolution of absolute thought.'

Space will not allow me to mention more than one other point, the novelty of which lends it special interest: the missing dialogue Φιλόσοφος is found by M. Raeder in the *Epinomis* (p. 354).

In conclusion, I would like to express my sense of the industry and erudition which this volume displays. As a collection of data, clearly and on the whole fairly stated, for the estimating of Platonic problems, it is of the highest value; and if the conclusions arrived at are not always convincing, the same may be said of most books on Platonism.

R. G. BURY.

RYAN'S PETRONIUS.

Petrónius: Cena Trimalchionis. Translated and edited, with Introduction, Notes, etc.

By MICHAEL J. RYAN. London and Felling-on-Tyne: Walter Scott Publishing Co., Ltd. Pp. xlii + 284. 1905. 3s. 6d.

THERE was ample room beside Mr. Lowe's version of the most Shaksperian of ancient comedies for a book that should give a text and translation with a brief introduction and a few explanatory notes intended for the very large class of those who take an interest in the life of the old Italians without having a very deep knowledge of the tongue they spoke. The book before us fills the gap fairly well, though a little less ambition would have made it better—and perhaps yet cheaper. The notes might well have occupied less space. Readers who can

master the long quotations from Greek and Latin writers will certainly fall foul at times of Mr. Ryan's construing of Petronius: at p. 27, for instance, *nummos modio metitur* 'she doesn't know what to do with her money,' p. 55 *prae litteras fatruumesse* 'chockful of learning,' p. 65 *haec cum effusissimis prosequeremur laudationibus* 'we applauded this and the like effusions.' Even the mere student of ancient customs and modes of thought will lose something. When one of Trimalchio's cronies says of a deceased friend that he tried all forms of pleasure,¹ and with good reason: *hoc solum enim secum tulit*,² it is certainly interesting to find at this Philistine gathering an echo of the Sardapallos epitaph which Athenaeus' Deipnosophists mention more than once. But Mr. Ryan translates 'It's all the same to him

now' (p. 45) and naturally sees no need for a note. It is interesting again to find the 'ill weed' metaphor applied to Glycon's erring wife, but Mr. Ryan turns '*Hermogenis filicem*' by 'The daughter of H.' (p. 53). Even a charitable examiner might impute confusion with *filiam* to a candidate of anonymous ability who should send him up such a rendering—and it would not be strange to find that word proposed by some Ciceronian scholar, contemptuously emending Silver Latin by the light of his studies of Golden, and more interested in the *ductus litterarum* of a MS. than the degenerate *usus loquendi* of an author. Then at ch. 48 somebody propounds a *controuersia*, that is to say, gives the 'argument' of a declamation, the word *controuersia* having the force it bears in the title of the elder Seneca's work, where indeed the very subject mentioned in Petronius, enmity between a rich and a poor man, forms the theme of more than one declamation. Mr. Ryan completely misses all this, and translates 'expounds some theory or other,' much on the same lines as M. de Guerle's *discussion savante*. Trimalchio's surname Maecenatianus shews that he had been the slave of (presumably Horace's) Maecenas: it certainly does not mean '*digne émule de Mécène*' (de Guerle) or 'a second Maecenas.' The very last sentence of the translation contains an unfortunate misapprehension, *Agamemnoni uerba dedimus* 'gave A. the slip' being translated 'said good-bye to A.' Here M. de Guerle might have saved Mr. Ryan, for

although he says '*prenant congé*,' he adds '*sous un prétexte frivole*.' There are some careless omissions of phrases and particles, and some of the intentional omissions seem rather unnecessary. Surely such passages as *chiramaxio—deformis* (ch. 28) are only *φωνάεντα συνετοῖσι*. On the other hand, after such delicacy, it is inconsistent to reproduce the outspokenness of chapters 47 and 67.

Still I do not wish these comments to overshadow my gratitude to the publishers for helping to extend the knowledge of Petronius. The book will certainly give an adequate idea of the Cena, the translation (which faces the text) is in good style, with plenty of spirit and slang (some of it beyond my ken, but then Mr. Ryan dates his preface from Dublin). An introduction deals in a pleasant, clear style with various questions connected with the Saturae: the identity of Tacitus' Petronius with their author, the story of the Trau MS. and the bogus MS. of Nodot, the character drawing of the Cena, comparison between Petronius and Apuleius, and finally the *sermo plebeius*. On the translation follows a convenient list of proverbs and notabilia selected from the Latin text. Of the notes I have spoken above: they lay little claim to originality and seem to be mostly abridgments from Friedlaender's. It is surprising to find F.'s note on *prae litteras* reproduced, though it has been ignored in the translation on p. 55 (see above).

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

LEGRAS' STUDIES IN STATIUS.

L. LEGRAS. *Les Puniques et la Thébaïde* (*Revue des Études Anciennes*, vii. 4. Pp. 31). Bordeaux and Paris, 1906.

Les Légendes Thébaines dans l'Épopée et la Tragédie grecques. Paris: Cornély et Cie., 1905. Pp. 192. Fr. 4.50.

Étude sur la Thébaïde de Stace. Paris: Cornély et Cie., 1905. Pp. 356. Fr. 6.

LITTLE more than ten years ago Mr. Mackail expressed the opinion that 'those who have had the patience to read through' the Thebaid must 'feel nearly as much respect for their own achievement as for that of Statius.' Recently a change of opinion regarding the poetical merits of

Statius seems to have come over the learned world generally. Everything is studied (somehow) in Germany, and Statius has usually been held in respect there. The work, in the last decade, of Klotz, Engelmann, Vollmer shews that the German interest in him is not declining. In this country Statius attracts to-day an attention never bestowed on him before. The late Prof. Wilkins' edition of the *Thebaid* and the *Achilleid* (the first critical edition ever published in England), Postgate and Davies' *Silvae*, Prof. Phillimore's *Silvae*, papers by Postgate, Housman, Slater,—all very recent—testify to a growing interest in him among the countrymen of Bentley and Markland

and Jortin. America does not seem to share this interest.¹ Nor, I fancy, in Italy has anything notable in Statian literature appeared since Curcio. France is now, after a long period of inactivity, represented with distinction by the three works of M. Léon Legras of which the titles are given above.

One of these is but a pamphlet—'Les Puniques et la Thébaïde'—and I may speak of it first and in brief. It is mainly concerned with controverting the positions of Büchwald (*Quaestiones Silianae*) and of Cartault (*Rev. de Phil.* 1887). M. Legras holds that the *Thebaid* and the first twelve books of the *Punica* were composed contemporaneously—*Punica* i-xii was perhaps slightly the earlier—and that the whole of the *Punica* was finished by 96 A.D. Neither poet has, he thinks, imitated the other to any considerable extent. Most of the borrowing has been done by Statius. Silius owes to Statius little more than hints for a few passages in *Pun.* xvi. M. Legras' conclusions will probably be thought on the whole sound. At the same time I think his list of parallels between Statius and Silius can easily be shewn to be far from exhaustive. He seems, moreover, to underestimate what either poet may have got from the recitations of the other. While, again, there is no proof that Silius and Statius were acquainted there is no proof that they were not. Further, M. Legras allows a small interval between *Pun.* i-xii and the *Thebaid*. This interval may very well have made some difference to the final draft of Statius' poem. Finally I would notice that M. Legras speaks in general as though we knew a great deal more about ancient methods of publication than we do. I see no reason for supposing that the *Thebaid* was first published as a whole. Such a view involves the hypothesis that (apart from recitation) Statius produced no poetry till the last years of his life. M. Legras emphasises the suggestion (perhaps not a very well supported one) that the epic poets were accustomed to write one book a year (p. 5): and if there were anything in it this would tend in favour of publication in parts—epic annuals.

'Les Légendes Thébaines' is not directly connected with Statius. But it is a necessary preliminary to M. Legras' 'Study of the Thebaid' and is presupposed in Part i. of that work. It may be said without offence that it is the less important of the

two books. Other scholars, notably Wecklein and Richter,² have been quite recently at work in the same field: and when all is said and done, it is not a field upon which very much, except conjecture, can be made to grow. M. Legras' volume divides itself naturally into two parts. In the first half of it he endeavours to reconstruct the 'Homeric' *Thebaid*, the *Oedipodea*, the *Alcmaeonis*, and the *Epigoni*. With regard to the two latter he confesses that he should not have spoken of them at all had he not been provoked by the rashness of those who had gone before him. He essays to tread as an angel fearfully where Bethe has rushed in. His main concern is with *Thebaid* and *Oedipodea*. His procedure here is cautious and his results dubitative.³ I have the feeling that his interest in his subject only really awakens in the second half of the volume, which deals with the treatment of the Theban legend in the Attic tragedians. Here of course there is much more material for speculation: and this will undoubtedly be for mere men the most interesting part of M. Legras' book. If he presents what he has to say in a somewhat dry manner, yet he furnishes matter of great value which is nowhere else so fully and clearly given. Of very great service are the Tables at the end, which exhibit in parallel columns the principal points in the Theban legend as fixed by Euripides together with the versions of Aeschylus and Sophocles. Through another parallel tract meander notices from Hyginus (embodying the variations in the minor tragedians?). The Euripidean period of the Theban story M. Legras calls the 'middle age of the legend.' The Statian period is its old age. The line of tradition from Euripides passes, through Seneca, to Statius. Statius goes back behind Euripides, to the ancient *Thebaid*; but he is always conscious of Euripides. The mention of Euripides suggests to me one serious defect which I feel running through the whole of 'Les Légendes Thébaines.' M. Legras seems to me to make little or no effort to view the development of the Theban legend in the tragedians *psychologically*. I find this defect throughout the volume, but I am most conscious of it where it ought least to exist, in the chapter dealing with Euripides.

² The work of Welcker may be said, since Bethe in 1891, to be quite superseded.

³ Homeric students will find the subject of the relation of *Theb.* and *Oedip.* to Homer discussed on pp. 37 *sqq.* I notice that Mr. Hall's *Oldest Civilisation of Greece* is more than once cited here: I mention this because it is the only reference to any English writer, save Jebb, which I have come across in M. Legras.

¹ I can recall in recent years only Mr. Langford Wilson's pamphlet on the *Metaphors of Statius* (1898).

No attempt is there made to shew how the transformations which the Theban legend underwent in the hands of Euripides were the result of that poet's general view of life and art. The case of the Chrysippus (the sin of Laius) is an illustration of what I mean. 'Euripide est le seul tragique qui a mis sur la scène l'amour contre nature de Laios' (p. 155). But what does that not imply in life and art? It implies a great deal about which M. Legras ought not to be silent. The Euripidean criticisms, again, of Aeschylus in the *Phoenissae* and *Suppliques* (pp. 163-4) suggest all sorts of reflections upon canons of art which M. Legras does not make. The development of the Theban legend as he traces it appears throughout external and almost accidental. Successive poets of course alter legends out of mere love of variety. But the variety they introduce takes its character from their own mental and moral, or their own artistic, prepossessions. Virgil 'alters' the story of Dido: but he alters it in the way he does because he is Virgil. Similarly Euripides alters the Theban legend. But he does not alter it from mere caprice. He alters it because he is a particular kind of man with a fixed *Weltanschauung* and certain definite aims in art. Development, in a word, is never so spiritually unrelated as it appears in M. Legras.

But it is of M. Legras' Study of the *Thebaid* of Statius that I wish here to speak more particularly. It is undoubtedly the most important contribution to the study of Statius (other than textual) which has appeared. It is a work of great learning and on the whole of great common sense. It will long remain indispensable to anyone studying the *Thebaid* in detail. If I offer some criticisms of parts of it, I must not be thought to be detracting from the high merit of the book as a whole.

The order of book with which it is to be classed is such a book as Heinze's '*Virgil's Epische Technik*.' If I am not mistaken M. Legras has actually to some extent made that work his model. He has not perhaps produced so good a book as Dr. Heinze. But then he is dealing with a subject which is less interesting in itself, and which has been hardly worked at at all. Like Heinze, he sets himself to examine in order each of the main episodes of the epic with which he is dealing, and to exhibit the literary sources of the different incidents. This is the burden of Part I. Contrast with Heinze suggests two criticisms. (1) Heinze is content to exhibit Virgil's sources for his *story*.

M. Legras designs to exhibit the sources both of the story given by Statius and of the phraseology in which he relates it. He tries to combine the ordinary *Quellenforschung* with a kind of running commentary on the language and with an extensive list of *testimonia*. The result tends to confusion. Valuable as Part I. is in many ways, it remains rather a 'jumble.' (2) M. Legras treats Statius' use of his sources in a strangely mechanical manner. (The criticism is much the same as that which I made in the case of Euripides.) And here the contrast with Heinze is very striking. Virgil was of course an artist in a sense in which Statius was not. But Statius was after all not a dolt. Yet that is the impression of him which the first part of M. Legras' study leaves on the mind.

Statius' main source in the *Thebaid* is Antimachus. M. Legras rightly sets aside the view of Helm which makes Statius primarily dependent on the Cyclic *Thebaid*. On the other hand M. Legras allows (p. 33) that Statius took from the Cyclic *Thebaid* the *motif* of the treatment of Oedipus by his sons. The same is true of the episode of the ghost of Laius. Nor is there any evidence that the story of the Embassy of Tydeus came from Antimachus. If Statius took all these *motifs* from the Homeric *Thebaid* he probably took from it also a good deal which M. Legras tries to assign to a different origin. With regard to the note of Lactantius on iii. 466 (*re* Antimachus) the evidence of Jahnke's MSS. is, I think, more significant than M. Legras allows. The commentary of Lactantius is clearly a work that has grown by gradual accretion: several hands have been at work, and the reference to Antimachus may very well be an addition. Occasional and subsidiary sources of Statius M. Legras is sometimes very ingenious in tracing. Good examples are the story of Coroebus (traced to Callimachus) p. 37 and two borrowings from Seneca (pp. 41-43). (I may notice in passing that M. Legras has got good results at many places from a careful study of Seneca.) At some points possible 'sources' seem to me to have been neglected. A good instance would be the episode of the death of Opheltes. It is one of the prettiest of the *Thebaid* legends and M. Legras hardly does it justice. Nothing is said of Simonides (fr. 52), nothing of Bacchylides viii. The latter is particularly interesting. Does, for example, *Theb.* 4. 792 'obvia carpens' support the interpretation of ἀνωρύοντα (Bacch. viii. 13) as 'gathering

flowers'? Again Bacchylides and Statius both offer derivations of Opheltes' alternative name Archemorus (*Theb.* iv. 719-720: Bacch. viii. 14). Bacchylides' interpretation *σᾶμα μέλλοντος φόνον* makes the death of Opheltes an omen of the disasters to follow, and suggests that it was so interpreted by Amphiarus (viii. 16 οὐ νιν πείθ' Οἰκλείδας). All this may be plausibly conjectured to go back to Simonides; and the comparison with Statius throughout is interesting, but M. Legras passes it by.

Part II. (rather vaguely entitled 'Execution') is less special in character than the earlier half of the book, and will be read with interest by the general student of Latin poetry. (Once again Heinze seems to be the model.) Its first chapter ('Composition') is full of stimulating and independent criticism. I feel, however, that M. Legras is here, as elsewhere, unduly severe to Statius. He judges him by a standard by which we have no right to judge him. 'His poem has no unity' (p. 144 *sqq.*). That is true. But it was not intended to have unity. Statius deliberately chose the type of *episodic epic*. He knew what he was doing. We may criticise; but we must not criticise him as though he did not know. Again, the *Thebaid* has no hero. But Statius did not want one. Like Virgil he is a philosophic poet. He is interested to depict a conflict of principles and not of persons. The Homeric *Thebaid* made Amphiarus its hero. It was not necessarily at that account a better poem than that of Statius in which Amphiarus is an episodic, but tremendously impressive, personage. From M. Legras' general verdict upon books i-vi—'rien de plus ennuyeux' I dissent very strongly. Book vi is inevitably dull—other people's athletics always are. But i-v I have always thought to contain a great deal that is as fine as anything outside Virgil, and to be throughout very 'readable.' On p. 150 what is said of the duplication of incidents is a just criticism. But too much is made (pp. 152 *sqq.*) of the charge of 'incoherence' (*i.e.* inconsistencies between one part of the poem and another). Of the major examples of it given, the first must be allowed, the second is due to Statius' sources—not to himself. Of the minor ones, in the first (Amphiarus) the explanation is quite naturally left to the imagination. The second and third, which are very trivial indeed, may arise from textual corruption. Some inconsistencies, of course, there are. But as far as poetry goes, and the enjoyment of it, they are not

worth noticing. On p. 154 it is said that 'Statius did no more than put the siege of Thebes into epigrams.' That is, I think, either somewhat 'cheap' or somewhat obtuse criticism. It misses a whole side of Statius, his tenderness, mysticism, piety,—what I may call his Christianity. On the same page: À l'époque de Stace on ne lisait pas un poème, on l'écoutait lire par son auteur.' That is not really true, as I believe. Every word of the *Thebaid* is put where it is with such care, every syllable is rounded off with such pains, that one cannot avoid the suspicion that the parts of it were read with the eyes as well as heard with the ears long before the work was complete. Recitation explains the episodic character of post-Virgilean epic; but it leaves its other characteristics a mystery unless we suppose alongside of recitation, part-publication,—'epic annuals.'

The chapter on Composition is followed by one on 'Le Merveilleux.' The subject is treated with great freshness and some insight. There is perhaps too little distinction made between the opinions of Statius and what he says dramatically, *i.e.* the opinions of his characters. But the most notable defect in the chapter to my mind is the absence of any discussion as to the origin of the mediaeval notion that Statius was a convert to Christianity. This is the more noticeable because M. Legras says a good deal about the Statian δημιουργός (Demagorgon), and the δημιουργός suggests affinities with Gnosticism. Chapter III. (The Characters) to some extent resumes what has been said elsewhere; and here again I think that M. Legras is rather less than fair to Statius. 'Poète de peu de génie il n'a pas su faire agir ni parler ses héros d'une façon originale et forte.' That is a little sweeping. There is surely a good deal that is 'forte' both in Tydeus and in Capaneus. And if Statius lacks real originality he must yet be admitted to possess an ingenuity which is always about to pass into it. Chapter IV. deals with 'Roman Usages' and is followed by a chapter upon 'Epic Ornaments.' § iv of the latter (Similes) is a piece of very interesting analysis and contains some useful statistics. The final chapter on Style and Phraseology also contains valuable statistics ('New Words,' 'Old Words in a New Sense,' 'Tournures Insolites'). Some of the examples given, however, rest on doubtful texts, *e.g.* iv. 665, x. 527. I am sorry to notice from the note on x. 527 that M. Legras accepts ἀριῆτιβος (ii. 492) as Statian. He calls it a

'fantaisie métrique,' and indeed it is! This leads me to add that M. Legras' brief Appendix 'Sur la Prosodie et la Métrique' is not really useful. It has some sensible criticism of Moerner; but M. Legras calls Vollmer 'exacte', and does not seem aware that his 'Prosodisches' (in the *Silvae*) is little short of an enormity.

It is needless to add that the book is without an Index. But I am sorry to notice everywhere endless misprints. I began to make a list of these for M. Legras' benefit—one of a reviewer's less savage pleasures; but I soon found that my collection would involve a volume almost as large as the book I was reviewing.

I may end by expressing the hope that M.

Legras' essays will have the effect of sending a good many students of Latin poetry to, or back to, the *Thebaid*—a poem, after all, which Grotius thought 'made the palm of Maro doubtful.' It has been diligently read in every century save the last. For myself, I have had it constantly in my hands for the last five years, and I am able to think far more highly of it than when I first read it. I should even incline with Jortin (who did a good deal for Statius) to rate it above the *Silvae*. It is at any rate more 'tonic.' A commentary on it is badly needed, and it would be fortunate if M. Legras' interests led him in the direction of producing one.

H. W. GARROD.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

Analecta Comica Graeca. F. H. M. BLAYDES. 1905. Pp. 352. M. 6.80.

MR. BLAYDES is to be congratulated on the vigour which enables him still to devote himself to his favourite author Aristophanes. These *Analecta* follow the same lines as the *Adversaria* published in 1898 and noticed in this Journal. They consist of corrections of the author's editions, of a large number of parallels drawn mainly from the *Fragmenta Comicorum*, and of many fresh conjectures. They bear the same stamp as the rest of the author's work upon Aristophanes, which has won the approval of such scholars as Herwerden, Starkie, and Van Leeuwen. The value of the present work lies less in the conjectures put forward than in the lexicographical notes illustrating out-of-the-way forms. A number of short notes on the Comic Fragments are printed in an appendix.

F. W. HALL.

Index Verborum Propertianus fecit JOANNES S. PHILLIMORE. Oxonii e typographeo Clarendoniano. No date. Pp. ii+111. 4s. 6d. net.

A BAD *index verborum* is better than none at all. And this is not bad; but it would have been better for the exercise of more judgment and self-suppression by its compiler. The most urgent need of Propertian students is a special lexicon in which textual difficulties are fairly faced. Next to this in utility is a verbal index where the

words are quoted in their context. This we have in two old editions, in Volpi (4to, 1755) and, less conveniently, in Passerat (folio, 1608). Prof. Phillimore's index is a verbal register modelled on those of Friedländer for Juvenal and Martial. Unlike these it is not accompanied by one of proper names. This involves inconvenience. At IV. viii. 45 one dice throw, *Venus*, is printed with a large and another, *canis*, with a small initial. Accordingly the first is found in this volume; but the second is not. Again *coloni* (IV. i. 31, where Mr. Phillimore now rightly reads *Soloni* with N) is merely a proper name corrupted, and is therefore out of place in a verbal index. The seven pages required for the names could easily have been saved had the model been followed with more discrimination. An enumeration of the different forms of common words which occur in the author and statistics of their relative frequency in the various books would conceivably have been of use. But what is the good of registering every occurrence of *et* in the sense of *and*, of filling three-quarters of a page with unclassified *hic's* and more than half with unclassified *ille's* and so forth?

The title of the book '*index verborum Propertianus*' is not complete: '*ad suam recensionem accommodatum (fecit)*' should have been added. The full import of this limitation (in a few places indeed, as IV. i. 31, above, and IV. iii. 11 now apparently read as '*haecne marita fides et par* (or *par et*) *lascivia noctis*' the editor has changed

his mind) could be brought out only by a detailed estimate of the Oxford text, for which I have neither space, time, nor inclination.

The variants, MS. or conjectural, are too few in number; and yet of them several had been better away. *E.g.* the conjectural readings of II. xii. 18, III. xvi. 9 *postus*, IV. v. 19 *verbasco*—*peruncta*, where confusion of *uerbenaca* and *uerbascum* has added two new words to the index, and IV. xi. 53 *iuratos* are still maintained in spite of the dissent, expressed or silent, with which they have been received. On the other hand a genuine reading like *latus* (III. xii. 34) preserved by F and indicated by L (*On Certain Manuscripts of Propertius*, p. 40) and accepted by Broukhusius and, before his death, by one of N's most devoted adherents, Arthur Palmer of Dublin, is not even mentioned. In spite of these shortcomings, the little volume will undeniably be of service to the students of Propertius.

Aeli Donati quod fertur Commentum Terenti: accedunt Eugraphi Commentum et Scholia Bembina. Recensuit PAULUS WESSNER. Vol. II. Pp. viii + 550. MCMV. Lipsiae in aedibus B. G. Teubneri. M. 12.

WE may congratulate the student of Terence and his interpreters upon the progress of the first modern edition of his ancient commentator, the first volume of which was noticed in the *C.R.* Vol. xviii, p. 224. Dr. Wessner's continuation is in the same, thoroughgoing, style and on the same, ample, scale; and we should make bold to say that he would settle Donatus' business for many years to come did not the *facies* of Prof. M. Warren *multa ac praeclara minantis* rise before us. Perhaps however a friendly arrangement will make it possible for the new MS. material that we are promised to be utilized for Dr. Wessner's third volume which we may expect in 1907. This volume contains the comments on the *Adelphoe*, *Hecyra*, and *Phormio*. The available MSS. are all of the fifteenth century. For A, Parisinus 7920 (eleventh century), deserts us after *Adelph.* I. i. 40 and B, Vat. Regin. 1595 (thirteenth century) has only *Hecyra* III. iv. 16–V. ii. 8. It were well for us indeed if they were all of the character of the Ambrosian fragment which contains the beginning of the comments on the *Andria* published by Prof. Sabbadini, its discoverer, since the appearance of Volume I., and sampled in the 'praefatio' to Vol. II.; this paper MS. agrees in many respects with A

and has in addition excellent readings of its own, confirming, in a number of instances, the conjectural corrections of scholars. Unfortunately they are not. The most honest is C (the Oxford codex Can. 95), V (Vat. Regin. 1496) degenerating sadly half-way through the *Adelphoe*. But even C is very corrupt, and Dr. Wessner feels bound to offer an apology for the freer introduction of conjectural readings into the text, lest, as he says with whimsical humour, 'haec editio crucibus obsita quasi coemeterii speciem praeberet.' Even this would be better than the practice of those editors who lay out a spacious cemetery for an ancient's thoughts without even marking the graves.

The Hundred Best Poems (Lyrical) in the Latin Language. Selected by J. W. MACKAIL, M.A., LL.D. Pp. xx + 105. 1905. London and Glasgow: Gowans and Gray, Limited. 6d. net.

THE Oxford Professor of Poetry has again earned the gratitude of the students of Latin Literature. His interesting little volume of selections may be recommended to all teachers and learners of Latin for use in class or private study. It will surprise nobody that to compile his century Mr. Mackail has had to give the term 'lyrical' a slight extension, his anthology including a number of poems which are lyrical in their sentiment though not in their form. The writers represented are Boethius, Catullus, Claudian (the 'Old Man of Verona'), Horace, Pentadius, Petronius, Prudentius, Seneca, Statius (the address to Sleep), and Virgil (*Eclogues*), and there are four anonymous pieces, including the editor's old favourite, the *Peruigilium Veneris*. The absence of Ausonius and the representation of Statius by a single hexameter poem are by no means strange, but Propertius' 'Scribant de te alii' deserved a place in the anthology, even if it be only a fragment, which is doubtful. There is a brief and graceful preface; and the book is of a handy size and its price marvellously low.

J. P. P.

Outlines of Roman History. By H. F. PELHAM. Fourth edition, revised. London: Rivingtons, 1905. Pp. xii + 564. Price 6s.

PRaise of this book is fortunately superfluous, but those who have the third edition may like to know what changes Professor Pelham has made in the fourth. More room has been found for the growth and spread

of Caesar-worship (pp. 386 and 421). The revolt of Vindex is mentioned, and three pages instead of three lines are given to the events of A.D. 69. A large addition (pp. 490–513) does justice to the frontier-work of the Flavians and Trajan. Lesser insertions will be found on pp. 35 and 417, and in the foot-notes on pp. 46, 187, 188, 215, 380, 381, 382,

444, 457. A paragraph has been recast on pp. 458–9, and some sentences have been transposed from p. 466 to p. 441. A few misprints survive, and the index does not seem to have kept place with the additions to the text.

E. HARRISON.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

TIREMES.

MR. CECIL TORR, Vol. xx. No. 2, p. 137, has disposed most satisfactorily of the question of the ships on Trajan's column affording evidence of construction, I trust, once and for all. It should be recognised now, that there is no more reliability in the artistic compromises with actuality in the monument alluded to, than is to be found upon coins.

Mr. Torr will forgive me, however, if I cannot accept as obvious, or 'quite beyond dispute,' that 'in the Acropolis relief the tholes of the thranite oars are vertically above the portholes of the thalamite oars.' This greatly depends whether or not the old reading of the bas relief is maintained, *i.e.* as to 'oars passing over the gunwale to the water.' Surely the Acropolis relief—which I take to be our most important and authentic reference on this subject of Triremes—is capable of another, and—in my mind—much more practical interpretation. It will be observed that the projection of the shadow of the upper wale is much greater than those of the lower wales of the ship, and seems to indicate not merely a gunwale, but a gallery of some amplitude,—*through which and not over*, the oars descend to the sea. I will leave it to Mr. Torr to arrange a quincunx, if he thinks it necessary, or attaches more importance to it than the great mechanical gain of a shortened oar which this reading presents.

At all events it does not conflict with those internal arrangements of the vessel scantily derivable from Classical writers, and moreover supplies authority for the frequent occurrence of galleries or important projections in vessels in the illustrations of ancient shipping in early printed books, such as Lazare de Bai's *De Re Navali* (Basle, 1537).

That my view is an obvious one I will not say, because it has been generally overlooked,

but I submit it to Mr. Torr with the conviction that upon searching and unprejudiced examination he will probably confirm the result of my own.

PHILIP H. NEWMAN.

FARNELL'S EVOLUTION OF RELIGION.

The Evolution of Religion, an Anthropological Study. By L. R. FARNELL, M.A., D Litt. (Vol. xii. of the Crown Theological Library.) Williams & Norgate. Pp. viii + 234. 5s.

DR. FARNELL'S book contains the substance of a short course of lectures delivered for the Hibbert Trust, and forms one volume of the Crown Theological Library. It is obviously therefore intended for a public other than specialists and classical scholars, but we may safely say that few classical scholars will read it without profit. The three chapters deal with (I.) The comparative study of religions: its method and problems. (II.) The ritual of purification and the conception of purity. (III.) The evolution of prayer from lower to higher forms.

Dr. Farnell's first chapter is so good that his second and third are distinctly disappointing. In this first chapter he takes stock of the present outlook of his subject, and his own attitude is characterized by an almost perfect good sense. He sees what comparative anthropology *can* do for the study, *e.g.* of Greek religion, he also sees, and this is rarer now-a-days, what it cannot do. Above all he enters a plea for what he calls 'adjacent anthropology,' 'the student of Hellenic religion and myth may have ultimately to roam, in a literary sense, into Central Australia, and the by-ways of America; but he ought first to explore the

Mediterranean regions and the lands of anterior Asia. It is interesting, and it may be necessary, to know 'the Pawnee version of the Eleusinia'; but 'for the true understanding of the great Greek mystery, certain elements in the Egyptian religion in Mithraism, and in Christianity itself will probably afford a more illuminative comparison. . . . We greatly desiderate an anthropology of the Mediterranean basin, including anterior Asia.' In this domain of 'adjacent anthropology' he gives full and interesting examples both of 'survival' and 'contaminatio': the motive of 'Jephtha's vow' reappears in nearly every detail in a story told of Idomeneus of Crete, the miraculous 'star in the East' must be an Anatolian legend and it emerges again in the legend of Aeneas. Perhaps most interesting of all and, to us, new as an instance of the transition between old and new, is the account preserved by Epiphanius of the ritual birth of the child 'Aion' from the Virgin mother Kore. Aion, Dr. Farnell, following Dieterich, points out, is a real figure of Mithraic religion: Aion may we not suggest goes back before Mithras. To Euripides he is (*Herakl.* 900) *χρόνον παῖς*, surely an Orphic parentage. In Herakleitos we have Aion as a child and an enigmatic figure 'παῖζων, πεττεύων.'

Dr. Farnell is always at his best in the summarizing of opinion, he is at once sympathetic and judicious. Such a careful and sympathetic summary is all that could be fairly looked for in a volume belonging to the present series. That the second and third chapters disappoint us is due simply to the fact that in the preface Dr. Farnell says they 'embody the results of some personal and original study.' We have looked but looked in vain through the two chapters on Purification and Prayer for any original contribution to the subject. This will however not make these chapters less valuable to those who seek an introductory study, but they will learn nothing that is not already in Dr. Frazer or Dr. Oldenberg. 'The Golden Bough' is of course in Dr. Farnell's hands, though we do not think he has used it to the full. It is strange however in a chapter on 'Purification,' a chapter in which the writer often goes far afield for illustrations, to find no sign of acquaintance with Dr. Oldenberg's 'epoch making' *Religion des Veda* with its admirable analysis of 'Bittopfer, Sühnopfer, Dankopfer,' and the like.

We note a few details in conclusion. Even in a popular book where the view

expressed depends on an emendation, the fact should be stated. Graeco-Egyptian magic (see p. 44) strangled a bird before the idol of Eros, 'in order that the breath may animate it.' Delightful and most interesting, but τὸ πνεῦμα is wholly due to Dr. Riess's brilliant emendation. 'Passing the infant solemnly round the fire,' may be a 'purificatory and also consecrating process,' it certainly often is; but the Ἀμφιδρόμια was performed at a running pace, the carrier was a naked man, and Dr. S. Reinach has explained the rite in simpler and more probable fashion as sympathetic magic to help the child to run.

We hope that, useful though the present book is, Dr. Farnell will not let the work of popularizing delay the progress of his 'Cults of the Greek States,' the first volume of which, may we venture to remind him? bears a date ten years old; we welcome the 'Evolution of Religion' as evidence of an enlarged outlook and a distinct advance in method.

JANE E. HARRISON.

HÜLSEN'S ROMAN FORUM.

The Roman Forum, its History and its Monuments. By CHRISTIAN HÜLSEN. Translated from the second German edition by JESSE BENEDICT CARTER. Rome: Loescher and Co., 1906. Pp. xii + 260. 5 plates and 139 illustrations in text. 5s.

THE original German edition of this work appeared in 1904 (*C.R.* 1905, 78), an Italian edition in 1905, and a second German edition (from which the present translation has been made, though it has been further revised and bought up to date by the author) in the same year; while a French translation has just been issued. It may be said at once that its wide circulation is amply justified. All those who are at all familiar with Roman topography know that Professor Lanciani and Professor Hülsen are the two greatest living authorities on the subject: and those who have followed carefully the course of the recent excavations in the Forum will have made the acquaintance of Professor Hülsen's masterly accounts of their progress in *Römische Mitteilungen*, 1902, 1-97, and 1905, 1-119.

The present work, intended as it is for a wider class of readers, and as a practical handbook for use on the spot, does not

pretend to take the same ground as those reports. It commences with a useful historical introduction divided into three sections—the Forum in antiquity, the Forum in the Middle Ages, the exploration of the Forum since the Renaissance—and then proceeds to the description of the monuments one by one in the order in which they are naturally visited. A serviceable bibliography, for which students will be especially grateful, follows, the references for each monument being arranged separately, so that any one desiring more information on a particular point than is given in the text can readily obtain it, and a list of illustrations and an index (there is a table of contents at the beginning) conclude the volume.

The illustrations are a special feature. Besides four full and doublepage plans, printed in colours, and many photographs of the remains as they now exist, they include a large number of reproductions of early drawings and engravings, the former beginning with those of Giuliano da Sangallo (fig. 61—about 1480) and the Codex Escorialensis (fig. 8—about 1490), and the latter with a plate from Hieronymus Cock (fig. 125—about 1550). A use of these sources of information is a characteristic of modern investigation of Roman topography, and is well exemplified in Lanciani's *Ruins and Excavations*: and it adds very considerably to the interest and importance of the present volume.

A few points of detail may now be dealt with, in which I am inclined to differ from the author's views, though fully recognizing that in most cases, both interpretations are possible.

Prof. Hülsen seems to consider (pp. 16, 17) that the purchase by Cicero and Oppius, on Caesar's behalf, of property for the enlargement of the Forum and its extension towards the Atrium Libertatis in 54 B.C. was a separate transaction from the purchase of the site of Caesar's own Forum almost at the same time. It is true that the site of the Atrium Libertatis is uncertain, though at this period it must have lain, it would seem, some way to the N. of the Curia:¹ but personally I must confess my preference for Jordan's view (*Forma Urbis*, 30, 31) that the purchase effected by Cicero and Oppius was a part of the preparations for the building of Caesar's Forum. For it is not easy to see where they can have purchased 'a site considerably larger

¹ If it lay quite close to the Curia, where S. Martina and S. Adriano are now, then, as Jordan says, 'nullo interpretationis artificio aut explicandi aut laxandi vocabulum posset ad totius loci sententiam adaptari, nam ad eam usque regionem fori fines expliciti fuere a principio.'

than that of the Basilica Aemilia' distinct from that of Caesar's Forum.

In discussing (p. 109) the period of the destruction of the 'sacellum' beneath the black marble pavement (the 'grave of Romulus') Prof. Hülsen is perhaps wise in not mentioning that, though the objects found in the layer which covered the two plinths were mainly of a very early period, objects of the first century B.C. were also present: for beyond Savignoni's *obiter dictum* on the subject in *Not. Scav.* 1900, 143, and a brief record of his own acceptance of the first cent. B.C. as the date of the destruction of the 'sacellum' by Boni in *Atti del Congresso di Scienze Storiche*, vol. v. (Archeologia), 554, no further official information has been vouchsafed us (cf. *C.R.* 1901, 86).

With regard to the 'pozzi rituali,' it is worthy of note that three parallel rows of them running E. and W. seem to mark the limits of the last Comitium before the erection of the Curia Iulia, probably the Comitium of Faustus² Sulla, which appears to have faced due S., to judge from the fine remains of its travertine pavement: and that the open area of the Forum as remodelled by Caesar is on three sides² marked by a single line of them. The statement (p. 151) that those found between the foundations of the arch (of Augustus) and the temple of Castor are 'certainly not older than the time of Augustus' is open to question, inasmuch as these belong to a line of seven 'pozzi' which can be traced running from the Basilica Aemilia beneath the foundations of the temple of Divus Iulius, on the N.W. side of the road, which, as Prof. Hülsen says, formed the eastern boundary of the Forum in the time before (one might add, even until after the death of) Caesar (*C.R.* 1904, 330). The 'door-posts' with acanthus ornaments from the Basilica Aemilia (p. 131) may, as they are sculptured on all four sides, perhaps be the divisions of double windows in the clerestory by which the nave was lighted. I am not certain that it is necessary to suppose (p. 129) that the Basilica Aemilia had an apse.

On p. 137 (fig. 71) a plan and conjectural elevation of the base of the Equus Domitiani are reproduced from *Röm. Mitt.* 1905, 72: in a footnote there Prof. Hülsen states that he considers it very improbable that the large blocks of travertine built

² On the fourth (along the front of the Basilica Aemilia) the alteration of the line of the Cloaca Maxima under the early empire led to their destruction.

into the concrete of the base contained the lower ends of metal supports for the statue. This statement should surely have been repeated in the text here: otherwise the reader will be likely to attribute to him a view which he does not hold.

In the pavement of the *Lacus Curtius* it now seems to me that there are *three* layers of pavement—travertine, brown tufa, and below that again gray-green tufa (*capellaccio*) and not two, as is stated on p. 141, and as I myself reported in *C.R.* 1904, 329.

The attribution (p. 152) of the existing architectural remains of the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* to the beginning of the second century A.D. is made (as a reference to *Jahrbuch des Instituts*, 1898, 110, shows)¹ rather upon historical than upon stylistic grounds. In the matter of style, indeed, we are still in the dark: for though the entablatures of the temple of *Castor*, the temple of *Concord* and a few others, have been drawn and measured over and over again, it must still be said that one of the greatest *desiderata* in Rome is, a comparative study of all architectural remains of which the date is absolutely certain. When this has been made, and not until then, it will be safe to proceed to the determination of the various periods to which undated remains are to be assigned. It is not improbable that careful study may produce the same kind of changes in our views as the careful examination of Roman historical reliefs has already begun to do in their interpretation (cf. Mr. Stuart Jones' and Mr. Wace's articles in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, iii. 213, 273).

On p. 176 I am inclined to prefer the reading *qvi* for *qve*, following Rushforth, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, i. 43. It is probable, I think, that the basin *d* in the peristyle of the *Atrium Vestae* (p. 196) belongs to an earlier period than the other two (*C.R.* 1902, 285; 1903, 328).

There appears to be no mention in the text of the large building opposite to the *Basilica of Maxentius*, which was, it would seem, erected to correspond with it, on the opposite side of the *Sacra Via*. Its nature is, it is true, uncertain: in front there was probably a portico, behind, perhaps, *horrea* (*Röm. Mitt.* 1902, 95; cf. *C.R.* 1900, 238; *Not. Scav.* 1900, plan opp. p. 220): but the remains are so considerable in size that they are likely to attract the attention of visitors. It may also be noticed that it is

not on the pavement of the older *Sacra Via* itself that the arch of *Titus* stands (p. 236) but upon that of the *Clivus Sacer* (p. 238.)

These remarks on points of detail are not intended in any way to detract from the merits of the book, which for clearness, conciseness, and interest is by far the best that has appeared on the *Forum*, besides having the advantage of being written by one whose thorough knowledge of the subject is undisputed.

No book can be more cordially recommended, either as a *vade mecum* on the spot, or as a description for those who wish to gain an idea of the *Forum* in its present state, without being able to visit it. It is all the more regrettable that the translation and proof reading have not been as well done as they might have been: though I should in fairness point out that the book was printed in Rome by Italian printers, whose knowledge of English was probably not extensive. Still we ought not to find such un-English compounds as '*Delicatessen-market*' (p. 1) and '*nearby*' (pp. 81, 112, 161, 164, 171)—contrast '*in as much as*' (p. 12)—and such un-English expressions as '*most southern*' (p. 21), '*aside from*'—in the sense of '*besides*'—(p. 93), '*younger*' applied to inanimate objects (pp. 108, 194, 206, 216), '*Faustina temple*' (pp. 209, 215). '*Complex*' as a substantive, denoting a group of buildings forming one whole (p. 152), may be passed on the score of convenience. There are also awkward redundancies such as '*partly done away with altogether*' (p. 81), '*but also of parts of other monuments as well*' (p. 131), '*the inscription belongs together with one which was erected, etc.*' (p. 132). On p. 42, l. 24 '*fabricated*' would have been clearer than '*made*'; '*festival*' would have been a better equivalent of '*Feier*' than '*jubilee*' (p. 96), and '*generally closed*' preferable to '*mostly shut off*' as a translation of '*meist geschlossen*' (p. 202).

It may be noticed, too, that the last sentence on p. 145, '*At the north side . . . imperial epoch*' is not in its place, but should be transferred to the end of the description of the so-called *Equus Tremuli* (p. 146). Of the misprints which I have noticed none is likely to cause the reader any inconvenience, except, perhaps, '*1890*' for '*1870*' (p. 60). It is almost a pity that the difficult task of translating passages from Latin poets in the original metre was undertaken. The French translator has, more wisely in my opinion, stuck to prose and at the same time given the original passages in full.

These small faults do not, of course, make

¹ Richter himself states his opinion far more dogmatically in his *Topographie* (p. 87) than in this article, without bringing forward any fresh arguments in its favour.

any essential difference to the real merits of the book, and can very easily be put right in a second edition, the speedy appearance of which may be regarded as certain.

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GARDNER'S GREEK SCULPTURE.

A Handbook of Greek Sculpture. By ERNEST ARTHUR GARDNER. Revised Edition. London: Macmillan and Co., New York: The Macmillan Company. 1905. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5". Pp. xxxii + 590. 142 Process Blocks. 10s.

WE welcome gladly a new issue of Professor Ernest Gardner's *Handbook*, the well-known merits of which need no further recommendation. The regrettable fact that the original edition was stereotyped has prevented the introduction of extensive alterations into the text; but minor corrections have been made throughout, and an appendix (pp. 523-558) has been added, in which a succinct account is given of recent discoveries. Of these the most important are those which have been made at Delphi, adding much to our knowledge of the sculpture of the sixth and early fifth centuries B.C., and practically revolutionizing our ideas of Lysippus. Professor Gardner confines himself as a rule to a cautious statement of incontrovertible facts, or judicious balancing of theories. In the case of the 'Atalanta of Tegea' however he has departed from this path and introduced a reconstruction which we venture to think will hardly meet with general approval. The head which he has fitted to the magnificent torso appears to us to be a third-rate work, expressionless, clumsy, ill-modelled. The eyes in particular seem to betray a most elementary knowledge of the sculptor's art. It is perhaps rash to express such a decided opinion without having examined the original; but the contrast between the head and the torso is startling, and can hardly be due merely to the character of the reproduction. If the head really belongs to the torso, then we have that very unlikely thing, an inversion of the arrangement which is found in the Demeter of Cnidus, where the head is incomparably the finest part of the statue. Apart from this somewhat doubtful theory, the appendix is exceedingly useful as a summary of recent advance in the history of Greek Sculpture. We cannot conclude without expressing our regret that a great firm of

publishers, apparently from motives of false economy, or else from sheer carelessness, have allowed the once excellent illustrations to deteriorate, or to be printed in a fashion so slovenly that they would disgrace a parish magazine. Most of the figures look like rough pulls printed without the slightest care. It will not be due to its 'get up' if the book, owing to its sterling qualities, continues to hold the high position which it has attained.

G. F. HILL.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREECE.

Sparta.—Members of the British School at Athens have identified the site of the temple of Artemis Orthia, which was situated in Limnae, one of the quarters of Sparta. The temple was discovered in a field on the right bank of the Eurotas, about half a mile to the south of the modern bridge. The identification is rendered certain by the discovery of inscriptions dedicated to the goddess, at whose altar the Spartan youths were scourged—a custom which finds its parallel among savage tribes in modern times and was probably in origin a ceremony of purification. The excavators have found numerous figurines of lead, representing deities, men, women, animals, helmets, etc., which were offered by worshippers at the shrine of the goddess. Besides these figurines of lead, various carvings in ivory—representing animals, a helmeted head, etc.—bronze statuettes and decorated bowls, small objects in gold and silver, and large quantities of terracottas and pottery have come to light. The deposit appears to belong to about the sixth-fifth century B.C., and Oriental influence is much in evidence. In addition to this discovery the excavators have traced about four-fifths of the city walls, which are of the Roman, not the Byzantine period, and have also examined the theatre, where a life-sized statue of Asklepios and portions of reliefs (probably from the *proscenium*) have been found. Excavations on the site of the temple cannot be carried further until the land has been expropriated and a mill stream, which intersects the *temenos* and sanctuary, has been diverted.¹

ASIA MINOR.

Miletus.—Recent excavations have brought to light the well-preserved front wall of the

¹ *Times*, May 8, 1906; Pausanias iii. 16, 6 with Frazer's notes *ad loc.*

proscenium of the theatre, decorated with columns of black and red marble. On the site of the N. Agora a large part of the baths of Faustina the Younger has been discovered. Here too were found life-sized statues of Apollo and the Muses, copies of the works of the Rhodian sculptor Philiskos. The dedication inscription of the *Βουλευτήριον* has now been pieced together from fragments and reads: 'Timarchos and Herakleides (dedicated the building) for King Antiochos Epiphanes in honour of Apollo of Didyma, Hestia Boulaia, and the Demos.'¹

ITALY.

Palestrina.—Several objects belonging to an early temple have been found. They include about thirty small statuettes and several terracotta decorations. The most important of the latter is a frieze in very low relief, probably representing the passage of souls to the lower world. The procession is headed by a warrior playing the flute. He

¹ *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, April 28, 1906.

is followed by a chariot drawn by three winged horses and driven by a woman. A warrior is about to step into the chariot, by the side of which runs a dog. Next comes a *biga* driven by a warrior and accompanied by a second warrior carrying a *lituus*. The whole is coloured in white and red on a black background. It is slightly archaic in style and formed part of the cornice-decoration of the building (cf. *B.M. Cat. of Terracottas*, B 626).²

Capena.—Excavations in the necropolis of Capena have led to important discoveries of tombs ranging from about the beginning of the seventh to the third century B.C. Hellenic influence is not much in evidence, but the local products are of considerable interest, especially bronzes with archaic reliefs and vases with incised designs. Despite the Oriental elements in these designs, the local style is very prominent.³

F. H. MARSHALL.

² *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1905, part 5.

³ *Ibid.* part 10.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie.
1906.

7 Mar. N. Hohlwein, *La papyrologie grecque* (C. Wessely). A bibliographie raisonnée. Th. Sinko, *Die alexandrinische Dichtung. Versuch einer Charakteristik* (Z. Dembitzer), favourable. T. Frank, *The influence of the infinitive in Latin upon verbs subordinated to it* (H. Blase), favourable. *Philologica Hamburgensia*, ausgestellt von der Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg (W. Nitsche). *Spruchwörterbuch*. A collection of German and foreign sayings ed. by Fr. v. Lipperheide (F. Harder).

14 Mar. J. Horowitz, *Spuren griechischer Mimen im Orient; mit einem Anhang über das ägyptische Schattenspiel* von F. Kern (A. Körte). The appendix alone is favourably noticed. L. Wenger, *Papyrusforschung und Rechtswissenschaft* (O. Schulthess), favourable. H. Lechat, *Pythagoras de Rhégion* (O. Rossbach), favourable. H. C. Nutting, *Studies in the Si-clause*. I. *Concessive Si-clauses in Plautus*. II. *Subjunctive protasis with indicative apodosis in Plautus* (J. Golling). H. Vollmer, *Jesus und das Sarcenopfer* (V. Schultze). *Festschrift*, der 48. Versammlung deutscher Philologen in Hamburg (W. Nitsche).

21 Mar. G. F. Schömann, *Griechische Altertümer*. 4. Aufl. von J. H. Lipsius. II. *Die internationalen Verhältnisse und das Religionswesen* (O. Schulthess). Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrusammlung. I. *Die Septuaginta-Papyri und andere altchristliche Texte*, herausg. von A. Deissmann (C. Wessely). F. Leo, *Der Saturnische Vers* (O. Keller). M. Bukofzer, *Zur Hygiene des Tonansatzes unter Berücksichtigung moderner und alter Gesangs-methoden* (A. Thierfelder).

28 Mar. H. Merguet, *Handlexicon zu Cicero*.

Part I. (A–D); Part II. (D–M) (A. Mittag). P. Gauckler, *Un Catalogue figuré de la batellerie gréco-romaine. La mosaïque d'Althiburus* (O. Meltzer). E. Roese, *Über Mithrasdienst* (R. Asmus), favourable. *Antikes Zaubergerät aus Pergamon*, her. von R. Wünsch (C. Wessely), very favourable. K. Krumbacher, *Ein vulgärgriechischer Weiberspiegel* (G. Wartenberg).

4 April. K. Schodorf, *Beiträge zur genaueren Kenntnis der attischen Gerichtssprache aus den zehn Rednern* (O. Schulthess). Lysias, *Ausgerählte Reden mit einem Anhang aus Xenophons Hellenica*, herausg. von A. Weidner. 2. Aufl. von P. Vogel (Thalheim). G. Cardinali, *La guerra di Zitto* (G. Schneider). On Cretan inscriptions. Horatius, I. *Oden und Epoden*, erkl. von Nauck; 16. Aufl. von O. Weissenfels (J. Häussner).

11 April. H. Winckler, *Auszug aus der Vorderasiatischen Geschichte* (J. V. Prásek), favourable. *Biblia Hebraica*, ed. R. Kittel. I. (J. V. Prásek). F. W. Mozley, *The Psalter of the Church, the Septuagint Psalms compared with the Hebrew* (M. Löhr). *Papyrus grecs et démotiques, recueillis en Egypte et publiés par Th. Reinach* (W. Crönert). H. Brunn, *Kleine Schriften*, gesammelt von H. Bulle und H. Brunn. II. *Zur griechischen Kunstgeschichte* (P. Weizsäcker). H. Luckenbach, *Die Akropolis von Athen*. 2. Aufl. (J. Ziehen). 'An excellent book.' R. Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*. II. *Satzlehre*. 3. Aufl. von B. Gerth. 2. Band (W. Vollbrecht). L. Wenger, *Römische und antike Rechtsgeschichte* (E. Kornemann). W. Brandes, *Des Auspicus von Toul rhythmische Epistel an Arbogastes von Trier* (A. Huemer).

18 April. *Papiri Greco-Egizii pubblicati dalla*

R. Accademia dei Lincei sotto la direzione di D. Compagetti e G. Vitelli. I. *Papiri Fiorentini*, per cura di G. Vitelli. Fasc. I. (C. Wessely). Euripide, *Hécube*, par H. Weil. 3e édition (K. Busche). E. Huebenthal, *Quomodo Demosthenes in lite Ctesiphontea de secunda iuris quaestione responderit* (H. Gillischewski). A. Persico Flacco, *Le Satire*, tradotte e commentate da V. Milio (R. Helm). N. Pirrono, *Th. Schiphaldi commentaria atque Persii et Horatii vitae ex iis sublatæ* (R. Helm). S. Hellmann, *Sedulius Scottus* (M. Manitius).

25 April. O. Hense, *Die Modifizierung der Maske in der griechischen Tragödie*. 2. Aufl. (H. Gillischewski). O. Kraus, *Die Lehre von Lob, Lohn, Tadel und Strafe bei Aristoteles* (A. Döring). O. Kraus, *Über eine alt-überlieferte Missdeutung der epideiktischen Redegattung bei Aristoteles* (A. Döring). M. C. P. Schmidt, *Alphalogische Beiträge*. II. *Terminologische Studien* (S. Günther), favourable. Terentius, *Codex Ambrosianus H 75 phototypice editus*. Praefatus est E. Bethe (G. Thiele). K. E. Weston, *The illustrated Terence Manuscripts* (G. Thiele). J. C. Watson, *The relation of the Scene-Headings to the miniatures in manuscripts of Terence* (G. Thiele). O. Engelhardt, *Die Illustrationen der Terenzhandschriften* (G. Thiele). A. Eichenberg, *De Persii satirarum natura atque indole* (R. Helm), favourable. L. Castiglioni, *Analecta* (R. Helm).

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. xvii. 2. 1906.

K. Dieterich, *Neugriechische Sagenklänge vom alten Griechenland*. Discusses, in reference to the collection in Politis' *Παραδόσεις*, the connexion between the modern legends and old Greece. 'Everything in them that is based on positive historic foundations' belongs to the period which begins with Alexander. J. Haller, *Canossa*. *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen: Berliner Klassikertexte II: Anonymer Kommentar zu Platons Theaetetus* reviewed by O. Immisch, who discusses various points such as the proemium of the Theaetetus and the possibility of the commentary's having been written by Calvisius Taurus. D. Dettlefsen, *Die Entdeckung des germ. Nordens im Altertum*. 'Seems to contain everything which antiquity has preserved for us on the subject. The text of Pliny's geographical books is edited with a much fuller apparatus than that of the Weidmann ed., unfortunately the Riccardianus has not been recollected' (W. Ruge).

xvii. 3. 1906.

K. T. Preuss, *Der dämonische Ursprung des griech. Dramas*. (1) Old Mexican demons of autumn and spring, (2) Dionysos, (3) Tragedy and Minus. Greek drama due to certain rites which have a parallel in old Mexican ceremonies in which the killing of the sun in autumn and of the stars in spring is mimically represented. F. Koepp, *Die Ausgrabungen bei Haltern*. (Photographs.) Account of the laying bare of a small fort on the (old) bank of the Lippe with a large camp ('not much inferior in size to that at Neuss') at Haltern (? Aliso). R. Petsch, *Lessings Dramen*.

xvii. 4. 1906.

W. von Marées, *Die Ithakalegende auf Thiaki*. 'After 10 months' study and surveying undertaken on Leucas and the neighbouring islands and extended to Thiaki, I publicly assert that Thiaki cannot possibly be topographically brought into harmony with Homer's description of Ithaca.' (A map appended.) A. Thumb, *Prinzipienfragen der Koine-Forschung*. Value of modern Greek—

Semitic influence in N. T. Greek—Connexion between Exegesis and Grammar—Survival of dialects in *Koiné*—Its character and origin. Th. Zielinski, *Die röm. Bleitesserae*. A summary of the results of Rostowzew's investigations. The tokens illustrate the corn-distributions, the circus and shows, the organisation of the young nobles in Rome and the *municipia*, the *collegia* of the lower classes, even the complicated economic arrangements of the larger private-houses. H. Krumm, *Hebbel als Tragiker*. *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: J. G. C. Anderson, *A Journey of Exploration in Pontus*, reviewed by W. Ruge, who distrusts evidence as to course of roads based on milestones liable to change of position, and doubts if Phazimon-Neapolis and Andrapa-Neoclaudiopolis are the same.

[In xviii. 2-4 R. Methner, *Geltungsbereich und Wesen der lat. Consecutio temporum*. In xviii. 4 H. Peter, *Die idealisierte Geschichte des griech. Altertums auf dem humanistischen Gymnasium*.]

Mnemosyne. xxxiv. 2. 1906.

C. Brakman, *De Ciceronis scholiasta Gronoriano*. (contd.) v. L., *Ad Aristoph. Ran.* 1274. Read *μελισσοκόμοι* (apes alentes) δῶμοι 'Ἀρτέμιδος. πέλας οἶκεν means 'the temple is near and we will open its doors': cp. *πάρεστιν ὄραν*. H. van Herwerden, *Platonica*. Critical notes on Apology, Crito, Phaedo (on p. 117-E). J. van Wageningen, *Ad Lucretium and Ad Taciti Dialogum*. Lucr. 2. 680 *reddita sunt cum odore: in primis turea dona*; Tac. 13 *lubricum forum famanque labantem*. S. A. Naber, *Adn. crit. ad Theocritum*. v. L., *Ad Aristoph. Ran.* 27. Read *οἶκον τὸ βάρος τοῦθ', ὃ σὺ λέγεις ὄντος φέρε*; P. H. Damsté, *Minuciana* (contd.). v. L., *Ad Aristoph. Ach.* 504 et Nub. 559. J. van Leeuwen, *Homericæ* (contd. from vol. xxxii). 24 *νῆος* a temporary screen of leaves, boughs, flowers, etc. 25. The Iliad deals with the beginning of the war. 26. The old epic represented Helen as free from blame. v. L., *Ad Iliadis B* 672 et 865. *νύμφης* for *Νιπέης*, *νύμφη* for *λίμνη*.

Archiv für lat. Lexik., etc. xiv. 4.

W. Heraeus, *Beiträge zur Bestimmung der Quantität in positionslangen Silben* (from xiv. 3). Evidence of the rest of the grammarians in Keil. J. Denk, *Aspergo*. An example in the sense *abspergo*. E. von Wölflin, *Zu den Perfekta auf -erunt und -ere*. The former affected by vulgar Latin, though in Petronius rhythmical considerations obscure the matter. R. Weyman, *Die Editio princeps des Niceta von Remesiana*. Gives a conspectus of the 'Life and Works' by A. E. Burn, with many comments on points involved and emendations of the text. H. A. Strong, *Zu den Hisperica famina*. K. Thulin, *Fulgur, fulmen und Wortfamilie* (from xiv. 3). 4. Metaphorical use of *fulgur, fulmen*, etc. E. von Wölflin, *Die dreifache Alliteration in der zweiten Vershälfte*. Passed from the second half of the Saturnian into the hexameter of Ennius and Vergil; rare in Ovid, still rarer later. Plautus seems to have remembered it sometimes. J. C. Jones, *Simul, simulac und Synonyma* (from xiv. 2). 5. *Mox* and combinations. E. Bednara, *De sermone dactylicorum Latinorum* (from xiv. 3). (4) *Remedia syntactica*. Number, case, gender, tense, etc. (Poetic plural, pp. 532-533). (5) *Remedia lexicalia*. Conclusio: Catullus, less anxious for smoothness of verse, shows less sign than Ovid of metrical compulsion. *Literatur*: Hosius' *Lucan*, Lowe's *Cena Trimalchionis*, Preudhomme's *Suetonius*, Kroymann's *Tertullian* (part 3) reviewed. A notice of the late Prof. Wilhelm von Christ.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

The size of Books is given in inches. 4 inches = 10 centimetres (roughly).

* * * *Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.*

- Anglade* (Joseph) *De Latinitate libelli qui inscriptus est 'Peregrinatio ad Loca Sancta.'* Thesim facultati Litterarum in Parisiensi Universitate proponebat J. A. 10" × 6½". Pp. xvi + 135. Parisiis apud A. Fontemoing. 1905.
- Angus* (S.) *The sources of the first ten books of Augustine's 'de Civitate Dei'* by S. A. (*Princeton degree dissertation.*) 9½" × 6¼". Pp. 280. Princeton, the University Library. 1906. \$1.
- Binsbergen* (J. van) *De legibus ablatae pecuniae scriptis J. v. B. (Utrecht degree dissertation.)* 9¾" × 6½". Pp. iv + 92. Traiecti ad Rhenum apud A. J. v. Huffel. 1906.
- Boissier* (Gaston) *Tacitus and other Roman Studies* (the Schools of Declamation, the Roman Journal, the Poet Martial) translated by W. G. Hutchison. 9¾" × 5½". Pp. x + 278. London, Archibald Constable & Co. 1906. 6s. net.
- Brochet* (J.) *La correspondance de Saint Paulin de Nole et de Sulpice Sévère. Thèse de Doctorat présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris* par J. B. 9" × 5½". Pp. 112. Paris, Albert Fontemoing. 1906.
- Bucolicæ Graeci*, see *Wilamowitz-Moellendorff*.
- Collins* (J. Churton), see *Euripides*.
- Cook* (A. M.) and *Marchant* (E. C.) *Latin Passages for unseen translation. Third edition.* 7½" × 4¾". Pp. 128. London, Methuen & Co. 1906. 1s. 6d.
- Euripides*. Kynaston (H.) *Euripides' Alcestis*, translated by H. K., with introduction and notes by J. Churton Collins, *Litt. D.* 6¾" × 4½". Pp. xxxii + 44. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1906. 1s. net.
- Foerster* (Richard), see *Libanius*.
- Garrod* (H. W.), see *Statius*.
- Grasserie, de la* (Raoul) *De la Catégorie du Genre* par R. d. l. G. 7¾" × 5". Pp. 256 + vi. Paris, E. Leroux. 1906. Fr. 6.
- Hill* (G. F.) *Historical Greek Coins, described by G. F. H.* 9¼" × 5¾". Pp. xx + 182, with 13 Plates. London, Archibald Constable & Co. 1906. 10s. 6d. net.
- Kroll* (Wilhelm) *Das Studium der klassischen Philologie. Ratschläge für angehende Philologen* von W. K. ord. Prof. an der Universität Greifswald. 8¼" × 5¾". Pp. 22. Greifswald, Julius Abel, 1905.
- Kunze* (Dr. Richard) *Die Germanen in der antiken Literatur. Eine Sammlung der wichtigsten Textstellen von Dr. R. K. Teil I. Roemische Literatur.* 7½" × 5". Pp. 113, mit einer Karte von Altgermanien. Leipzig, G. Freytag und Wien, F. Tempsky. 1906. Geb. M. 1.20 = 1K. 50h.
- Kynaston* (H.), see *Euripides*.
- Libanius*. Foerster (Richard) *Libanii Opera* rec. R. F. Vol. III. *Orationes* xxvi-1. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) 7¾" × 4¾". Pp. lxvi + 488. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1906. M. 12.
- Longinus on the Sublime*. Translated by A. O. Prickard with introduction, appendix, and index. (*Oxford Library of Translations.*) 7¼" × 4¾". Pp. xxviii + 128. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1906. 3s. 6d. net (\$1.00).
- Machaffy* (J. P.) *The Silver Age of the Greek World.* By J. P. M. 7¾" × 6". Pp. vii + 482. Chicago, the University of Chicago Press. London, T. Fisher Unwin. 1906. \$3 net.
- Marchant* (E. C.) *Greek Reader. Vol. II. Selected and adapted with English notes from Prof. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's Griechisches Lesebuch* by E. C. M. 7¾" × 5". Pp. vi + 96. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1906. 2s.
- See also *Cook* (A. M.).
- Phillimore* (J. S.), see *Propertius*.
- Prickard* (A. O.), see *Longinus*.
- Propertius*, translated by J. S. Phillimore. (*Oxford Library of Translations.*) 7¼" × 4¾". Pp. xii. + 184. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1906. 3s. 6d. net (\$1.00).
- Solmsen* (Felix) *Inscriptiones Graecae ad illustrandas dialectos selectae scholarum in usum iterum edidit F. S. (Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.)* 7¾" × 4¾". Pp. viii. + 96. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1905. M. 1.60
- Statius*. Garrod (H. W.) *P. Papini Stati Thebais et Achilleis. Recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit H. W. G.* 7¾" × 4¾". Pp. xii + 410 (?) (*Script. Class. Bibl. Oxon.*) Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1906. Paper, 5s., cloth, 6s.
- Sturt* (Henry) *Idola Theatri. A criticism of Oxford Thought and Thinkers, from the standpoint of Personal Idealism.* 9" × 5¾". Pp. xviii + 344. London, Macmillan & Co. 1906. 10s. net.
- Tacitus*, see *Boissier* (Gaston).
- Vergil*. Winbolt (S. E.) *Aeneidos. Libri 5, 7, 8, and 9.* Edited by S. E. W. (*Blackie's Latin Texts.*) 7¾" × 4¾". Pp. xiv + 30, xii + 28, xiv + 26, xii + 28. London, Blackie & Son. 1906. Each 6d. net.
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff* (Ulrich von) *Die Textgeschichte von U. v. W.-M. (Philologische Untersuchungen herausgegeben von A. Kiessling und U. v. W.-M. XVIII. Heft.)* 9¾" × 6¼". Pp. xi + 263. Berlin, Weidmann. 1906.
- Winbolt* (S. E.) *The Latin Hexameter. Hints for Sixth Forms.* 7¼" × 4¾". Pp. 48. London, Blackie & Son. 1906. 2s.
- See also *Vergil*.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

PROPOSED RECONSTITUTION OF THE *CLASSICAL REVIEW*.

WE desire to call the attention of our readers to the proposed reconstitution of the *Classical Review*. The Publisher's prospectus giving full details has already been circulated to subscribers; and further copies of the same may be obtained on application to Mr. D. NUTT, 57-59 LONG ACRE, LONDON, W.C.

It is important that those who intend to support the reconstitution should intimate this to the Publisher, at the above address, as soon as possible.

The Classical Review

JULY 1906.

‘MELANDRA CASTLE.’¹

THE appearance of the handsome and profusely illustrated volume of 183 pages thus entitled should be a great and welcome encouragement to those who believe that for classical studies in this country there is a future as well as a past. It has a claim to special notice as it embodies the first fruits of the policy of local development upon which the Classical Association embarked at the end of 1904. It forms in fact the first report of the Manchester and District Branch of the Association and is edited by the Professor of Latin at the University of Manchester, to whose energy and enthusiasm the foundation of the branch is in chief measure due.

The major part of the volume is devoted to the excavations of the Roman site from which it has taken its name, but includes much other matter, as the following account will show.

First comes a ‘note’ by the Editor who is also chairman of the Committee of the Branch and of the Excavation Committee, the opening sentences of which we quote to show the spirit in which the work has been approached.

‘If the aim of the Classical Association may be defined in a sentence, it is to preserve and proclaim the connexion of Classical studies with the larger and deeper interests of daily life. The

history, the politics, the society, the literature, the religion of our own community, all have their roots in antiquity; and none of these can be fully understood without the help of the great ancient writers whom the Classical student learns to count among his wisest and most delightful friends. His work is to build a bridge between the life of the past and the life of the present; his ambition is to make the bridge a broad, well-trodden road. One of the means to this end is to discover and interpret the actual traces which remain in our own district of the power which the Romans held in Britain throughout the first four Christian centuries.’

Amongst those to whom obligations are recorded are—Mr. R. Hamnett ‘to whose skill and enthusiasm is due the rescue of the site, the preservation of the remains and the whole possibility of any systematic study of the fort,’ Mr. J. Swarbrick, A.R.I.B.A., for surveying the site, Mr. Francis Jones, M.Sc., for analysing various substances found in the camp, and Mr. F. W. Parrott for producing the photographs contained in the volume. Also to Professor W. Ridgeway and Dr. F. Haverfield for valuable advice on many important points. Canon E. L. Hicks, the President of the Branch, contributes a short introduction on the intellectual stimulus and educative value of such researches. The exploration of a small Roman fort can, he points out, ‘be made a precious object lesson of Classical method.’ Next follow papers on ‘the Ancient Roads

¹ *Melandra Castle*, being the Report of the Manchester and District Branch of the Classical Association for 1905. Sherratt and Hughes, Publishers to the Victoria University of Manchester. Price 5s. net.

connected with Melandra and the Site' by Professor Boyd Dawkins, 'the Roman Occupation of Derbyshire' by Dr. Haverfield, 'the Roman Place-names of Derbyshire' by Mr. W. B. Anderson, 'the Excavations at Melandra in 1905' by Mr. F. A. Bruton (the Hon. Secretary of the Excavation Committee) and on 'Some Features of of Roman Forts in Britain' by the same and on 'the Pottery found at Melandra' by Mr. J. H. Hopkinson. After these come two short papers by the Editor on 'the Roman Coins found at Melandra' and on 'the Trade- and Coin-Weights found at Melandra' and a 'List of Miscellaneous Remains in the Custody of Mr. Hamnett' by Professor Boyd Dawkins and the Editor, and last, three papers of a historical or literary character 'Legio XX. Valeria Victrix,' (a detachment from which was at one time quartered at Melandra) by Mr. Harold Williamson and 'the Probable Date of the Roman Occupation of Melandra' by the same and 'Britain in the Roman Poets' by Miss Dora Limebeer.

There is added, as in such publications there always should be, a full index, which has been compiled by Mr. W. J. Goodrich. Two appendices containing the Proceedings of the Branch and a list of its Members complete the volume.

The book is accompanied by a large map of the excavations on the scale of thirty feet to the inch, and is illustrated by numerous photographs, engravings in the text and plans. The frontispiece shows the Roman

roads connected with Melandra and a 'pre-historic Ridgeway crossing Werneth Low.' We would gladly devote more space to a description of contents and illustrations; but we purposely refrain in the hope that all of our readers who are interested in this side of classical research will encourage the committee in their laudable efforts by purchasing the volume for themselves. Funds are greatly needed to continue the work at Melandra and to excavate new sites. In Germany, where the public support of natural, historical and linguistic science is intelligent, organised, and methodical, there is no especial need for drawing upon private beneficence. In America the public-spirited millionaire is found to take upon himself some part at any rate of the debt which riches owe to research. But in this country the shortcomings of the national administration are but too rarely compensated by the enlightened liberality of the opulent. Let the magnates of commerce at Manchester, which Canon Hicks tells us 'has never been wholly given to the idolatry of wealth,' be stirred at least by the Committee's appeal to their local patriotism, and determine that the new investigations at Toot Hill and Castle-shaw which the Committee propose, shall not languish for lack of funds. They need have no doubt as to the value of these inquiries sanctioned as they have been by liberal grants from the University of Manchester and the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

VARIA GRAECA.

I.—*A Lacuna in the Iliad.*

The Homeric text has at all periods of its existence been so jealously guarded by grammarians, editors, and readers, that, when the patina of phonetic change is scraped off, emendation in the ordinary sense has little to do. For one passage however the mere sense is difficult.

Τ 76 τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπεν ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν
 Ἀγαμέμνων
 αὐτόθεν ἐξ ἔδρης οὐδ' ἐν μέσσοισιν ἀναστᾶς
 ὦ φίλοι ἦρωες Δαναοί, θεράποντες Ἄρης,
 ἑσταότος μὲν καλὸν ἀκούειν, οὐδὲ ἔοικεν
 ὑββάλλειν· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἐπισταμένῳ περ εἶναι.
 ἀνδρῶν δ' ἐν πολλῷ ὁμάδῳ πῶς κέν τις ἀκούσαι
 ἢ εἴποι; βλάβεται δὲ λιγύς περ ἔων ἀγορητής.

Agamemnon who was wounded in Α speaks from his chair without standing up. He seems to apologise for doing so and asks for allowance to be made him. How does this come out in vv. 79, 80? 'It is right to hear a man upon his legs, and it is improper to interrupt'; but Ag. was not upon his legs: the usual speaker was and, as this was the proper posture, had no special ground to deprecate interruption. Agamemnon cannot stand, and as it is difficult to make oneself heard sitting, therefore he begs for silence. A line is wanted to contain these ideas, *e.g.*

ἦσθαι· ἀλλ' ἔμπης μευ ἀκονέμεν, οὐδὲ ἔοικεν
 ὑββάλλειν.

'A speaker ought to stand, not to sit:

still listen to me without interrupting, for it is difficult even for a good orator to make himself heard.' This omission, which must have been very ancient, caused Zenodotus to leave out 77, on the ground that the allusion ἐξ ἔδρης is not taken up again. Alexander of Cotiaeum improved the story. The scholiast however on 77 had the right interpretation, whatever he read: ὁ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων οὐκ ὀρθὸς δημηγορεῖ διὰ τὴν τοῦ τραυμάτος ἀλγῆδονα διὸ ἐπιφέρει ὑποτιμώμενος καλὸν μὲν ἔστιν ἐστὼτα δημηγορεῖν, ὡς δηλονότι καθήκει.

Homer's ear was not sensitive to assonances in consecutive lines: I can produce no example of οὐδὲ ἔοικεν nearer than three lines apart (Φ 319, 322); but cf. in the *Iliad* ἀμφεμένοντο, ἐνέμοντο B 634, 5; ἔποντο, ἐνέμοντο *ib.* 737, 8; ἵκοντο, τράποντο Γ 421, 2; πονέεσθαι *bis* K 116, 7; τοῦ ἐνόησεν, τε νοήσῃ *ib.* 224, 5; αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλα, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλοι N 799, 800; καὶ Μενέλαον, καὶ Μενέλαε P 507, 8; Καλλιάνασσα, Ἰάνασσα Σ 46, 7; Αἰακίδαο *bis* *ib.* 221, 2; -ον ἔδωκαν, -ον ἔδωκεν Ψ 745, 6. On the other hand homoeoteleuton has its maximum of effect in hexameter verse. I have collected the cases where assonance has led to omission in the Hymns *J.H.S.* 1895, pp. 272 *sq.* Such an elaborate repetition as that in the line I have invented may account for so early an omission.

II.—*νοῦθος*, a footfall.

The word *νοῦθος* 'footfall' is ignored by the Lexica. Herodian π. μον. λεξ. 42 after enumerating στρουθός, Ξοῖθος, βοῖθος says *νοῦθος κύριον ψόφος ἐν οὐδῇ* 'Ἡσίοδος ἐν τρίτῳ (*sc.* Καταλόγῳ) *νοῦθος* δὲ ποδῶν ὑπόδοντος (ὑποδοῦπος *cod.*) ὁρώρει, fr. 48 Rzach. After κύριον we must perhaps add a καί. Neither Lehrs nor Rzach understands ἐν οὐδῇ; the former even printed ἦν οὐδῇ, and there are other attempts. 'Ἐν οὐδῇ defines the species of ψόφος which *νοῦθος* denotes: h. Herm. 149, when Hermes returned to his cave

οὐ γὰρ κτύπεν ὥσπερ ἐπ' οὐδῇ (Tibullus i. 8. 66 *illius credo tunc sonuisse pedes*).

I hope this parallel may induce Herr Rzach to remove his †, as it should give the coup de grâce to Fick's ἐπ' ᾧδῃ in the Hymn, to which Mr. Sikes and I were too kind.

III.—On the plural of γῆ.

Why is γῆ 'rare in the plural,' as the Lexica say? Homer has γαῖων, but in

the Attic period the singular is the predominant partner. Ionic prose knew the plural (γεῶν Herod. iv. 198, γέας πλείστας εἶδον Democritus in Clem. Alex. I. § 69), and in Aeschylus fr. 198 (*Prom. λυόμενος*) quoted by Steph. Byz. in Ἀβιοί, the MSS. of Stephanus give

αὐτόσποροι
γῆαι φέρονσι βίοντον ἀφθονον βροτοῖς

and γῆαι which all the editors of Aeschylus have accepted is due to one of the editions of the Ἑθνικά. The dual is introduced, with a confidence which I do not altogether share, into Aesch. *Persae* 737

ἄσμενον μολεῖν γέφυραν γαῖν δυοῖν ζευκτηρίαν for ἐν of the MSS. The alternative is Blomfield's ταῖν, where the ellipse seems doubtful. Later writers have no objection to the plural (Aristotle γαῖ, Strabo γᾶς, Crinagoras Anth. Pal. ix. 430. 1 γῆαι), nor have inscriptions (Collitz 60 B 20 γας τασδε καὶ τοὺς κηπως, Hoffmann *Ionic* 80 C 10 τας γεας, 139 p. 64, v. 40 δημοστιαί γεαι, 140 p. 65 τας γεας των φυγαδων, 173, p. 75 γεας καὶ οικιας).¹ The case is parallel to that of ἔλῃ, which is passed over in our Lexica, and briefly treated by Zachariae in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* 34. 453 *sq.* Here the plural is common in late prose (ἔλαι ἔλας ἔλαις Strabo, ἔλαι ἔλαις Herodian the historian) and late verse (ἔλαις Babrius ap. Zachariae, ἔλαι Nonnus iii. 69, 252, xvi. 91, xxxvi. 70, ἔλας v. l. Anacreonta 32. 7), but for the good period the evidence consists of two doubtful passages, h. Hom. *Dem.* 386 δάσκιον ἔλης (Mosq.) and Anacreon 51 variously quoted (ἔλαις and ἔλῃ). To this we may add the place-name ἀπὸ κόμης ἦν καλοῦσιν Ὑλας Strabo 407, Ὑλαι καλοῦμεναι χωρίον Paus. x. 326 (where Wilamowitz's Αἰλαί seems unnecessary), Βοιωτίδες Ὑλαι Moschus iii. 89. The avoidance of the plural in either case is stylistic, due I suppose to a dislike of using the same word as a collective and a plural, a feeling absent in the Latin *terra* and *silva*.

If γαῖν is allowed in Aeschylus, I should be inclined to read ἔλης in the Homeric hymn.

T. W. ALLEN.

¹ Γων καὶ οικων *Aegyptische Urkund.* 993, ix. 10 (ap. Herwerden suppl. lex.). Dr. Hunt gives me two instances of γας from the Tebtunis Papyrus (Nos. 5. 59, 6. 31), but the plural is not common in papyrus.

NOTES ON THE ATTIC ORATORS.

(Continued from p. 153.)

ANDOCIDES.

1. 17 ὁ δὲ πείσας καὶ δεόμενος μέναι τὸν πατέρα ἐγὼ ἦν μάλιστα.

Omit καί, δεόμενος being subordinate to πείσας. So in 19 ὁ δὲ πείσας . . ἐγὼ πολλὰ ἱκετεύσας καὶ λαμβανόμενος τῶν γονάτων. Cf. 106 νικήσαντες μαχόμενοι τοὺς τυράννους : 4. 36 τοσαυτάκις ἀγωνιζόμενος νικήσας.

ib. 21 ὅπου ἂν ἔμελλεν κ.τ.λ.

ἂν is usually bracketed. Perhaps δῆ. Cf. οὐ δῆ in 2. 16. So perhaps in 81 ἕως δῆ, not ἕως αὖ, should be read for ἕως ἂν.

ib. 119 οὔτε χρήματα ἕτερα οὐτ' εὐτυχίαν ἀνδρὸς ἐλίσθαι.

<ἐτέρου> ἀνδρός has been conjectured. Read rather ἐτέρου for ἕτερα. For the order of words cf. R. S. Conway in this *Review* xiv. 358-9.

3. 4 εἰρήνη ἐγένετο πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔτη πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐνεμείναμεν . . ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἔτη τρισκαίδεκα.

ib. 6 οὗτοι ἡμῖν εἰρήνην ἐποίησαν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔτη τριάκοντα.

Read after Λακεδαιμονίους in both places <ἐπ' > ἔτη. Peace was made for so many years, but it would not necessarily last so long. The first passage expressly names thirteen years as the actual duration, and ἐγένετο . . ἔτη πεντήκοντα would be quite untrue. Cf. Thuc. 3. 68. 5 τὴν δὲ γῆν δημοσιώσαντες ἀπερίσθωσαν ἐπὶ δέκα ἔτη, etc. Reiske added εἰς, but ἐπ' before ἔτη would be more easily lost.

ib. 9 τὰς τε ἄλλας ἀποικίας καθ' ἕκαστον διηγείσθαι.

καθ' ἑκάστην?

ib. 22 Ἀργείους δὲ ἀγαγόντες εἰς τὴν ποτε φιλίαν.

Rather τότε.

ib. 24 τί οὖν ἔστιν ὑπόλοιπον περὶ ὅτου δεῖ βουλευέσθαι; ναί· περὶ ὧν αὖ ἡμᾶς Ἀργεῖοι προκαλοῦνται.

ναί is no proper answer to τί οὖν ἔστιν ὑπόλοιπον; Read τί οὖν; ἔστιν ὑπόλοιπον περὶ ὅτου κ.τ.λ.; so in 1. 86 ἀρά γε ἔστιν ἐνταυθοῖ

ὅ τι περιελείπετο; and 89 ἐνταυθοῖ ἔστιν ὅ τι ὑπολείπεται;

ib. 34 Read πράττει for πράττοι.

4. 15 τί χρὴ προσδοκᾶν τοῦτον . . διαπράττεσθαι;

διαπράξεσθαι, or add ἂν.

ib. 20 can, I fear, hardly be restored, but it is fairly clear that δέ after κελεύοντος should be γάρ.

LYSIAS.

Unless by any happy chance new evidence should become available, it seems unlikely that any great advance can be made now in dealing with the many and great difficulties presented by the text of Lysias. They offer abundant scope for conjecture, and conjectures have been abundantly made, but these are bound often to depart so far from the MS. readings that no certainty or even great probability can attach to them. The few suggestions here set down hardly touch any of the more serious difficulties.

1. 14 ἔφασκε τὸν λύχρον ἀποσβεσθῆναι . . εἴτα ἐκ τῶν γειτόνων ἐνάψασθαι.

Cobet after Stephanus ἀνάψασθαι. Should we not read ἐνάψασθαι? The middle is not quoted in L. and S. or Veitch from any of the best Attic writers, but there can be no objection to it in the sense here needed of *goi a light*.

2. 2 ὥστε καλὰ μὲν πολλὰ τοῖς προτέροις . . εἰρῆσθαι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκείνοις παραλελείφθαι.

πολλὰ μὲν καλὰ . . , πολλὰ δέ . . ?

23 The Persians made careful calculation (εἰ μὲν . . εἰ δέ) of various risks. οἱ μὲν τοῖνυν ταῦτα διανοοῦντο. οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι οὐ λογισμῷ εἰδότες τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κινδύνους . . οὐκ ἐφοβήθησαν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐναντίων.

Thalheim gives as the MS. readings 'εἰδότες V X, δόντες F' and cites a number of emendations, none satisfactory. The MS. readings and the sense required seem to point very clearly to λογισμῷ διελόντες. Cf. *Timaeus* 72A πάντα λογισμῷ διελέσθαι: *Phaedrus* 249B ἐν λογισμῷ συναυρούμενον: etc. Cf. also on Lysias 21. 24 below.

25 The words ἔστησαν μὲν . . χώρας seem clearly to have suffered some disturbance of their internal order, but any restoration could only be doubtful.

43 τὴν εὐτυχίαν ὁμοιοῦσαν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐκτρίβαντο.

‘ὁμολογοῦσαν Rs (i.e. Reiske), sed est: per periculum ad felicitatem et concordiam pervenerunt’ Thalheim. Surely εὐτυχία ὁμοιοῦσα cannot = εὐτυχία καὶ ὁμόνοια. It may however be a question whether ὁμοίαν οὔσαν would not be better than ὁμολογοῦσαν. Their success did not agree with their danger, but it was as great as their danger.

52 ἀπαντήσαντες αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν Μεγαρικὴν ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι ἅπασαν τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἐκείνων τοῖς ἡδὴ ἀπειρηκόσι καὶ τοῖς οὐκ ὀφειμένοις, τοὺς εἰς τὴν σφετέραν ἐμβαλεῖν ἀξιώσαντας, εἰς τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν ἀπαντήσαντες, τρώων δὲ στήσαιτες κ.τ.λ.

The speech is much too carefully composed, whoever the author, for it to be probable that ἀπαντήσαντες was repeated in this clumsy way. It may be noticed also that τοὺς . . ἀξιώσαντας is wanting in construction, for it is very awkward to take it in apposition to τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἐκείνων. If in apposition at all, it ought to be in the genitive (with ἐκείνων) and not cut off by τοῖς . . δυναμένοις. Perhaps both these faults may be removed together by reading φθάσαντες for ἀπαντήσαντες and taking the latter as an accidental repetition of a word previously used. The construction will then be φθάσαντες εἰς τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν τοὺς . . ἀξιώσαντας, anticipating the invader by reaching foreign soil first.

60 εὐτυχὴς δ' ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς ἐτέρων ἡγεμόνων λαβόμενος.

ἐπιλαβόμενος is possible in this sense (Herod. i. 127 Πέρσαι μὲν νῦν προστάτῃ ἐπιλαβόμενοι ἡλευθεροῦντο), but is the simple verb? In [Dem.] 25.32 εἰ λάβοιτ' ἐξουσίαν is by no means the same as εἰ ἐξουσίαν λάβοι, but like Plato Rep. 360 D τοιαύτης ἐξουσίας ἐπιλαβόμενος. Cf. however προσλαμβάνεσθαι.

Blass' arguments against Lysias as the author of this speech do not carry complete conviction. When we have made allowance for the interval that would inevitably divide the deliberately dignified style of a funeral oration from the deliberately plain, almost colloquial style which Lysias adopted in his ordinary forensic speeches, there seems to be nothing in the speech which he might not have put there. If it has all the faults of taste which Blass finds

in it, I do not know why Lysias should be thought incapable of committing them. When a plain writer ventures on an elevated style, he may well fall into such faults. Xenophon in such cases fell into worse, if all the work attributed to him is authentic. On the other hand I would not maintain with any great confidence that Lysias was really the author. I would only say that no very strong case is made out against it.

I do not know whether the following words have been pointed out as rising above or departing from the usual vocabulary of the orators: 5 κλέος and χάριν with genitive, a construction hardly used in the purest prose: 7 ἀσεβείσθαι passive: 21 στέλλω: 24 ἀξιοῦν think: 27 ἀπαθὴς κακῶν (frequent in Herodotus): 37 δεξιόσθαι: 42 ἐρίζω: 50 γεραίτεροι: 60 λαβόμενος (this use is however not even poetical; see above): 64 ἀδελφός as metaphorical adjective: 69 εὐκτός: 74 λήγω: 75 τοκεύς: 77 χερίστος: 79 ἀγῆρατος. Some of these will be found in Xenophon, Plato, or Thucydides, hardly in the orators. Less noticeable are πειθεῖν (several times, e.g. 2), φήμη (3), μαινώ (7), ἐξυβρίζω (9). ἀείμνηστος (20) occurs also in 6. 25 (thought not to be Lysias) and 26. 4, but is uncommon. Lysias seems not to use elsewhere διὰ ταχέων (26), but it occurs three times in the speeches ascribed to Demosthenes and I dare say elsewhere in oratory. οἱ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐντός (50) is worth noticing for the sense of ἐντός (see L. and S.) and for its position.

4. 7 νῦν δὲ ὁμολογούμεθα πρὸς παῖδας καὶ αὐλητρίδας καὶ μετ' οἴνου ἐλθόντες ὥστε πῶς ταῦτ' ἐστὶ πρόνοια;

Something like ὁμολογούμεθα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχοντες > παῖδας καὶ αὐλητρίδας καὶ μετ' οἶνον ἐλθεῖν?

4. 11 τοῖς τ' ἄλλοις ἐμφανὲς καὶ τοῖτοις ποιήται.

In the context τοῖτοις seems wrong, but it would be better to substitute οὕτως than Thalheim's δι' αὐτῆς.

12. 11 ἐδεῶμην αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ὁδῷ μοι δοῦναι, ὃ δ' ἀγαπήσιν με δέσσειν, εἰ τὸ σῶμα σώσω.

Pison did not say that Lysias would be content. Lysias' request showed that he would not. He said he ought to be content, i.e. ἀγαπᾶν, δέσσειν με. For two words thus run into one cf. Plato Soph. 257 ε ξυμβεβηκέναι for ξυμβέβηκεν εἶναι: Theaet. 185 D ὀργανίδιον for ὄργανον ἴδιον: Phileb. 41 A ὑστεροῦμεν for ὑστερον ἐροῦμεν: Thuc. 8. 67. 2 ἀναιπεῖν and ἀνατρέπειν for ἀναπ' εἰπεῖν: Diod.

14. 56. 6 προθυμοῦντο for προθύμους ἐποιοῦντο: etc. Cf. on Lysurgus 131 below.

12. 21 πολλοὺς δ' ἐπιτίμους ὄντας ἀτίμους [τῆς πόλεως] κατέστησαν.

So Thalheim, but where did τῆς πόλεως come from? Perhaps we should read ἀτίμους τῆς πολιτείας, though the word is no doubt superfluous. Cf. Dem. 15. 33 ἀτίμος τοῦ συμβουλευεῖν: Thuc. 3. 58. 6 ἀτίμους γερῶν.

12. 35 μαβόντες ἀπίαςιν ὅτι ἡ δίκην δώσουσιν . . ἡ κ.τ.λ.

There is no sense in ὅτι ἡ here. The men will find out *whether* they are to suffer or the reverse, not *that* they are to do one or the other. We must read εἴτε or πότερον.

12. 60 καὶ πόλεις ἐπάγοντες <ἄλλας τε> καὶ τελευτῶντες Λακεδαιμονίους?

13. 18 οὐ γὰρ δῖπον ἐκείνοι οὕτως ἀνόητοι ᾗσαν καὶ ἀφίλοι ὥστε κ.τ.λ.

For καὶ read ἡ. So in the closely parallel passage Lysurg. 68 οὕτως ἐστὶν ἀνόητος καὶ παντάπασιν ὑμῶν καταπεφρονηκώς Blass reads ἡ for καὶ.

13. 46 τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἡμῶν εἶχον. Half a dozen aorists preceding and following strongly suggest ἔσχον. The mistake is quite frequent.

13. 71 For οἶδε (Dobree εἶδε) I would suggest ᾗδει. A past tense seems much more suitable.

13. 82 ἵπολαμβάνειν χρή εἰ Ἄνυτος αὐτῷ ἐγένετο αἴτιος μὴ ἀποθανεῖν.

Should not εἰ be ὅτι?

19. 20 ᾗσαν δ' ἐλπίδες τοῦ πλοῦ πείσαι Διονύσιον κ.τ.λ.

Perhaps <ἐκ> τοῦ πλοῦ. So perhaps in 2. 61 <ἐν> καινοῖς κινδύνοις after πεισθέντες.

20. 3 οὗτος δὲ τίνος ἂν ἔνεκα ὀλιγαρχίας ἐπεθύμωσεν; πότερον ὥς ἡλικίαν εἶχε λέγων τι διαπραττέσθαι παρ' ἡμῖν, ἢ τῷ σώματι πιστεύων, ἵνα ἔβριζοι εἰς τῶν ὑμετέρων τινά; ἀλλ' ὁράτε αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἢ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱκανὸς ἐστὶν ἀποτρέπειν τοῦτων.

I cannot make any sense of ὥς ἡλικίαν εἶχε. Does not the speaker say ironically ὥς ἡλικίαν <οὐκ> εἶχε? 'Was it that he was not old enough to have the right of speaking, or that he was young and physically strong?' the point being that he was really by no means young.

20. 5 εἴ τις ὀλίγας ἄρξας.

ὀλίγας is certainly strange. Perhaps, as elsewhere, it has got exchanged for πολλάς through a certain similarity.

20. 12 ὅτ' ἐξέτινε τῷ δημοσίῳ, οὐκ εἰσῆνεγκεν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀργύριον.

But why should he have contributed the whole sum? Omit τό (due to last letters of αὐτῷ), or read τοῦ ἀργυρίου.

Just below ἐστι in ὑμῶν ἐστι πολίτης seems a mistake for ᾗν. How can the present tense be used of a dead man?

20. 24 ὥστε τῇ θεῷ τε τὰς δεκάτας ἐξαίρεθῆναι πλεόν ἢ τριάκοντα μνᾶς καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰς σωτηρίαν.

After στρατιώταις a numeral, representing a sum of money, would seem to have been lost.

21. 24 For the unsuitable ἡλέησα read probably ἔδεισα (Δ for Δ).

22. 11 οἶμαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οὐκ ἐλεύσεσθαι.

For the unattic ἐλεύσεσθαι such words as τρέψεσθαι, πορεύσεσθαι, καταφεύξεσθαι have been proposed. I take it to be perhaps a gloss rather than a corruption, and suggest ἀπαντήσιν, as in *Midias* 151 ἐπὶ ταῦτα δ' ἀπῆντων, ὡς κ.τ.λ.

In *fragm.* 47 ἐρχομένων can hardly be right either. (Cf. on Antiphon, *supra* p. 148 and on Isocrates *Apophthegms* below.)

23. 5 Probably μάλιστ' <ἂν> ψόμην εἰ δέμαι.

24. 3 οἶμαι δεῖν . . τὰ τοῦ σώματος δυστυχήματα τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἰσθαι καλῶς.

καλοῖς Markland, which will not quite do. Read καλοῖς <οὔσιν>. After οὔσιν was lost, καλοῖς was turned into an adverb.

26. 21 Θρασυβούλῃ δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπολογῆσεται.

The dative is odd. Should βοηθῶν be added? That is at least as likely as αὐτοῦ ὑπεραπολογῆσεται (Reiske) or αὐτῷ ἀναβήσεται (Halbertsma). Cf. for instance 14. 21 and 22.

30. 19 ὅστις ἀξιῷ πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια θύειν, ἔπειτα ἂ μᾶλλον συμφέροι τῇ πόλει.

For μᾶλλον, which seems without point, πάλαι and μάλιστα have been proposed. Perhaps ἂ μᾶλλον συμφέροι.

33. 4 εἰδότες ὅτι φιλονικεῖν μὲν ἔστιν εὖ πατριόντων, γινῶναι δὲ τὰ βέλτιστα τῶν αὐτῶν.

αὐτῶν has been altered in a variety of ways. Such conjectures as ἀτυχούντων (Markland) and κακῶς (Cobet) seem from the context to give the probable meaning, but I would suggest φαύλως as coming nearer to the letters of αὐτῶν.

Fragments.

1. 4 Write τοῦ (for τούτου) τεθνεώτος.

4 καὶ εἰ μὲν χρῶτο καὶ ἔχοι Ἀλκιβιάδης, Ἀξιώχου ἐφασκεν εἶναι θυγατέρα· εἰ δὲ Ἀξίωχος, Ἀλκιβιάδου.

Surely ἐφασκεν, 'they said.'

15 τὸ μὲν ἐμὸν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ γένος ἄρχεται, τὸ δὲ σὸν ἐν σοὶ παύεται.

παύσεται?

111 τὴν μὲν κόμην ψιλὴν ἔχεις, τὰς δὲ μασχάλας δασείας.

Is κόμην a slip for κεφαλὴν? how can long hair, or any hair, be ψιλή?

ISOCRATES.

1. 5 οὐ παράκλησιν εἰρόντες ἀλλὰ παραίνεσιν γράψαντες μέλλομέν σοι συμβουλευεῖν.

There is no propriety in the expression παράκλησιν εἰρεῖν, find an exhortation, or even devise. But εἰρεῖν and εἰπεῖν sometimes get confused. See C.R. xviii. 11, noting further that Dem. 8. 54 has εἰπεῖν while 10. 56 has εἰρεῖν and that in Isocr. 2. 41 the Urbani have εἰπεῖν against εἰρεῖν in other MSS. Read therefore here εἰπόντες, which is much more pointed, for it carries on the reference of § 1 to Isocrates and the family of Demoniacs being now separated. He must therefore not speak but write. So ἐπαίνους εἰπὼν 12. 130 etc.

15 ἥγού μάλιστα σεαυτῷ πρέπειν κόσμον αἰσχίνην, δικαιοσύνην, σωφροσύνην· τοῖτους γὰρ ἅπασι δοκεῖ κοσμεῖσθαι τὸ τῶν νεωτέρων ἥθος.

Blass (Teubner 1879) bracketed κόσμον, turning κρατεῖσθαι into κοσμεῖσθαι; and this may be right. But perhaps πρέπειν should be πρέποντα.

25 μῆτε μετὰ βλάβης περὶ τῶν φίλων μῆτ' ἄπειρος εἶναι τῶν ἐταίρων ἐθελε. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσεις, ἂν μὴ δεόμενος [τὸ ?] δεῖσθαι προσποιῇ. περὶ τῶν ῥητῶν ὡς ἀπορρήτων ἀνακοινῶν μὴ τυχὼν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν βλαβήσκει, τυχὼν δὲ μάλλον αὐτῶν τὸν τρόπον ἐπιστήσει.

It is surprising that critics have not seen the irrelevance of περὶ τῶν ῥητῶν ὡς ἀπορρήτων ἀνακοινῶν here. μῆ τυχὼν κ.τ.λ. evidently follows προσποιῇ. The intervening words, which merely disturb the sequence, must be put either earlier or later; probably earlier, as they could not conveniently come later for some time, whereas they might quite well stand before μῆτε μετὰ βλάβης. τό should probably be omitted.

28 περὶ τὸν πλοῦτον χρήματα καὶ <μὴ> (Blass) κτήματα κατασκευάζειν· ἔστι δὲ χρήματα μὲν τοῖς ἀπολαύειν ἐπισταμένοις, κτήματα δὲ τοῖς κτᾶσθαι <μόνον> (Blass) δυναμένοις.

μὴ must no doubt be inserted, but I am not so sure about μόνον, rather suspecting that here too the words have got out of their order. Did I. write ἔστι δὲ κτήματα μὲν τ. κ. δ., χρήματα δὲ τ. ἀ. ἐ. ? The similarity of κτήματα and χρήματα might lead to the error.

31 μὴδὲ παρὰ . . μὴδὲ παρά.

Perhaps μῆτε in both places.

2. 45 See C.R. xii. 28.

3. 59 μετὰ τοιαύτης ψυχῆς ἥδιςτ' ἂν τις δύναιτο τὸν βίον διαγαγεῖν.

The present tense διαγίγειν seems almost necessary. So in Gorgias 486 ἅ ἀπάγοι must be right as against ἀπαγάγοι.

5. 1 μὴ θαυμάσης, ὦ Φίλιππε, διότι τοῦ λόγου ποιήσομαι τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ τοῦ πρὸς σὲ ῥηθήσομένου καὶ νῦν δειχθήσεσθαι μέλλοντος ἀλλὰ τὸ περὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως γραφέντος.

I cannot translate these words as they stand, but conjecture οὐκ <ἐκ> τοῦ. The cause of the loss is obvious.

7. 20 ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν μὲν ἀκολασίαν δημοκρατίαν, τὴν δὲ παρανομίαν ἐλευθερίαν, τὴν δὲ παρρησίαν ἰσονομίαν, τὴν δ' ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ταῦτα ποιεῖν εὐδαιμονίαν.

ταῦτα seems without meaning. πάντα, sometimes confused with it, is exactly what we want, πάντα ποιεῖν being a familiar combination.

54 χεμάζοντας ἐν τοιοῦτοις ἐν οἷς οὐ βούλομαι λέγειν.

This is certainly unlike the usual form of expression, which would be either ἐν τοιοῦτοις οἷς (or ᾧ) or ἐν οἷς simply. Should we omit the second ἐν, which indeed hardly makes sense?

8. 12 ὥσπερ ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ τῇ πόλει κινδυνεύοντες.

Perhaps for ἐν we should write ἄν. Cf. 47 τοὺς αὐτὼν σώμασιν . . κινδυνεύειν.

13 ὅταν δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐκκλησιάζητε, τοῖς μὲν τοιοῦτοις ἀπιστεῖτε καὶ φθονεῖτε, τοὺς δὲ πονηροτάτους τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παριόντων ἀσκέετε καὶ νομίζετε δημοτικωτέροισιν τοὺς μεθύοντας τῶν νηφόντων.

In Demosthenes *Ol.* 3. 28 and *F.L.* 339 I have suggested (*C.R.* xvii. 147 : xviii. 13) changing ἡσκήκαμεν and συνασκέειν to ἡξήκαμεν and συναύζειν respectively. Here in the same way there seems little sense in ἀσκέετε and I suggest αὐξέτε. αὐξέω or αὐξάνω is used in much the same sense 5. 120 ὅπου δ' ἰάσωμαι λόγῳ μόνον χρησάμενος οὕτως αὐτὸν ἡξήσεν, ποίαν τινὰ χρὴ προσδοκᾶν περὶ σοῦ γνώμην ἅπαντας ἐξεν κ.τ.λ. ; Cf. Plato *Lysis* 206 A οἱ καλοὶ, ἐπειδὴν τις αὐτοὺς ἐπαίνει καὶ αὐξῇ, φρονήματος ἐμπλήννεται. So sometimes *augeo* in Latin and *raise* in English ('while wits and Templars every sentence raise'). Or we may take αὐξέτε in its more usual sense and compare [*Xen.*] *R.d.* 1. 14 τοὺς μὲν χρυστοὺς ἀτιμοῖσι . . τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς αὐξουσιν. But Isocrates' form of the word was αὐξάνω rather than αὐξέω, if MSS. may be trusted.

114 ἦν τὰς αὐτὰς πράξεις ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ὁμοίων φαίνονται γνωρίζοντες.

So the two best MSS. (Blass), but the rest appear to have ὁμοίως for τῶν ὁμοίων. Should we explain and reconcile the discrepancy by reading τῶν ὁμοίων ὁμοίως?

9. 47 τὴν πόλιν . . οὐτε τέχνης ἐπισταμένην οὔτ' ἐμπορίῳ χρωμένην οὔτε λιμένα κεκτημένην.

Rather ἐμπορία.

54 τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἦν φύσει πατὴρ (ἡ ἡμετέρα πόλις), τὸν δὲ . . νόμῳ πολίτην ἐπεποιήτο.

Surely ἐπεποιήτο.

10. 8 τολμῶσι γράφειν ὡς ἔστιν ὁ τῶν πτωχευόντων καὶ φευγόντων βίος ζηλωτότερος ἢ ὁ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων.

Blass follows Benseler in omitting ὁ after ἦ, so as to get rid of the hiatus. Kayser had omitted ἦ . . ἀνθρώπων altogether. Without ὁ the grammar of the sentence is, I think, questionable. Perhaps we might regard ἦ ὁ as an explanatory adscript and read by the common Greek idiom ζηλωτότερος τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, as in Democritus (*fragment* 98 Diels) ἐνὸς φίλῃ ξυνοῦ κρέσσων ἀξυνέτων πάντων : *Xen. Hiero* 1. 38 ἐξεκάζουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς τῶν φιλοῦντων ἰπουργίαις : *Ar. Eth.* 3. 10. 10 φάρυγγα μακροτέραν γεράνου : Isocrates himself 2. 31 τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὅλης ἡθός

ὁμοιοῦται τοῖς ἄρχουσιν : 11. 7 πότερα τοῖς περὶ Αἰόλου λεγομένοις αὐτὸν παρατάξωμεν ; and many examples in all authors.

11. 5 ἀπολογήσασθαι should be ἀπολογῆσθαι.

12. 36 ἀγνώω should be ἀγνοῶν. Otherwise there is no construction for εἰδῶς and εἰρηκῶς.

131 See *C.R.* xii. 131.

15. 28 ἐν οὐδὲν μοι πλέον γέγονεν.

Is this Greek? must we not read <ἐξ> ὧν?

133 ὁρᾷς δὲ τὴν φύσιν τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ὡς διάκειται πρὸς τὰς ἡδονάς.

Perhaps διάκειται. Cf. however the somewhat surprising expression in *Acharnians* 370 τοὺς τρόπους τοὺς τῶν ἀγροίκων οἶδα χαίροντας σφόδρα, ἐὰν κ.τ.λ.

16. 26 γιγνομένης, not γενομένης, seems required by the expression ὅποτε τάκεινον κρατήσκειν, οὐ . . κατέσκαπτον ἀλλὰ . . ἀνώρυττον.

40 παρὰ τῆς πόλεως does not seem to make very good sense in the context, and I should prefer περὶ.

43. ὑπάρξει would suit both ὅπότεν δόξῃ and the future following better than ὑπάρχει does.

17. 6 ἡγούμην . . κινδυνεύειν . . γενήσεσθαι is not, I think, possible Greek. Read κινδυνεύειν (or κινδυνεύειν ἂν) . . γενέσθαι. In 7 again not ποιεῖν but ποιήσκειν must be read after προσομολογεῖν.

Ep. 4. 4 συνημερεῖσαι καὶ συμβιβῶναι πάντων ἡδιστον καὶ λιγυρώτατον.

This use of λιγρός is both unique and unintelligible. May we not suppose a corruption of ἱλαρώτατον?

Ep. 9. 6 ῥᾶν ἔστι περὶ τῶν γεγενημένων εὐπόρως ἐπιδραμεῖν ἢ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων νονεχόντως εἰπεῖν.

εὐπόρως seems unsuitable, but neither ἐπιεικῶς nor ἀνεκῶς (suggested by Dobree) is satisfactory. I would propose ἀπόνως. εὐ- and ἀ- are not unfrequently confused, and πόρος also gets exchanged with πόνος, e.g. in *Aeneas Comm. Pol.* 14. 2.

In the 'Apophthegms' put together in Blass' edition, two or three small improvements may be made.

Ἐρωτηθεὶς τίτιν οἱ φιλόπονοι τῶν ῥαθύμων

διαφέρουσιν εἶπεν 'ὡς οἱ εὖσεβεῖς τῶν ἀσεβῶν, ἐλπίσιν ἀγαθαῖς.

Is it not plain that ὡς should be ὥ? cf. Bywater (*Textual Criticism of Nic. Ethics*) on *Eth.* 1106 b 36 ὡς (or ὥ) ἂν ὁ φρόνιμος ὁρίσσει.

οἱ ἄνθρωποι τότε γίνονται βελτίους, ὅταν θεῷ προσέρχωνται ὅμοιον δὲ ἔχουσι θεῷ τὸ εὐεργετῆν καὶ ἀληθεῖν. Ἰσοκράτους.

Of course I. did not use προσέρχονται, but neither, I take it, did he say βελτίους. βέλτιστοι is almost required by the sense, and no confusion is more common than that of comparatives and superlatives.

In πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα πατέρα ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ ἀνδράποδον συνέπεμψε τῷ παιδίῳ, 'τοιγαροῦν' ἔφη 'ἀπίθι, δύο γὰρ ἄνθ' ἐνὸς ἕξεις ἀνδράποδα', no doubt οὐδὲν should be οὐδέν', and perhaps συνέπεμψε should be συμπεμψε.

In the extract (6) from the Τέχνη read τὸ (not τὸν) ἐπόμενον.

ISAEUS.

1. 33 ὥστε μὴδὲ λόγον ὑπολείπειν.

Read ὑπολείπειν, comparing Goodwin *M.T.* § 591.

3. 72 γινῶναι ὅσον ἀναισχυντότατοι ἀνθρώπων εἰσιν οὗτοι.

Rather ὅσῳ, the regular case with comparatives and superlatives.

4. 18 εἰκὸς ἦν ἀληθεῖς εἶναι δόξειν τὰς διαθήκας.

εἰκὸς seldom, if ever, takes a future infinitive, just as it very seldom takes ἄν. Read δοκεῖν.

5. 14 ἡμεῖς δὲ κατηγορούμενοι οὐκέτι προσήκειν κ.τ.λ.

ἄθ' ἡγούμενοι (Baiter) is not likely to be right, ἄτε being little used in common Attic prose. καὶ ἡγούμενοι may be suggested.

6. 50 ἰδεῖν ἂ οὐκ ἐξὸν αὐτῇ.

Read ἐξῆν. We might think of omitting ἂ, but ἰδεῖν needs an object. [So too Wyse.]

7. 8 ἔως οὐ εὐπορήσειεν ἐκείνους τὰργύριον.

ἔως οὐ, if right, is very unusual. It occurs Herod. 2. 143, but probably not elsewhere in Attic. The occasional use of μέχρι οὐ in Thuc. and Xen. is parallel, but their Attic is not of the scrupulous kind we expect in Isaeus.

9. 21 οὐδέποτε, referring to the past, should probably be οὐδεπώποτε.

Fragm. 32 χρὴ τοὺς νόμους μὲν τίθεσθαι σφοδρῶς, πραοτέρως δὲ κολάζειν ἢ ὡς ἐκείνοι κελαινόντιν.

I suspect σφοδρῶς is due to πραοτέρως and Isaeus wrote σφοδρούς.

LYCURGUS.

13 πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀποβλέποντας μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς ἔσω τοῦ πριγκίματος λέγονσιν οὕτω γὰρ ἔσται τοῖς τε κρινομένοις ἄνεν διαβολῆς ὁ ἄγων καὶ τοῖς διώκουσιν ἡκιστα συκοφαντεῖν καὶ ἡμῖν εὐορκωτάτην ψήφον ἐνεγκεῖν ἀδύνατον γάρ ἐστιν ἄνεν τοῦ λόγου μὴ δικαίως δεδιδαγμένους δικαίαν θέσθαι τὴν ψήφον.

Multi multa coniecerunt, says Blass, *velut* ἄνεν τοῦ ἀλόγου *G. Herm.*, ἄνεν τοῦ <τοιούτου> λόγου *Nicolaï*. *An* ἄνεν τοῦ λόγου (*quod facile in λόγου abibat*) δικαίως δεδιδάχθαι?

I take ἄνεν to be a careless repetition of the ἄνεν preceding (ἄνεν διαβολῆς) and to have taken the place of ἔξω, 'after listening to irrelevant and unfair speeches.' So ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος in the first clause. We might compare Maine's remark about an English jury in *Popular Government*, 'there is a rigid exclusion of all testimony which has a tendency to bias them unfairly.'

28 καὶ ταῦτα δ', ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐμοῦ θεωρήσατε, ὡς δικαίαν τὴν ἐξέτασιν ποιούμενον περὶ τούτων.

καὶ ταῦτα refers to what is coming. Should not ποιούμενον be ποιοῦμαι? He wants them to observe how scrupulously he is proceeding.

29 Read τὸν τῶν πάντα (for τὸν παρὰ τῶν) συνειδῶτον ἔλεγχον. [Dr. Postgate tells me that Herwerden has made the same conjecture with αὐτῷ after πάντα.]

30 Keeping τοὺς ἰδίους κινδύνους add perhaps ὑπομένων. Cf. ἐπέμεινεν following and οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὑπομένης in 78.

32 οὕτως δὲ διαλογίζεσθε περὶ τούτων παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. τίνας ἀδύνατον ἦν τῇ δεινότητι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ταῖς τοῦ λόγου παραγαγεῖν; κατὰ φύσιν τοίνυν βασανιζόμενοι πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν περὶ πάντων τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἐμελλον φράσειν οἱ οἰκταὶ καὶ αἱ θεράπαινοι. ἀλλὰ τούτους Λεωκράτης παραδοῦναι ἔφυγε, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἄλλοτρίους ἄλλ' αὐτοῦ ὄντας. τίνας δὲ δυνατόν εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῖς λόγοις ψυχαγωγῆσαι καὶ τὴν ὑγρότητα αὐτῶν τοῦ ἥθους τοῖς δακρύοις εἰς ἔλεον προαγαγεῖσθαι; τοὺς δικαστάς. ἐνταῦθα Λεωκράτης ὁ προδότης τῆς πατρίδος ἐλήλυθεν, οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ φοβούμενος μὴ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς οἰκίας οἱ τ' ἐξελεγχοντες τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ ὁ ἐξελεγχόμενος γένηται.

There seem to me to be at least two things wrong here. First the question τίνας ἀδύνατον

ἦν κ.τ.λ. has no answer made to it, although κατὰ φύσιν τοίνυν κ.τ.λ. is incoherent without something to precede it and although symmetry with τοὺς δικάστας, which answers the parallel question, requires a corresponding accusative. Insert therefore as an answer after παραγαγεῖν something like οἱ δοῦλοι. Secondly the words οὐδὲν ἕτερον . . . γίνηται appear to be entirely irrelevant where they occur. They have no sort of connexion with rhetorical artifices addressed to the court. Clearly they refer to the domestics mentioned in the first half of the passage, and their place is after αὐτοῦ ὄντας. In Blass' text will be found one or two other similar transpositions (§§ 14 and 43).

There is said (Rehdantz) to be no parallel for οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ instead of the usual οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ, and this suggests the possibility that Lycurgus wrote οὐδὲν ἕτερον (or πρότερον, §§ 92, 129) φοβούμενος ἢ. But the text is probably right.

40 ὁρᾶν δ' ἦν . . . γυνῆκας ἑλευθέρας . . . ἀναξίως αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὁρμώμενας.

ὁρμώμενας may be defensible in itself (cf. for instance Lys. 3. 6 : Eur. *Androm.* 878) but as governed immediately by ὁρᾶν it is surely intolerable. How to deal with it is another question. If it is an ordinary corruption of some more or less similar word, ὀδωρομένας (which is suggested) or ὀλοφυρομένας is likely enough to be right. Anything rather than Rehdantz' ὥρομενας. If however it is due to ὁρᾶν preceding and to ἰδεῖν and ὁρᾶν following, all in one sentence, it may represent some quite different word no more like ὁρμώμενας than in 13 above ἄνεν is like ξῶ; and then conjecture is almost idle.

57 ἡδέως δ' ἂν αὐτοῦ πυθοίμην τίν' ἐμπορίαν εἰσάγων χρησιμώτερος ἐγένετ' ἂν τῇ πόλει τοῦ παρασχεῖν τὸ σῶμα τάξαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐπίνοντας ἀμύνασθαι μεθ' ὧμῶν μαχόμενος.

τοῦ παρασχεῖν (= ἢ τῷ παρασχεῖν) is so awkward a phrase, when the speaker had only to say ἢ παρέχωμι, that I would suggest τίν' ἐμπορίαν εἰσάγειν χρησιμώτερον . . . τοῦ παρασχεῖν . . . καὶ . . . ἀμύνασθαι . . . μαχόμενον. Or we might read ἢ τῷ παρασχεῖν, taking ἢ as lost after εἰ.

67 οὐ τοῦτο λογιείσθε, εἰ εἰς ἐστί μόνος ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πᾶν.

Blass writes 'ἀλλ' οἶον τὸ πρ. Bk., ἀλλ' εἰ (Tayl.) τὸ πρ. μέγα (Dobr.), ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πρ. <ἀποβλέψετε> Frohb.'

It is well known that εἰς and τις are sometimes confused. Does not εἰς here stand for τί?

73 καί, τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς νίκης, οὐ τὸ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι πρότιον ἀγαπήσαντες ἔστησαν, ἀλλ' ὅρους τοῖς βαρβάροις πῆξαντες . . . συνθήκας ἐποιήσαντο.

ἀγ. ἔστ. is such an unnatural phrase 'did not set up the trophy, contenting themselves with it,' that Blass follows Meutzner in omitting ἔστησαν altogether. Should we not rather exchange verb and participle, reading ἡγάπησαν στήσαντες? So in Ar. *Ach.* 91 the Ravenna MS. in spite of metre has ἦκοντες ἀγομεν for ἀγοντες ἦκομεν: *Od.* 17. 245 one MS. has ὑβρίζεις φορέων for ὑβρίζων φορέεις: *Alcib.* ii. 138 A Bodl. has πορευνόμενος προσεύξει for προσευξόμενος πορεύει: and many passages have been or are to be restored in this way.

74 τοὺς κακοὺς μισεῖν τε καὶ κολάζειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ Λεωκράτην, ὃς οὔτε ἐδεῖσεν οὔτε ἡσχύνθη ἑμᾶς.

Is there any parallel for such a use of ἄλλως τε καί? It introduces adverbial expressions, especially as, especially when, especially if, etc. Can Λ., a simple objective accusative, be placed after it? or should we read ἄλλους τε καί? I confess τοὺς τε ἄλλους καί is rather what one would expect.

76 For ἀμείνω read μείζω. *C.R.* xvi. 394.

93 Callistratus, who was told by the god at Delphi ὅτι ἂν ἔλθῃ Ἀθήνας τεύεται τῶν νόμων, returned there and was put to death, δίκαιος: τὸ γὰρ τῶν νόμων τοῖς ἡδικοῦσι τυχεῖν τιμωρία ἐστίν· οὐ δέ γε θεὸς ὀρθῶς ἀπέδωκε τοῖς ἡδικομένοις κολάσαι τὸν αἵτιον· δεινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη, εἰ ταῦτα σημεῖα τοῖς εὖσεβέσι καὶ τοῖς κακούργοις φαίνοντο (φαίνονται MSS.).

If Bursian and Blass are right in reading τιμωρίας for τιμωρία, I think we must go a step further and insert another τυχεῖν either before or after, τοῖς ἡδικοῦσι. Clearly it would very easily get lost.

But the last words of the passage are the real difficulty, εἰ ταῦτα κ.τ.λ. We may probably accept φαίνοντο or something like it, but ταῦτα σημεῖα is very obscure. Why should not the same signs be given to pious men and evil-doers? or what is meant in this context by 'the same signs'? The real point is that the god, as was his way, used an ambiguous or equivocal expression. The speaker must be defending him not for having given 'the same sign' to righteous and unrighteous, but for having given a 'sign' or intimation which might bear more than one meaning, the sense intended varying with the character of the man to whom it was given. Just then as it seems very

possible that one *τυχεῖν* out of two fell out above, so here I would suggest *εἰ ταῦτα <ταυτοῦ> σημεῖα . . φαίνονται*, i.e. gave the same signs in the same sense, did not make the meaning vary with the man. *ταὐτὸ σημαίνοντα* or *ταυτοῦ σημεῖα* might also be suggested, but *ταῦτα ταυτοῦ* perhaps expresses it best.

106 *κατέλιπεν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐλεγεία ποιήσας.*

Are the words in their right order? *ποιήσας γάρ. . . κατέλιπεν?* or *ἐλεγεία . . κατέλιπε ποιήσας?*

123 *τοὺς ἐπιχειρήσαντας τὴν . . σωτηρίαν ἀποστερεῖν!*

131 *ὥς ὑπὲρ ταύτης μαχοῦμενοι ἢ κοινῇ . . συνατυχεῖντες.*

Dobree and editors *συνατυχήσοντες* to match *μαχοῦμενοι*. Possibly *συνατυχεῖν* ἀξιοῦντες. Cf. on *Lysias* 12. 11.

140 *ηγούμεαι δ' ἔγωγε οὐδέν' [ἀν] οὕτω μεγάλα τὴν πόλιν ἐυεργετήκατα, ὥστ' ἐξαίρετον ἀξιοῦν λαμβάνειν χάριν τὴν κατὰ τῶν προδιδόντων τιμωρίαν, οὐδ' οὕτως ἀνόητον ὥστε κ.τ.λ.*

At the beginning of 139 he has expressly said that certain persons on the ground of their own public services are trying to beg L. off. It is impossible therefore that the words before us, in which he declares that no one could do such a thing, should be right. Blass accordingly brackets ἀξιοῦν; but how did it get into the text? I think as a corruption of ἀξίων εἶναι, which makes excellent sense ('no one's past services are such that he is entitled' etc.) and has the further merit of smoothing οὐδ' οὕτως ἀνόητον, where an εἶναι is rather lacking.

In the following passages it seems to me that something has been omitted.

73 *ὅρους τοῖς βαρβάροις πῆξαντες τοὺς εἰς τὴν ἑλευθερίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος.*

105 *ὥστε τοῖς ἀνδρειοτάτοις Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις πολεμοῦσι πρὸς Μεσσηνίοις ἀνείλεν ὁ θεὸς κ.τ.λ.*

143 *καὶ ἑᾶσαι αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ.*

Surely for prose τοῖς ἀνδρειοτάτοις Λ. is not good Greek, or is at any rate very unusual Greek. An epithet is not thus attached to a proper name, or very seldom. It seems likely that *γενομένοις* or *οὔσι*, going with *ἀνδρειοτάτοις*, has been lost. After one of the plural datives οὔσι would very easily fall out. [Naber has recently suggested *ἀνδρειότατα*, omitting *Λακεδαιμονίους*.]

In 73 *τοὺς εἰς τὴν ἑλευθερίαν* seems incomplete without the addition of some such word as *συμφέροντας*, *ἐπιτηδείους*, *ἱκανούς*. In 143 I conjecture *καὶ <δεήσεται> ἑᾶσαι*, where again a certain similarity might facilitate loss. The force of ἀξιώσει is difficult to carry over the *ἐμείς δ' ἐρωτᾶτε* coming between.

So again in 18 *ὥσπερ τῇ πατρίδι μεγάλας εὐτυχίας εὐαγγελιζόμενος* it is hard to believe that the dative really depends on *εὐτυχίας*, *pieces of good fortune for his country*, when any hearer or reader would naturally attach it to *εὐαγγελιζόμενος*. Here too some participle like *γενομένας* or *συμβάσας* has perhaps been lost.

Two very small points in conclusion. In 2 *τὸν μῆτε προδόντα μὴτ' ἐγκαταλιπόντα* might be better than Dobree's *μῆτε προδόντα μὴτ' ἐγκαταλιπόντα*. Cf. the *τόν* in 1, which is also bracketed, I think needlessly. In 96 *τὸ χωρίον . . προσαγορεύεσθαι τῶν εἰσεβῶν χώρον* is not *<τόν> τῶν* wanted?

AESCHINES.

In *Timarch.* 29 *τῇ πόλει, ὑπὲρ ἧς τὰ ὅπλα μὴ τίθεσθαι ἢ διὰ δειλίαν μὴ δυνατὸς εἶ ἐπαμῦναι, μῆδ' συμβολαίειν ἀξίων.*

The two alternatives in the relative clause seem hardly to make sense, as *διὰ δειλίαν* would surely apply to *τὰ ὅπλα μὴ τίθεσθαι* too. Either put *ἢ* after *δειλίαν* or change it to *καί*, for which it does sometimes get substituted and *vice versa*.

De F. L. 177 *ἄτιμοι δ' ἐκ συκοφαντίας <όντες>?*

In *Ctes.* 4 *τὸ . . κήρυγμα . . τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται τῶν ὑπὲρ πενήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων καὶ πάλιν ἐν μέρει τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων;*

So the editors give these words, but the quotation really ends at *γεγονότων*. This is both clear in itself (for the whole as one question or proclamation would be ludicrous) and made still clearer by what Aeschines says elsewhere (in *Timarch.* 23) *μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπερωτᾷ ὁ κήρυξ 'τίς ἀ. β. τ. ὑ. π. ἐ. γ. ;'* ἐπειδὴν δὲ οὗτοι πάντες εἴπωσι, τότε ἤδη κελεύει λέγειν τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων τὸν βουλούμενον οἷς ἕξεσιν. In *Alcid. Soph.* 11 we have the abbreviated form *τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται τῶν πολιτῶν;*

153 *γένεσθε δὴ μοι μικρὸν χρόνον τὴν διάνοιαν μὴ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ βεήτρῳ.*

'Malim τῇ διανοίᾳ, ut § 157, 186, Plato *legg.* 683 c Bait. sed cf. 1. § 179 (ἐπειδὴν δ'

ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπολογίας ἀποσπασθῆτε καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐφ' ἑτέρων γένησθε).¹ Zürich ed.

I think the dative should be read here and in l. 179. Cf. Aristotle, *Fragm.* 58 (Rose) εἴ τις ἡμᾶς οἶον εἰς μακάρων νήσους τῇ διανοίᾳ κομίσειεν: Isocr. 6. 110 εἰ ταῖς διανοίαις ὥσπερ παρεστῶτας ἴδοιτε τοὺς γονέας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας: Polyb. 8. 15. 1 πάλαι δὲ τῇ διανοίᾳ περὶ τὸν Δίσσον καὶ τὸν Ἀκρόλισσον ὦν: Lucian 30 (*Phalaris*). 5 ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δέους νῦν τῷ λογισμῷ γενομένους and ἀγαῖν πρὸς ὀλίγον οὖν τῇ γνώμῃ εἰς Ἀκράγαντα παρ' ἐμὲ ἀποδῆμιναίτας.

184 In the fourth line of verse, πρῶτοι δυσμενέων εὔρον ἀμνηχάνην, I cannot but think εὔρον is a mistake for the more forcible and appropriate εἶλον, as I have suggested before that in Tyrtæus, as quoted by Polybius and Pausanias, εὔρε δὲ (ὁ χρόνος) Μεσσήνης σὺν Δαί τὸν προδότην, we should read εἶλε. Cf. however Theoc. 10. 17 εὔρε θεὸς τὸν Ἀλκίον, though that is only partially parallel.

218 ἀρκεῖ γάρ μοι μικρὰ καὶ μειζόνων αἰσχροῦς οὐκ ἐπιθυμῶ.

There is nothing αἰσχρόν in desiring more than a little. Read γλίσχρος, a much more suitable word and one which is elsewhere confused with αἰσchrós, e.g. Plato *Crito* 53 E, where the MSS. and editors are divided between αἰσchrós and γλίσchros ἐπιθυμείν ζῆν: Dem. 37. 38. Cf. Cobet, *Collect.* p. 510.

231 εἴ τις τῶν τραγικῶν ποιητῶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπεισαγόντων ποιήσειε κ.τ.λ.

The future ἐπεισαζόντων seems almost necessary. I have sometimes thought that in § 6 σώσεται would be better than σφίzzεται, as expressing what the early νομοθέτης foresaw; see however Veitch s.v. who says 'we know no instance of fut. mid. σώσσεσθαι being passive.'

235 οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἐπέθετο . . πρὶν ἂν μείζον τῶν δικαστηρίων ἰσχύσῃ.

Cobet πρὶν ἰσχύσαι, but in this and similar cases a present meaning easily suggests itself. So e.g. Isaeus 4. 27 οὕτε ἀποδεδημήκασιν οὐδαμῇ πώποτε, ὅποι ἂν μὴ ὑμεῖς προστάτῃτε.

Letters 1. 4 ἀντιπνεῖ. Probably ἀντέπνει. All the tenses are past.

5. 6 καὶ <αἰ> λοιδορία αἰς ἐλοιδοροῦμένην?

10. 1 καὶ ἃ μὲν εἶδον αὐτόθι γράφειν ἐπεὶ δοκεῖ ἄφθονον ἔχειν τὴν ὕλην σιωπήσω. Perhaps <ἄξια> γράφειν.

HYPERIDES.

In *Athen.* 2 οὕτως ὡς ἔοικεν ἐξίστησιν ἀνθρώπου φύσιν ἔρως προσλαβὼν γυναικὸς ἰαν (the five dots representing the number of letters apparently missing in the papyrus).

Blass cites a number of conjectures, καρδίαν, αἰμυλίαν, κακίαν, ποικιλίαν, πανουργίαν, ἀπιστίαν. Has any one thought of πονηρίαν?

18 ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ἐν ποδοστράβῃ εἰλημμένον.

The missing eight-letter word may be θηρευτοῦ or θηρευτῶν.

21 ὁ ὕστερος πριάμενος ἢ ὁ πάλαι κεκτημένος.

Should not ὕστερος be ὕστερον?

23 καὶ ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτὸν φασιν μέλλειν λέγειν, ἵνα δὴ δοκοῖται μέτριος εἶναι.

If the optative is right, it is another instance of an irregular sequence like Ar. *R.* 24: Dem. 22. 11, in which the speaker's mind changes the time relation. 'His idea was, when he resolved on this,' etc. Cf. particularly Ar. *An.* 1524 ἐπιστρατεύσειεν φασ' . . εἰ μὴ παρέξει . . ἵν' εἰσάγοιτο.

31 οἴομενοι δεῖν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς κινδύνους ἡμῖν χρησίμους γενομένους τούτους ἀνυχοῦντας . . φ ὑφ' ὑμῶν.

The conjectures χαρισθῆναι, κουφισθῆναι, ἀντιπαθεῖν, ῥύεσθαι, σωθῆναι are given by Blass, who adds on Kenyon's authority *de lit.* φ non vid. dubitari posse. Has ὥφε-λίσθαι too many letters?

Epitaph. 26 ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπάντων οὗτοι πόνους πόνων διαδόχους ποιοῦμενοι κ.τ.λ.

This has the appearance of a verse quotation,

πόνους πόνων <δὴ!> διαδόχους ποιοῦμενοι.

Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 588 λύπη . . διάδοχος κακῶν κακοῖς: *Suppl.* 71 ἄγον . . γῶν γόοις διάδοχος (quoted in L. and S.).

Fragm. 192 ἐπειδὴν ἐπὶ διετὲς ἡβῶσιν.

The aorist ἡβῆσσωσι, after they have attained manhood, is indispensable.

DINARCHUS.

1. 42 τρία τάλαντα λαβὼν μετέγραφε καὶ μετεσκεῖαζε τὸν νόμον καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπῶλει ὧν εἰλήφει τὴν τιμὴν, τὰ δ' ἀποδόμενος οὐκ ἐβεβαίω.

ἐπῶλει seems hardly right. If D. meant 'he offered again for sale what he had

already been paid for,' the *again* and the *already* could hardly fail to be expressed. ἐπῶλει must, I think, stand for ἐποίει, and οὐκ ἐβεβαίον (= οὐκ ἐποίει) decidedly supports this.

ib. 72 ἐπιβλέψατε δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Θηβαίων πόλιν. ἐγένετο πόλις, ἐγένετο μεγίστη.

πόλις is unmeaning, but its proposed omission unsatisfactory. Where did it come from? Read rather πάλαι, which gives excellent sense. Cf. generally § 75.

ib. 87 τῇ τοῦτου ἀληθείᾳ <πιστεύουσαι> or something similar?

ib. 110 εἰς τὸ τῆς πόλεως σῶμ' ἀποβλέψαντες καὶ τὴν πρότερον δόξαν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῇ.

No parallel is cited for such a use of σῶμα. Read σχῆμα. Cf. Eur. *Androm.* 1

Ἀσιάτιδος γῆς σχῆμα, Θηβαία πόλις, where the schol. uses καλλώπισμα and κόμπος. So πρόσχημα in Herod. 5. 28 Μίλητος, τῆς Ἰωνίας πρόσχημα. In [Dem.] 61. 12 the MSS. vary between σώματος and σχήματος: Plut. *Luc.* 8 σχῆμα is a certain emendation for σώμα.

2. 9 ὅτ' εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον τὸ πρῶτον ἀπήχθη . . . τοιαῦτα τολμήσαντα ποιεῖν αὐτοῦς.

αὐτοῦ Blass with other editors, meaning, I suppose, *there*: but this would be a misuse of αὐτοῦ which is not = simple ἐκεῖ. αὐτοῦς seems to admit of defence as referring to τοὺς δεσμώτας implied in δεσμωτήριον. So e.g. Ar. *Eth.* 3. 11. 1118 b 19 καλοῦνται γαστρίμαργοι, ὡς παρὰ τὸ δέον πληροῦντες αὐτήν, and many other passages.

3. 16 Perhaps καὶ τρὶς ἦν ἄν (for ἡδη) δικαίως ἐξημιωμένους.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

AN EMENDATION OF LUCIAN *PHILOPSEUDES* 9.

Πάνν γὰρ ἰδιώτης, ἔφη ὁ Δεινόμαχος, εἰ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐκ ἐμέλησέ σοι ἐκμαθεῖν ὄντινα τρόπον ὠφελεῖ τοῖς νοσήμασι προσφερόμενα, καὶ μοι δοκεῖς οὐδὲ τὰ προφανέστατα ἂν παραδέξασθαι ταῦτα, τῶν ἐκ περιόδου πυρετῶν τὰς ἀποπομπὰς καὶ τῶν ἐρπετῶν τὰς καταθέξεις καὶ βουβώνων ἰάσεις καὶ τὰλλα ὅποσα καὶ αἱ γῆραις ἡδὴ ποιοῦσιν. εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνα γίνονται ἅπαντα, τί δὴ ποτε οὐχὶ ταῦτα οἴσησιν γίνεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων;

The words τῶν ἐρπετῶν τὰς καταθέξεις stand in all the manuscripts, and seem to have passed the editors unsuspected. Apart from the context they contain nothing objectionable. κατάθεξις, indeed, I have not found elsewhere; but the form is a legitimate one, and θέξις occurs in Plutarch *Qu. Conv.* iv. 3 (p. 662 A) and Aelian *N.A.* viii. 24. καταβέλω, *subduo* by enchantment, *charm*, is used of the arts of Circe, κ 213:

τοὺς αὐτῇ κατέθελεν, ἐπεὶ κακὰ φάρμακ' ἔδωκεν.

The verb is rare, however, and hardly occurs in the literature until the beginning of the Christian era. As applied to the physical effect of enchantment I have found it nowhere except in the passage from the *Odyssey*. It is elsewhere used of the charm or seduction exercised upon the human mind by music, eloquence, flattery, pleasant sights, etc. So Lucian *Indoct.* 12 [*Philopat.* 3], Clem. Rom. *Epit. de Gestis S. Petri* clii. p. 584, Migne, Nic. Paph. *In laud. S. Hyac.*

4, cv. p. 424 Migne, Anast. Sin. *Viae Dux* lxxxix. p. 253 A Migne, Schol. Rav. on Ar. *Eq.* 210 (θαλφθῇ· καταβελχθῇ). I have been unable to verify the quotation in Stephanus from Chrysipp. ap. Eustrat. 511, 20.¹ This is also the commonest use of the simple βέλω from Homer down. It is, however, used of Medea's quieting the dragon in Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* iv. 150 αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἡδὴ | οἶμῃ θελγόμενος, and is also applied to the magical stilling of winds and waters, Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* viii. 7. 28, Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* i. 27. Nicander (*Ther.* 556) uses it of bees attracted by the odour of balm; Longus (ii. 7 *ad fin.*) of cattle charmed by the shepherd's pipe.

As to the facts concerned, that the art of charming snakes was known to the Greeks is adequately proved by two passages in Plato, *Rep.* 358 B, Θρασύμαχος γάρ μοι φαίνεται . . . ὑπὸ σοῦ ὥσπερ ὄφεις κληθῆναι, and *Euthyd.* 290 A, ἡ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐπωδῶν (sc. τέχνη) ἔχων τε καὶ φαλαγγίων καὶ σκορπίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θηρίων τε καὶ νόσων κήλησις ἐστίν. It may seem a little strange in our Lucian passage that snake-charming should be mentioned as within the powers of mere village witches. But old women are the chosen vessels of occult lore, and popular superstition set no limit to their capabilities.

¹ The verification of several out-of-the-way references was made possible by the kindness of Mr. G. C. Scoggin.

In themselves, then, no fault can be found with the words τῶν ἑρπετῶν τὰς καταθέλξεις. But a careful examination of the context seems to me to throw grave doubt upon the reading. The narrator, Tychiades, has been visiting Eucrates, who is ill with a gouty or rheumatic affection of the feet. In § 7 another visitor, Cleodemus, suggests a marvellous remedy—the tooth of a field-mouse tied up in a lion's skin and wrapped around the legs of the sufferer. Tychiades is sceptical (§ 8), and finally declares that he should have no faith in the remedy, even if sixteen whole field-mice were to be wrapped in the hide of the veritable Nemean lion. He has seen a lion limping, not protected from lameness by the virtues of his own skin! Then follows the speech of Deinomachus quoted above. Here the clause τὰ τοιαῦτα . . . ὄντινα τρόπον ὠφελεῖ τοῖς νοσήμασι προσφερόμενα would lead one to expect in the next clause only allusions to well-known magical cures; and certainly the insertion of a reference to snake-charming between two examples of old wives' medicine seems strange. Furthermore, Deinomachus's last sentence is simply an argument by analogy: if our old women accomplish magical cures, why scoff at Cleodemus's remedy, which operates by like means? But the feasibility of charming serpents is no argument for the efficacy of the remedy suggested.

Again, the reply of Tychiades to Deinomachus takes no account of the mention of snake-charming. Only the second sentence need come into consideration: ἦν γοῖν μὴ πείσῃς πρότερον ἐπάγων τῷ λόγῳ διότι φύσιν ἔχει γίγνεσθαι τοῦ τε πυρετοῦ καὶ τοῦ οἰδήματος δεδιότος ἢ ὄνομα θεσπέσιον ἢ ῥῆσιν βαρβαρικὴν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο [ἐκ τοῦ βουβώνος] δραπετεύοντος, ἔτι σοι γραῶν μῦθοι τὰ λεγόμενά ἐστι. Would not Tychiades have had his fling at the snake-charming, had it been mentioned? § 10 is occupied by some further discussion between the champions of legitimate and magical therapeutics. Finally, the conversation takes a turn in § 11, where Ion tells how a Chaldean magician cured a man who was at the point of death from a viper's bite, and then (§ 12) caps this with a still more marvellous yarn of how the same magician rid a farm of reptiles in a manner that remotely suggests the Pied Piper.

I cannot believe that Lucian introduced into the speech of Deinomachus in § 9 this utterly irrelevant mention of serpent-charming. Two courses, then, remain open: (1) the words τῶν ἑρπετῶν τὰς καταθέλξεις may be regarded as an interpolation, perhaps suggested by the snake-stories in §§ 11 and

12; (2) these words may contain a corruption, and conceal an allusion to the magical healing of some disease. Against the former alternative may be urged the improbability of the rare word κατάθελξεις being interpolated. We might have expected κήλησις (see the passages from Plato quoted above), especially as Lucian uses κηλέω several times—I have counted ten cases, as against eight of θέλω and its derivatives—and κήλησις occurs in *De Salt.* 72, not, it is true, in the sense of a physical fascination. Again, I would suggest—though I do so with some hesitation—that while βουβώνων ἰάσεις instead of τῶν βουβώνων τὰς ἰάσεις is a natural variation in a list of three items, the omission of the article would be hardly so likely to occur if only two diseases had been mentioned.

On the other hand, if the words τῶν ἑρπετῶν τὰς καταθέλξεις contain a corruption, it occurs to me that the right reading might be τῶν ἑρπητῶν τὰς καταθέλξεις, the allaying (by a charm) of herpes. Of this disease more must be said later. A question may arise as to the use of κατάθελξεις with reference to the relief or cure of a disease. The word is found only here, and θέλεις in Plutarch and Aelian cited above (the only examples in the lexicons) means charm, allurements, of a pleasant sensation. Of the few examples of καταθέλω, as has been explained, only one (κ 213) implies a physical effect resulting from the action of the verb. Yet it seems natural enough that the notion of bewitch, charm, beguile, should pass into quiet, soothe, heal; and when we examine the more frequently occurring θέλω, evidence for this transition is not wanting, though it is scanty and has been overlooked by the lexicographers.

The usage of Lucian himself affords no example of θέλω in the sense of relieving pain or disease. The nearest approach to it is *De Salt.* 79, where there is a mediate comparison between the soothing influence of the sight of dancing and the effect of an opiate upon a mind tortured by passion. Among other authors especial attention is due to Eur. *Fr.* 725 (Nauck), from Plut. *De Aud.* 16 (p. 46 F): ὡς Εὐριπίδης φησὶ, τὸ Τηλέφου τραῦμα

πιστοῖσι λόγχης θέλγεται ῥινήμασι.

Marcellus of Side, a contemporary of Lucian, writing of the σκάρος in his fragmentary *Medicina ex Piscibus*, has the lines (55 f.):

τοῦ δριμυῖα χολὴ μέλιτος μέτα φάεα θέλγει,
δὲν σέλας φορέονσα λιπανγέσιν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν.

Corroborative evidence may also be found

in the following examples of derivatives from θέλω. *Hymn. Hom.* 16. 4 (*ad Aescul.*) the god is called κακῶν θελκτήρ' ὀδυνάων. *Eur. Or.* 211, ὃ φίλον ἔπνου θέλγητρον, ἐπικουρον νόσου. *Hippol.* 477 ff.:

νοσοῦσα δ' εὖ πως τὴν νόσον καταστρέφον.
εἰσὶν δ' ἐπωδαὶ καὶ λόγοι θελκτήριοι
φάνησται τι τῆσδε φάρμακον νόσου.

Here the disease is love. Cf. also *Aesch. Choeph.* 666 πόνων θελκτήριος | στρωμαή, and *Suppl.* 456 γένοιτο μύθον μῦθος ἄν θελκτήριος, which L. and S. render *speech that heals speech*. The propinquity of ἱατρός and θέλξαν in *Pindar Nem.* 4. 2f. is worthy of notice.

The analogy of two verbs of similar meaning, κηλέω and πρᾶννω, may be regarded as confirming to some extent the application of θέλω to the soothing of pain or the healing of diseases. In the passage quoted above from the *Euthydemus*, the enchanter's art is called θηρίων τε καὶ νόσων κήλησις. In *Soph. Trach.* 1001 ff. the tortured Heracles cries

τίς γὰρ αἰοῖδος, τίς ὃ χειροτέχνης
ἱατορίας, ὃς τήνδ' ἄτην
χωρὶς Ζηνὸς κατακληίσει;

Just before we have τόδ' ἀκήλητον | μανίας ἄνθος, where the scholiast has the note ἀκήλητον· ἀνάτατον, ἀκαταπράννον. Cf. *Aelian N.A.* ii. 24, σοφάτατος . . . κηλεῖν τε δδύνας καὶ ἀφανίζειν. In *Soph. Phil.* 649 f. *Philoctetes* says:

φύλλον τί μοι πάρεστιν, ὃ μάλιστ' αἰ
κοιμῶ τόδ' ἔλκος, ὥστε πρᾶννει πάνν.

Cf. *Galen xiii.* p. 749 K., τὴν δόνην πρῶτον πρᾶννομεν. The interrelations of the verbs θέλω, κηλέω, and πρᾶννω, and their compounds, are shown by the following glosses: *Hesych.* κηλεῖ· πρᾶννει, θέλγει. καταβελγόμενα· καταπρᾶννόμενα, *Suidas*: κατακληύσαν· θέλγουσαν, πρᾶννουνσαν. θέλω, καταθέλω, and κηλέω are synonyms in *Lucian Indoct.* 12, where they are applied to the effect of music. Cf. also *Alciph.* ii. 14 (*Schepers' numbering*), where *Meineke's* objection to κατακληίσασα is ill founded.

The name of the disease ἔρπης survives in modern medicine, *herpes zoster* being the ailment commonly called *shingles*. The ancients, however, did not restrict the name to the eruptions now called by the generic name of *herpes*. *Hippocrates* speaks of ἔρπητες ἐσθιόμενοι (*Aphor.* 5. 22, περὶ ὑγρῶν χρήσιος 6), which are evidently corroding ulcers (cf. *Prorrh.* *Secund.* 13, *Galen ix.* p. 273 K.). Other writers seem to have classed *herpes* and *erysipelas* (*ignis sacer*) together (*Pliny*

N.H. xxvi. 121, *Celsus v.* 28. 4, *Marcel. Emp.* xi. 29, xx. 12); and *Galen's* discrimination (xi. p. 74f. K.) perhaps points to a confusion in other authorities. The reason for the manifold application of the name ἔρπης lies in its meaning, 'the creeping disease.' The ancients did not lose sight of this etymology, a fact which goes far to remove any difficulty that may still be felt with regard to the use of κατάθελξις, originally *charming*, in the sense of *allaying, healing*. Certain diseases were viewed in an imagery derived from animal life. ἔρπης was also called ὀφίτης (*Galen xix.* p. 440 K.). The language used in describing the φαγέδαινα in *Eur. Fr.* 790, is such as might be applied to a devouring animal (cf. *Aesch. Fr.* 252). θηρίον and θηρίωμα are terms for malignant ulcers (see L. and S. s.vv.), and it seems possible that this meaning of θηρίον may have been felt in addition to its abusive significance in *Dem. Aristog.* 95. Cf. also *καρκίνος*, cancer.

One of my objections to the reading ἔρπετων might be raised against ἐρπίτων also—namely, that the answer of *Tychiades* takes no account of it. To this I should reply that the disregarding of one of three *homogeneous* items in the speech of *Deinomachus* is natural enough; the mention of all three would savour of preciseness. But the failure of the skeptic to notice an allusion to serpent-charming, if it really belongs in the speech of his antagonist, is not so easily explained. Besides it may be that πυρετός and οἶδημα, the two items mentioned by *Tychiades*, were so symptomatic of some disease classed with, or confused with ἔρπης, as to render the express mention of that disease superfluous. Fever and swelling accompany *erysipelas*.

The argument for ἐρπίτων would be strengthened, if it could be shown that this disease, like fevers, received special attention from magical practitioners. Direct proof of this is not at hand. There can be no doubt, however, that the *medicina anilis* had its prescription for every fleshly ill. There is a peculiar sentence, perhaps a gloss, in *Pliny N.H.* xxx. 116: *Herpes quoque animal a Graecis vocatur, quo praecipue sanantur quaecumque serpunt*. Of an animal *herpes* we hear nothing elsewhere; but the sentence may be a confused allusion to a sympathetic cure of *herpes*, or some other 'creeping' disease, by means of a creeping animal. It follows directly upon an account of the medicinal uses of snails. Several astonishing remedies for *ignis sacer*—under which, it should be remembered, *Pliny* and *Celsus*

include *herpes zoster*—are recorded in Pliny *N.H.* xxx. 106. Among them are earth-worms, crickets, a viper's head, a snake's slough. The significance of the choice of creeping things is not to be overlooked. The blood of tortoises was used for anointing *ignis sacer* according to *N.H.* xxxii. 41. Some such remedy, accompanied by an appropriate ἐπιδή, may have been meant by Lucian in our passage.

The negroes of the Southern States tell of a cure for shingles that is worthy of any of the superstitious sympathizers who gathered around the bed of Eucrates. The eruption must be rubbed with the blood of a perfectly black cat. If the animal has a single white hair, the treatment will fail.

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ON THE USE OF THE ARTICLE WITH ORDINAL NUMERALS IN GREEK.

It is well known that the article is often omitted before the ordinal numeral in Greek, but none of the grammars gives the rule for its omission correctly. For example, Kühner-Gerth, i. § 465, 14 says: 'Ein mit einem Ordinalsworte verbundenes Substantiv kann sowohl ohne als mit dem Artikel stehen, je nachdem der Gegenstand entweder unbestimmt oder bestimmt werden soll.' The instances however show that the article is only omitted when the ordinal is used with words denoting time like *ἔτος*, *ἡμέρα*, *μῆν*, and with these it is almost invariably omitted unless a preposition is inserted. With other words the article is not omitted. The following instances are only from Thucydides, but the usage of other authors is the same. (1) In the following the article is omitted: i. 12 ἐξηκοστῷ ἔτει, 18 δεκάτῳ ἔτει; ii. 2 μηνὶ ἔκτῳ, 47 πρώτῳ ἔτος, 103 τρίτῳ ἔτος; iii. 25 τέταρτον ἔτος, 88 πέμπτον ἔτος, 116 πεντηκοστῷ ἔτει, 12. ἔκτον ἔτος; iv. 51 ἑβδομον ἔτος, 90 ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ, 101 ἑπτακαίδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, 116 ὄγδοον ἔτος; v. 39 ἐνδέκατον ἔτος, 51

δωδέκατον ἔτος, 56 τρίτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος, 81 τέταρτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος, 83 πέμπτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος; vi. 4 ἔτει πέμπτῳ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ, 7 ἔκτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος, 8 ἡμέρᾳ πέμπτῃ, 59 ἔτει εἰκοστῷ; vii. 18 ὄγδοον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος, 75 τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ; viii. 6 ἐνὸς δέον εἰκοστῶν ἔτος, 24 τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, 58 τρίτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει, 60 εἰκοστῶν ἔτος, 107 ἡμέρᾳ τετάρτῃ. (2) In the following the article is inserted: (a) without any apparent difference of meaning from those under (1). ii. 2 τῷ πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει, 70 τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος; v. 24 τοῦ ἐνδεκάτου ἔτους; (b) when a preposition is added: i. 87 ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει καὶ δεκάτῳ; vi. 59 ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ (ἔτει); (c) with words other than *ἔτος*, *ἡμέρα*, *μῆν*: ii. 59 μετὰ τὴν δευτέραν ἑσβολήν; iv. 31 τὸ πρῶτον φυλακτήριον; v. 20 τῷ πρώτῳ πολέμῳ τῷδε, 24 ὁ πρῶτος πόλεμος, 26 ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ πολέμῳ, 55 ὡς τὸ τρίτον μέρος, 68 ἡ πρώτη τάξις; vi. 44 ἡ πρώτη παρασκευή; viii. 17 ἡ πρὸς βασιλέα συμμαχία ἡ πρώτη.

JOHN THOMPSON.

NOTE ON HORACE, *ODES* III. iv. 9, 10.

Me fabulosae Volture in Apulo
Nutricis extra limen Apuliae.

Such is the reading of most MSS., the only important variant among the older ones being the *limina Pullie* of the Berne MS. and Paris A¹. It is of course impossible that it can be right. Horace would not have used the same word at the end of two successive lines with different quantity, even supposing that he would have repeated the word at all. Of the various suggestions—*limina*

Pulliae, *limina sedulae*, *limina patriae*, *limina Dauniae*, etc., etc., I have always preferred *Dauniae*, the conjecture of Paldamus, adopted by Ritter in his edition, on the theory that *Apuliae* was a gloss to explain *Dauniae*, which it finally ousted, and so forced the change to *limen*, *metri gratia*. It was not, however, until I chanced to be reading the first and third books of the *Odes* simultaneously with two different classes that the reading became a certainty in my own mind. Take the familiar I. xxii.

Integer vitae scelerisque purus
non eget Mauris iaculis neque arcu
nec venenatis gravida sagittis,

Fusce, pharetra,
sive per Syrtes iter aestuosas
sive facturus per inhospitalem
Caucasum vel quae loca *fabulosus*
lambit Hydaspes.

namque me silva lupus in Sabina,
dum meam canto Lalagen et ultra
terminum curis vagor expeditis,
fugit inermem,

quale portentum neque militaris
Daunias latis alit aesculetis
nec Iubae tellus generat leonum
arida *nutrix*.

pone me pigris ubi nulla campis
arbor aestiva recreatur aura,
quod latus mundi nebulae malusque
Iuppiter urget;

pone sub curru nimium propinqui
solis in terra domibus negata:
dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
dulce loquentem.

Here we have a situation very similar to that in the seven stanzas III. iv. 9-36—a mock-heroic portent, and an assurance of safety in the most dangerous and distant quarters, in I. xxii. to the upright man, and in III. iv. to the friend of the Muses. A wolf is said always to fly from a grown man in broad daylight, and a small child, tired out with play, would not be prevented from falling asleep by the fear of bears or vipers. But the point to which I wish to draw attention is the occurrence of three striking words in this poem, *fabulosus*, l. 7; *Daunias*, l. 14;

nutrix,¹ l. 16. These, if the suggestion *Dauniae* is right, are all collected in the two lines that are the subject of this note. Such imitations by Horace of himself are of course familiar to everyone: this one may be worth special note, as (in my view at least) it settles a disputed reading.² Perhaps I may be allowed to quote another instance of an imitation in the third book of the first, but in this case Horace has expanded one line in Book I. into three in Book III.

Odes I. xviii. 5. Quis post vina gravem
militiam aut pauperiem crepat?

Cp. III. xxi. 18-20.

viresque et addis cornua *pauperi*
post te³ neque iratos trementi
regum apices neque militum arma.

I have noticed many similar instances in Vergil: I might quote here *Aeneid* vii. 250-1.

talibus Ilionei dietis *defixa* Latinus
obtutu tenet ora, soloque immobilis haeret.

and compare *Aen.* i. 495.

dum stupet *obtutuque haeret defixus* in uno,

where three salient words are collected consecutively into one line.

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¹ Note that this incidentally supports *nutricis*, III. iv. 10, as against the variant *altricus*.

² If the parallelism between the two odes is to be pressed, *Syrtes* in I. xxii. 5 should be taken of the sea and not of the sandy coast that borders it; otherwise there is nothing to balance *navita* etc. in III. iv. 30.

³ sc. *pia testa*.

ON TWO PASSAGES OF THE PANEGYRICUS MESSALLAE.

THERE seems to be some fatality about the punctuation of the first lines of this piece, which Mr. Némethy in his just published edition would have to be the work of Propertius. I thought my recent text of Tibullus in the Oxford Series had escaped, but I observe with consternation that this is not so.

The true connexion of verses 3-7 was first pointed out by Scaliger, though in 3 he read *at* for the correct *ac* of the Cujacian Fragment, and the whole passage may be subjected to modern punctuation as follows:

Te, Messalla, canam quamquam tua cognita
uirtus

terret: ut infirmæ nequeant subsistere uires,

NO. CLXXIX. VOL. XX.

incipiam tamen, ac, meritas si carmina laudes
deficient, humilis tantis sim conditor actis
nec tua praeter te chartis intexere quisquam
facta queat, dictis ut non maiora supersint,
est nobis uoluisse satis.

The argument is in substance this: I will sing your praises, Messalla, although I am deterred by my consciousness of your eminence. My strength may prove unequal to the task (*ut* concessive), but still I will take it in hand, and if my poem fall short of your merits and I prove a composer that cannot rise to the level of your achievements, no one but yourself being able so to chronicle your exploits as not to leave over greater deeds than he has celebrated, the wish will

be enough for me. The *si* of v. 3 covers all the verbs down to *queat* (upon which *super-sint* depends), and its apodosis is *est-satis*.

The sense of the whole passage as well as the construction of lines 2-3 may be illustrated from Ovid *Pont.* III. iv. 79 '*ut desint vires, tamen est laudanda voluntas.*'

70 sqq.

illum inter geminae nantem confinia mortis
nec Scyllae saevo conterruit impetus ore
cum canibus rabidas inter fera serperet
undas e.q.s.

That l. 71 can be construed is probably the reason why up till now it has never, to my knowledge, been suspected. For all that, *saevo* (*sseo* in the tradition) seems to be a corruption of *seno*. The six swooping heads of Scylla, each making prize of a man, are the most notable feature of the description in the *Odyssey*, 12. 90 (cf. 100) and 246; the next most notable one is Odysseus' vain intrepidity (*nec—conterruit*), ib. 228 *αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καταδὺς κλυτὰ τεύχεα καὶ δύο δοῦρε μάκρ' ἐν χερσὶν ἑλών κ.τ.ε.* And our author would appear to have combined the two.

J. P. POSTGATE.

ON THREE PASSAGES OF THE *SILVAE* OF STATIUS.

II. i. 229

insontes animas nec portitor arcet
nec durae comes ille ferae.

It must be conceded to Mr. Housman (*C.R.* 1906, p. 42) and to Mr. Slater (*Journal of Philology* xxx. p. 159) that line 230 is corrupt. Mr. Housman proposes *serae* for *ferae*, with inattention to the meaning of *comes*. Bars do not go with dogs or anything else, and when Cerberus went for a run, he left this 'companion' behind: Prop. iv. 7. 90 '*errat et abiecta Cerberus ipse sera*' quoted by Mr. Housman. Mr. Slater proposes *prompsisse* for *comes ille* to be construed with *arcet*. ('I bid thee come) for stainless souls neither Charon nor the stern fiends forbid us to have forth' (the italics are his). He has somehow persuaded himself that if *se promere* can be used of people letting themselves out of a wooden horse *Aen.* ii. 260 *promere* may equally well be used of 'us' getting a spirit out of Hades. Far easier is it to conjecture that here, as so often in the *Silvae*, the trouble began with a wrong division of words and that *comes ille* has come from *coma s(a)eua*, the snaky fell of Cerberus: Ov. *Her.* ix. 94 '*Cerberos implicitis angue minante comis.*' *saeua* is properly applied to a 'custos' (cf. Tib. i. 2. 5). *duræ* should no doubt be *diræ* ς . In *ille* we have another example of the stupid botching of which I have given numerous illustrations in my *Silvula*, *Philologus*, 1905, pp. 132 sq.

II. vii. 100

sic et tu, rabidi nefas tyranni,
iussu praecipitem subire Lethen.

This is the punctuation that appears in the Corpus text, while the ordinary one (Klotz, Phillimore) is: (rabidi nefas tyranni!). The Corpus has no note here and the deviation may accordingly be thought capricious; but it is not. It was suggested by the passage in the *Pharsalia*, of which this contains a reminiscence, viii. 549 '*si meruit tam claro nomine Magnus | Caesaris esse nefas.*' The words are to be taken in apposition to *tu iussus*.

IV. iv. 69.

nos facta aliena canendo
uergimur in senium: propriis tu pulcher in
armis
ipse canenda geres paruoque exempla parabis.
magna Getae, dignos quem iam nunc belliger
actus
poscit auos praestatque domi nouisse trium-
phos.

So the Matritensis and the Teubner text of Klotz. But *auus* is reported from the excerpts of Politian, and Herr Vollmer, ignorant that Statius employs the ancient form in -os which persisted into the Flavian era (see *C.R.* xvii. 350; cf. Lindsay *Journal of Philology*, xxix. p. 32, Housman on Juvenal, vi. O 13, p. 50), adopts the corruption. Mommsen, in his paper on Victorius Marcellus, the subject of this poem (*Hermes* xiii. 429), had by an oversight referred *auus* to Marcellus' father. And the commentator on Statius follows in his wake, innocently remarking '*belliger* von Kriegsthaten des Vectius M. wissen wir nichts,' and being thus unable to understand *praestat* alters it with Peyraredus to

perstat. Marcellus' father was indeed a nobody, but his son had married into the family of the Hosidii Getae; and thus young Geta could be addressed (75) as

stemmate materno felix, uirtute paterna.

The *auos* then is the boy's maternal grandfather and may be identified with the Cn. Hosidius Geta whose successes in Mauretania are recorded by Dio Cassius (60. 9) and whose gallantry in Britain (A.D. 43) gained him the *ornamenta triumphalia*, ὥστε καὶ τιμὰς ἐπινικίους, καίπερ οὐχ ὑπατευκώς, λαβεῖν (*ib.* 20). He was consul (suffectus) with L. Vagellius at the close of 45 or 46,

C.I.L. x. 1401. In 95 when this poem was written he would have reached a very advanced age; but in all probability he was dead. This also suits the language of the poet better: *poscit* is more impressive if the claim comes from the dead. The construction *praestat nouisse* appears to be on the pattern of 'dat habere,' 'tradam portare,' etc.; but *praestat* may govern *nouisse* directly.¹

J. P. POSTGATE.

¹ Mr. Phillimore gives *qui* for *quem* in 72, and in 73

poscit avo spernitque domi novisse triumphos.
What improvement this is I cannot see.

NOTES.

AD LUCIANI ΛΟΤΚΙΟΝ Η ΟΝΟΝ C. 34.

Luciani Λοῦκ. ἡ' Ον. c. 34 p. 603 (Equarum pastor, cuius tutelae Lucius asinus fuerat traditus, ceterumque servitium, nuntiata dominorum morte fugam capessere statuunt, raptimque copiis agrestibus in dorso iumentorum congestis facessunt, magno quidem Lucii dolore propter sarcinarum pondus, maiore tamen gaudio quod virilitatis iacturam effugerit, quam ob nimiam ferocitatem ei comminati erant pastores): 'ὁ δὲ νομεὺς τῶν ἵππων καμὲ παραλαβὼν καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα δυνατὸς ἦν συλλαβὼν ἐπεκατέδησέ μοι καὶ ταῖς ἵπποις***. ἐγὼ δὲ ἡχθόμεν μὲν φέρων φορτίον ὄνου ἀληθινοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄσμενος τὸ ἐμπόδιον τοῦτο τῆς ἐμῆς ἐδεξάμην ἐκτομῆς.'

Iniuria Dindorf et Iacobitz lacunam statuerunt; non enim deest aliquid sed abundat; quippe corrigendum est:

'ὁ δὲ νομεὺς τῶν ἵππων καμὲ παραλαβὼν [καὶ] πάνθ' ὅσα δυνατὸς ἦν e.q.s.' i.e. 'pastor equarum qui me in tutelam receperat e.q.s.'; spectant haec ad c. 27 'καλέσας οὖν (sc. ὁ δεσπότης) τῶν ἱπποφορβῶν τινὰ τοῦτ' με παραδίδωσιν.' Eandem rem, quamquam fusius, ut fere solet, enarrat Apuleius *Met.* viii. c. 15 p. 174 12 v. d. Vliet: 'sed equorum magister qui me curandum magna ille quidem <cum> cura suscepit, quidquid in casula pretiosum conditumque servabat, meo atque aliorum iumentorum dorso repositum asportans sedes pristinas deserit. gerebamus infantulos et mulieres e.q.s.—nec me pondus

sarcinae quamquam enormis urgebat, quippe gaudiali fuga detestabilem illum exectorem virilitatis meae relinquentem.'

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* * *

'MOTH AND RUST'—A CLASSICAL IMAGE.

θησαυρίζετε δὲ ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὅπου οὐτε σὴς οὐτε βρῶσις ἀφανίζει.—Matth. vi. 20.

It appears that none of the commentators on these words has cited from Greek poetry a passage so similar in thought and expression that the parallel can hardly be fortuitous. It is from Pindar, *Frg.* 222 (243) (ascribed, it is true, by the *Schol.* ad Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 407, to Sappho, but quoted on Hesiod *Opp.* 430 by Proclus, on the authority of Plutarch, with greater probability from Pindar) and runs thus:—

Δίδς παῖς ὁ χρυσός·
κείνον οὐ σὴς οὐδὲ κίς δάπτει.

Surely, if these words, or something like them, were current throughout Greek-speaking lands in the first century as a proverb, the passage from the Gospel by an allusion to them gains much in force and beauty.

W. T. L.

REVIEWS.

BLAYDES' *SOPHOCLES ANTIGONE*.

Sophoclis Antigone: denuo recensuit et brevi annotatione critica instruxit FREDERICUS H. M. BLAYDES, M.A., OXON. Halis Saxonum: 1905. Pp. 104. Price M. 2.

It is nearly half a century ago since Dr. Blaydes issued the first instalment of his edition of Sophocles; this instalment contained the Trilogy. During the interval that has elapsed since 1859, he has completed the Sophocles, issued an edition of Aristophanes in some dozen or more volumes; has published *Adversaria* upon most of the Greek classical authors, as well as an edition of the Aeschylean Trilogy; and now, in extreme old age, has girded himself to the task of re-editing the Sophoclean Trilogy. Of that edition—which is almost wholly 'critical'—two parts are already out; the third, containing the 'Antigone', is before us. The Nestor of English philologists has not laid his pen aside even yet; on the cover of the book now under notice we observe the announcement:

SUB PRELO: ANALECTA COMICA
GRAECA.

It is, indeed, a wonderful record of work achieved; and we must all heartily congratulate Dr. Blaydes on the services he has rendered to the cause of Classical philology. If this scholar's work is less known in England than it ought to be, he cannot complain of any lack of attention in Holland and Germany.

The present work exhibits all Dr. Blaydes's virtues, and vices, as a commentator. There is the same wealth of conjecture, the same maddening iteration, the same tantalizing incompleteness in the survey of the critical field. Despite all that Jebb has done for Sophocles, in our generation, Dr. Blaydes takes singularly little account of his work (except, possibly, in the 'Addenda').

Let me take one or two examples of what is implied in the above animadversion.

In the *Antigone* there are two instances where the older scholia give a sure clue to a reading otherwise lost. The first is l. 40, the second l. 235. As regards the former passage (where the MSS give *θάπτουσα*), Blaydes reads as follows:

κλαίουσ' ἂν ἡ θάπτουσα προσθῆναι πλόν. . . .

that is, he disregards the apparently certain reading (suggested by the Schol.) 'θάπτουσα, adopts (in his text) Haakma's κλαίουσ' ἂν (for λίσουσ' ἂν: Heath κλύουσ' ἂν), and changes προσθῆναι into προσθῆναι.

In 126 Blaydes keeps the genitives ἀντιπάλων . . . δράκοντος (abandoning his old conjecture *δυσχείρωτα*), but makes no mention of the conjecture proposed, and adopted, by Jebb.

Coming to line 130—a well-known crux—Blaydes, adhering to his old suggestion Καπανῆ' (for *καναχῆς*), suggests, without the slightest warrant, μεστὸν for χρυσού. Thus:—

μεστὸν Καπανῆ' ὑπερόπτας :

giving, as his reason, that the participle ὀρμῶντα is sufficient indication that a proper name is required. But this is to re-write one's author, not to edit—much less explain—him. In l. 149 ἀντιχαρεύσα (though excellently supported by Jebb) is branded as 'vitiosum,' and ἄρτι χαρεύσα adopted in the text, though in the crit. n. ἄλκαρ ἔχουσα is put forward as a suggestion.

No passage is likely to test the literary sense of a commentator more exactly than the highly impassioned lines 593–602. Roughly speaking, Jebb, in his text, departs some three times from the MSS; Blaydes seven or eight times. Yet a glance at his critical notes shows that he is by no means satisfied with the text he adopts. This is how his text runs:

ἀρχαῖα τὰ λαβδακιδᾶν δόμων ὀρῶμαι
πήματ' ἄλλ' ἄλλοις ἐπὶ πῆμασι πίπτοντ',
οὐδ' ἀπαλλάσσει γενεὰν γένος, ἄλλ' ἐρείπει
θεῶν τις, οὐδ' ἔχει λύσιν.
νῖν γὰρ ἐσχάτας ἀπὸ
ρίζας ὁ τέτατο θάλος ἐν Οἰδίου δόμοις
κατ' αὐτὴν φοινία θεῶν τῶν
νερότερον ἀμὰ κοπῆς
λόγου τ' ἀνοία καὶ φρενῶν Ἐρινύς.

The following are the changes that are proposed (in the crit. n.):—for δόμων he conjectures σκοπῶν; ὀρῶμαι is stigmatized as 'suspectum'; instead of Dindorf's ἄλλ' ἄλλοις he proposes ἀφθόνως; for γένος, ἄγος; for ἔχει λύσιν, ἔστιν λύσις; for ὁ τέτατο, ἐτέτατο (this

conj. was orig. made by Hermann); for *φάος*, *θάλος* (though it is admitted that *τέτατο φάος* finds good support in *Philoct.* 831); for *φρενῶν*, *Θεῶν*.

But this is not all. On referring to the *addenda* (Dr. Blaydes seems unable to dispense with the inevitable 'addenda'), we find the following note:

'Quamvis longe aptius de *φάει* quam de *θάλει* dicretur *τέτατο*, vix dubitari potest quin vera lectio hic sit *θάλει* (et *κοπής*).'

One turns, with some interest, to lines 23-25, by way of seeing how this passage fares in Dr. Blaydes's hands. This is how the passage appears:

'Ἐτεοκλέα μὲν, ὡς λέγουσ', ὑπὸ χθονὸς
ἐκρυψε, τοῖς ἐνερθεν ἐντιμον νεκροῖς.

In other words, the editor has conflated three lines into two, and has arbitrarily changed *κατά* into *ὑπό*, remarking (in the

addenda) 'melius aberit versus *futilis interpolatus*.'

In the opening lines of the play, what is the editor's attitude towards the *locus vexatus* *ἄτης ἄτερ*? Admitting that the words offend, he reads (from his own conjecture, made in 1859)

οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐτ' ἀλγεινὸν οὐτ' ἀτηρὸν οὐτ'
ἄτιμον κ.τ.λ.

but makes no mention of his alternative conjecture (also published in 1859) *ἀτηφόρον*, one of the best yet proposed (see Jebb's note).

That this edition contains much valuable matter, will not be denied; but, of the many dozens of conjectures Dr. Blaydes put forward, a very scant percentage is likely to find favour with future editors. The book is rich in its collection of parallel passages; and herein, perhaps, lies its chief claim upon the attention of scholars.

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GOODWIN'S *MIDIAS* AND *DE CORONA* OF DEMOSTHENES.

Demosthenes against Midias. With Critical and Explanatory Notes and an Appendix by WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1906. Demy 8vo. Pp. viii+188. 9s.

It is matter for mutual congratulation amongst lovers of Greek literature that Prof. Goodwin is devoting his energies to editing Demosthenes. Except the speeches undertaken by Dr. Sandys separately or in conjunction with the late Prof. Paley, an English student is reduced to read his Demosthenes in the main with the assistance of antiquated commentaries or such knowledge as he himself possesses. It is true that such independent study breeds a sturdy judgment and individual appreciation of the orator; but there is much to-day, ascertained and demonstrated past question, which a young student cannot easily fall in the way of, and in consequence, either wastes time in impossible conjectures of his author's meanings or sees darkly what he might have seen clearly.

To begin with, Prof. Goodwin gives us a text deduced from the manuscript tradition by the rigidly scientific methods now understood to be alone legitimate or fruitful.

Then he gives a sufficient commentary on difficulties,—obscurities, negligences, allusions—bringing in the evidence of new discoveries like Aristotle's *Ἀθ. πολ.* and inscriptions to elucidate his text; and lastly, deliberately excluding from his notes such comments as too many other editors supply—as he says, 'using the oration to teach Greek syntax,'—he throws what little he allows himself of such writing into an Appendix.

I have already said that Prof. Goodwin can be relied upon to give a generally sound text. In a few places only are his conclusions debatable. In § 55⁴ the reading of E (*ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν*) seems at least arguable, if *αὐτῶν*=*τῶν μαντιῶν*. In § 85⁷ *ἀποφύρειν* of Σ might be supported by § 86⁶ *ἀνώματος ἀπηνέχθη*. In § 99⁴ (quoted below) I see no reason for rejecting *προσῆκεν* on the single authority of A. In § 129⁵⁻⁶ *φοβοῦμαι . . μή . . τοιοῦτός τις ὑμῖν λογισμὸς ἐμπέσῃ 'τί οὖν; σὺ δεινότερ' ἢ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς ἕκαστος πεποιθώς ἀγανακτεῖς*; the argument seems to me to require *σὺ <οὐδὲν> δεινότερ' ἢ κ.τ.λ.* The previous section says 'had Midias injured me only, I should have been afraid that he would escape punishment by pointing to his general good behaviour.' Then in § 129 we

have 'as it is, his conduct has been so bad to many others that I fear, when you hear how others have suffered, you will think that I am no worse treated than the rest.' A more serious difficulty presents itself in § 154⁸⁻¹⁰ where Σ, P, Y, O have *ὅτε σύνδύ' ἦμεν οἱ τριήραρχοι καὶ ταναλώματα πάντ' ἐκ τῶν ιδίων οἰκῶν* (the editor by a misprint has *οἰκαν*) καὶ τὰς ναὺς ἐπληροῦμεθ' αὐτοί. A has *ιδίων ἑδapaνῶμεν*, F *ιδ. οἰκ. ἑδαπ.* Prof. Goodwin after Schaefer reads *διωκοῦμεν*, which may be right and must give the right sense. The Scholion, *σύμπαντα οἰκοθεν οἱ τριη. παρείχον* suggests to the editor '*οἰκοθεν παρείχον* for *ἐκ τῶν ιδίων οἰκῶν*.' I should doubt if he can really intend the third person—which seems an impossible construction; but I would suggest *εἶχον* as the original reading, and I believe that the converse confusion of ΕΙΧ with ΟΙΚ is the source of the perplexing *μετείχον* in Thuc. ii. 16 § 1, where *μετώκουν* would be another turn for the following *τὰς μεταναστάσεις ἐποιοῦντο*.

Another textual correction removes the last obstacle to accepting what Prof. Goodwin rightly decides to be the true date of Demosthenes' birth. In § 154 Demosthenes declares, according to the present text, *δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη γέγονα*. Since the speech, as there is good reason for thinking, was written in 349 B.C., and the evidence is strong for 384 B.C. as the year of Demosthenes' birth, some explanation is needed. I have no doubt that ΔΔΔΠ should be read for ΔΔΔΙΙ, a suggestion supported amongst other evidence by the figures given at the end of so many speeches recording the number of lines in the Alexandrian MS. from which these copies are derived.

Perhaps, however, the most difficult sentence textually is the long and perhaps inchoate period, if it be a period, which fills §§ 215, 216. In this the common text has introduced order by inserting a *μέν* and *δέ* absent from Σ, A, P, Y, O, thus producing a sentence of this general form: *νῦν δὲ τοῦτο . . . ἂν δεινότατον συμβαίῃ ἐι παρ' αὐτὰ <μέν> τὰδικήμαθ' οὕτως ὀργίλως . . . ἔχοντες ἐφαίνεσθε* (Σ has *φαίνεσθε*) *ὥστε . . . ἐβόατε καὶ ἀνεκράγετε . . . καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀπαντῶντες . . . τοιαῦτα λέγοντες*: *ἐπειδὴ <δὲ> κεχειροτονήνται μὲν ὕβρις τὸ πᾶν γμ' εἶναι . . . τηρικαῖτ' ἀποψηφίσθε ἡμεῖς*. Prof. Goodwin rightly ejects these particles, and then wishes to eject also *φαίνεσθε*. It would seem wiser to treat the sentence as regular enough down to *λέγοντες*, to mark there with a dash an anacoluthon and put a question mark after *ἡμεῖς*. Perhaps *φαίνεσθε* even may be defensible if *ἔχοντες* be

regarded as imperfect. But conversely in 202⁶ *ἐὰν μὲν τι τῶν δεόντων ἀπαγγελθῇ τῇ πόλει . . . οὐδαμοῦ πώποτε Μειδίας τῶν συνηγομένων . . . ἐξητάσθη τῷ δήμῳ, ἂν δέ τι φλαῖρον . . . πρῶτος ἀνέστηκεν εὐθὺς καὶ δημηγορεῖ*, where the editor translates 'those who sympathized with the people,' I should like to ask consideration for the view that *ἐξητάσθη*, though with *οὐδαμοῦ πώποτε*, is a gnomic aorist (Prof. Goodwin himself on § 190³ *οὐδὲν ἐν ἡμῖν πώποτ' εἶπον . . . ἀλλ' ἔργον λέγειν ὅτι ἂν συμφέρειν ἡμῖν ἡγῶμαι* calls attention to the close kinship of these uses of the aorist). The form of the protasis and the parallelism of the sentence to my mind make this more natural. And if this be accepted, *τῶν συνηγομένων* will be 'those who (as a rule) sympathize,' i.e. the popular party.

These, however, are minor matters, on which doubtless opinion will remain divided: the general effect of the text is that the reader will follow his author with lively pleasure, and whenever he is tempted to turn aside and examine the textual evidence is gratified to find on how firm a basis it rests.

As regards the editor's interpretations, there are naturally more pronouncements which seem to another mind questionable. In the well-known passage about the arbitrator Straton there can be no doubt that Professor Goodwin has misunderstood some part at any rate of the text.¹

Briefly to indicate where the editor seems to stumble, I may say that in § 85⁵⁻⁶ *τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον οἷός τ' ἦν πείθειν αὐτὸν . . . καὶ πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς εἰδίδον ὥς δ' ἔδουχεραῖνον οὗτοι τὸ πᾶγμα καὶ οὐδετέρους ἐπειθον, ἀπειλήσας . . . τί ποιεῖ;* does not mean 'he was at first successful in his attempt to persuade' but 'first, he was capable of soliciting them and offered them a bribe: when this failed, what next?' In § 83⁶ *ὅπερ (τὸν ταλαίπωρον ἀπολώλεκεν)* is better referred to Straton's honesty (*πάνν χρηστός* just before) than to the remoter *γίνεται μοι διαιτητής*. As to 'the arbiters' last day (§ 86⁶) the editor has seen farther than his predecessors when he says 'we cannot suppose that Athens was left without public arbiters for even a few weeks at the end of each year.' But when he interprets 'the last day' to be 'the last appointed for hearing complaints against individual arbiters,' and thinks

¹ On § 84 (*οὗτος διαίτων ἡμῖν ὁ Στράτων . . . τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπισχεῖν εἰδείτό μου τὴν διαίταν . . . τὸ τελευταῖον δ' . . . κατεδίητσειν*) by an oversight which is most unfortunate in so difficult a passage, we have 'In this view, our passage means, that after all legal devices had been tried in vain . . . Midias appealed to Demosthenes to suspend the arbitration indefinitely.' Midias should, of course, be Straton.

'this might come in either of the last two months of the year,' he makes the reader ask 'Was Athens left then without this process against unjust arbiters for some weeks at the end of each year?' And this distrust of the proposed interpretation is strengthened by observing the strange sense given to the words (§ 87⁷) *καθάπαξ ἄτιμος γέγονε καὶ οὔτε λαχεῖν ἀδικηθέντα οὔτε διαιτητὴν γενέσθαι Μειδία οἱ δ' ὅλως τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν βαδίζειν, ὡς ἔοικε, ἔστ' ἀσφαλές*, which, it is said, 'implies that Straton, if he had not become ἄτιμος, might have acted as arbiter after the time here mentioned.' It would be as proper to infer that, if he had not become ἄτιμος, he might have walked the same street as Midias. Yet this is given as an argument to bear out the contention that 'it cannot be the last day of their term of office, which would always be the last day of the year.'¹

In § 99³ *ἄλλ' ἵστε δήπου ὅτι τοὺς ἀδίκως τι ἄσχεοντας ὃ μὴ δυνήσονται φέρειν ἔλεειν προσήκει, οὐ τοὺς ὧν πεποιήκασιν δεινῶν δίκην δίδοντας*, what is to me a difficulty is unnoticed by Prof. Goodwin. How are we to understand *φέρειν*? Presumably it is 'to put up with,' 'submit to' (for which cf. §§ 143¹⁰, 150⁴, 197¹⁰). In § 124¹⁻⁴ too, where we have *οὐ δὴ δέῃ παρορᾶν τὰ τοιαῦτα, οἷδὲ τὸν ἐξείργοντα . . . τὸ δίκην . . . λαμβάνειν . . . ἄλλο τι χρὴ νομίζειν ποιεῖν ἢ τὰς τῆς ἰσηγορίας καὶ τὰς τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἡμῶν μετουσίᾳ ἀφαίρεισθαι*, I should have liked a note, warning the reader that ἡμῶν should not be taken with *μετουσίᾳ*, but with *ἀφαίρεισθαι*. Besides being in harmony with the Attic rule, this is supported by the subsequent *ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἴσως διεσωσάμην . . . οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τί ποιήσετε κ.τ.λ.* (a question by the way not answered, as the editor declares, in § 125¹).

In one respect I venture to think the editor betrays an intellectual deficiency which interferes with his duty to his author. He seems occasionally to betray a regrettable absence of the oratorical instinct. This leads, to take one example, in § 147⁷⁻⁹ to a curious misapprehension of the sense. The text runs *τοὺς Ἑρμῆς (Ἀλκibiάδης) περιέκοπτεν. ἅπαντα μὲν, οἶμαι, τάσεβήματα τῆς αὐτῆς ὀργῆς δίκαιον ἀξιοῖν. τὸ δ' ὅλως ἀφανίζειν ἱερὰ ἐστὶ ὅτι τοῦ κόπτειν τοὺς Ἑρμῆς διαφέρει*. The editor writes, 'a strange comparison between the total destruction of sacred ornaments and the mere mutilation of the Hermae.' Demosthenes passionately, but naturally enough, styles Midias' actions 'an entire abolition of

public worship, the sweeping away of all religious rites at one stroke.' So the Scholia quoted by Prof. Goodwin understood it: 'ἱερὰ' μόνον ἢ ἀρχαῖα (ancient text, whereas later MSS. read *ἱερὰ ἐσθῆτα*) ἔχει, ἐμφαντικῇ οὔσα πολλῶν, οἷον στεφάνων, ἐσθῆτος, αὐτῆς τῆς ἐν ἱερῷ πανηγύρεως. The same deficiency is the source of an unimportant error in a note on § 106⁶, *εἰ γὰρ ἐν ὧν ἐπεβούλευσε κατῳρθῶσεν, ἀπάντων ἂν ἀπεστερήμην ἐγὼ καὶ μὴδὲ ταφῆναι προσυπῆρχεν οἴκοι μοι*. It is as unpleasant as explaining a joke to have to point out here that the orator is, in an exaggerated and heightened sentence, roundly declaring of each and all Midias' schemes what is true only of one. But the editor writes *ἐν ὧν ἐπ.* 'is the one of his schemes' which was designed to convict Dem. of murder.' Similarly, in the notes on 87¹⁻² *παρὰ πάντας τοὺς νόμους* and *κλητῆρ'* Demosthenes' representation of the facts is, I think, too fully accepted as exact; but it would require considerable space to discuss this properly.

But these are slight blemishes: the book is generally sound, sensible, and illuminating. Besides explaining most difficulties in a way that finally disposes of them, Prof. Goodwin gives us valuable information as to the Demosthenic uses of words. In the case of one indeed his editing of the *De Corona* first has perverted his judgment. In that speech Demosthenes twice uses *δημοτικός* for 'a friend of the people,' with some reference to Aeschines iii. 168-170, and in the *Midias* Prof. Goodwin would give it the same sense. But in neither of the *Midias* passages will this view bear examination. In § 183⁸ *ἐὰν μὲν τῶν μετρίων τινὰ καὶ δημοτικῶν* is opposed to *ἐὰν δὲ πλούσιος ὦν τις* and in § 209² *ἡμῶν τῶν πολλῶν καὶ δημοτικῶν ἀνθρώπων* is opposed to *οὔτοι (πλούσιοι καὶ τριήραρχοι) μετὰ Μειδίου καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων τούτῳ*. There can be little doubt that here the word means 'one of the common people.'

Of misprints there are very few. I have noted § 177⁵ (note) *ἐχθ'* for *ἐχεθ'*, § 39⁶ (note) *τοῖς νόμοις* (wrong fount), § 186⁶ crit. note *εἰκὺς* for *εἰκός*, *λῆξις κληρον* (for *κλήρου*) § 78¹ (note), *οἶκαν* above mentioned, § 154⁹, in § 161¹ note 365 for 355 B.C., § 79⁸ an accent dropped on *κάκ'* and in § 170¹ note *τῇ*, § 130⁴ *εἴθ'* wrongly accentuated, § 226¹ note *τὸ θ' ἔατρον*, § 215⁷ note *ὡς* (should be *ὥστε*), § 201⁴ *ἐγὼ* and § 200² where *τίς* most unfortunately receives an accent.

A note that *τιμῇ* is used in modern Greek for price is twice repeated §§ 49⁴, 149⁸. In § 146⁵⁻⁶ *ὀτιοῦν ἄκοντες παθεῖν κάλλιον εἶναι νομίζοντες ἢ ἐκόντες ὑβρίζεσθαι*

¹ The Editor points out to me that the source of the mistake is that the subject of *λαχεῖν* has been taken to be Straton.

συγχορησαι, the case of ἀκοντες deserves a note as much as § 17⁶ αὐτὸς συγκροτεῖν φέρο δαῖν (a cross-reference to which should be given on § 143⁴ where the same syntax is used). Further, to conclude with one or two other matters on which for myself I should have been glad of Prof. Goodwin's plain statement or opinion, are οἶμαι and οἶμαι used haphazard and interchangeably? or is οἶμαι reserved for the last place in a sentence as in § 80² where Σ, A have it, while other MSS. have οἶμαι? In § 1³ at the end of a sentence οἶμαι is in most MSS., οἶμαι with ο above the line in Σ, and uncorrected in F. But in § 220⁸ ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶμαι. And how are εἵνεκα and εἵνεκα distinguished? In § 56⁵ we have ἐτάξατε. τίνας εἵνεκα; ὅπως κ.τ.λ.—a sufficiency of short syllables (A has εἵνεκα): in § 8² τῶν ἰδίων τινὲς εἵνεκα γίγνεσθαι on the evidence of P, Y only: in § 227⁸ πάντων οὖν εἵνεκα τῶν εἰρημένων supported by Σ, P, Y, O. And lastly the uses of ἐπὶ might be re-examined with profit: § 21¹ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων is masculine surely, not neuter, cf. §§ 183¹¹, 225³; in § 66⁴ ἐφ' ἅπασι reads to me more like the same use as § 126⁵ οὐκ ἔσθ' ἐφ' ὅτῳ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐγὼ μόνος ᾔδίκημαι, than as the editor says 'on every pretext.'

I cannot lay down my pen without adding that I have seldom enjoyed any edition of a classical masterpiece so much as I have this edition of the *Midias*.

Demosthenes on the Crown. Edited by
WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN. Cambridge:
at the University Press, 1904. Pp. viii +
296. Crown 8vo. 6s.

THIRTY-FIVE years ago Mr. Arthur Holmes published his edition of the *De Corona* in the *Catena Classicorum*. Generations of schoolboys and undergraduates have put its serviceableness to the test, and found it not wanting. Prof. Goodwin has now prepared what 'is chiefly an abridgement of the large edition of Demosthenes on the Crown' which was published by him in 1901. He has produced a book exactly commensurate with the needs of such students as would formerly have turned to Holmes' book. The practical experience of a Sixth Form finds expression in the verdict that all difficulties which present themselves to a student's mind are dealt with by the editor, and that there is never any room for doubt as to the way in which he explains them or interprets a passage. This is no small praise, and should give the book an indefeasible title

to its consideration and use by classical teachers. It is indeed characterized, generally, by the same excellences as I have already noted in the same editor's *Midias*.

The very different character of the two speeches naturally leads Prof. Goodwin to adopt a somewhat different method of treatment. For the *De Corona* we are given an invaluable Historical Sketch of fifty pages, which furnishes the reader with the facts, necessarily to be known, if he would appreciate the relevance of the various arguments used and the justice of the interpretation given by the orator to the several events discussed. It is first in the tone of this Sketch and the political judgments it contains that Prof. Goodwin will probably be thought, at least in this country, to be not wholly commendable. He strikes the keynote of his comments in his Preface.

'I have made no attempt to be neutral on the question of the patriotism and the statesmanship of Demosthenes in his policy of uncompromising resistance to Philip. It seems to me that the time for such neutrality is past That the policy of resistance to Philip's aggressions failed at last is no discredit to the patriotism or the statesmanship of Demosthenes.'

The patriotism of Demosthenes, his strenuous loyalty to the high traditions of the past, the value of his example, and the inspiration of his ideals,—these none would deny; but when Prof. Goodwin calls us to admire the statesmanship of the orator, he is on debatable, if not untrustworthy, ground. Without going the length of contending that the very defeat of Demosthenes' policy proves that it was mischievously miscalculated, we may fairly insist that it is reasonable before commending it unreservedly to review it from other standpoints than of an Athenian partizan. If Caesar's cause was blessed by Heaven, it was blessed no less by the provincials: and, if a handful of Roman citizens were worth more than a multitude of provincials, yet for generations unborn the Imperial government was justified by the event as better than a republic, even from the highest and noblest point of view. The humanizing of the remoter districts in Greece made intercommunication more easy; and, as history shows, this inevitably brings in its train the possibility of forming larger aggregates of men, and therewith the subjugation, in the struggle for existence, of all communities which obstinately cling to their old narrower and more insular patriotisms. It is true that something is lost by their extinction; but it requires the uninformed prejudice of a Shelley to exaggerate the loss till it overtops the

gain. Could Demosthenes have won the petty units of Periclean Greece to merge themselves in a wider entity, a league or United States, he might have defeated Philip's alternative policy: but it would not have been the Athens of the past that would have thus escaped from the Macedonian's clutches, but a new municipalised town differing less widely from what Philopoemen and Cicero and St. Paul knew than from the impossible ideal of Demosthenes' fancy. To say this is not to exalt Aeschines into a superior of his rival; but it would in my judgment have been an enormous service to those who are likely to use this book if Prof. Goodwin had dissociated the policy of Demosthenes from his patriotism, and had found himself able while contrasting Demosthenes favourably with Aeschines to draw the moral, that naturally suggests itself today, from the failure of the smaller organisms to retain their individuality as soon as a larger organism is evolved.

However, this is a question which will doubtless be decided largely by personal predilections. There are a few points of interpretation on which the editor's views do not compel instantaneous assent. In § 107⁵ οὐ τοῖνυν μόνον τῷ μὴ καθνφεῖναι ταῦτα σεμνίνονται οὐδὲ τῷ γραφεῖς ἀποφυγεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ συμφέροντα θεῖναι τὸν νόμον καὶ τῷ πείραν ἔργῳ δεδωκέναι the note runs 'on the law having given a test of itself (sc. τὸν νόμον αὐτοῦ)'. The old view given by Holmes seems in every way preferable that the subject is still 'I.' The sense then is 'I have given you an opportunity—in the study of the working of my law—of testing the worth of my political views,—my honesty and patriotism.'

In § 130 in spite of all the editors the argument seems to shew that the alternative reading recorded by Σ needs consideration. According to that reading after οὐκ ἀπορῶν δ' ὅτι χρὴ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σὼν εἰπεῖν, ἀπορῶ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ, which is followed by a series of insulting questions, Demosthenes proceeds ἀλλὰ νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ θεοὺς ὀκνῶ μὴ περὶ σοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα λέγων αὐτὸς οὐ προσήκοντα ἐμαντῶ δόξω προηρῆσθαι λόγους. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὦν ἔτυχεν ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος καταράται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παραλείψω, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δ' ὦν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν ἀρξομαι. ὅψε γὰρ . . . ἂμ' Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ῥήτωρ γέγονεν. This seems logical; to place ταῦτα μὲν . . . ἀρξομαι before οὐδὲ γὰρ spoils the orderly development of thought. The parents are first abused, and then Aeschines' own life is stigmatized, beginning with his alleged assumption of citizenship and fabrication of a respectable ancestry. Apart from this textual question the editor

misses the point of οἷς ὁ δῆμος καταράται. A reference to lix §§ 88–91 will show that amongst the ways of 'deceiving the people' one is named¹ which has a special bearing on our passage. It was 'deception' to misrepresent the facts of birth and lineage, so as to foist a man into the citizen roll. This makes me—though with considerable hesitation—ask whether ὦν ἔτυχεν can really be the same as τῶν τυχόντων 'ordinary parents' with the following words παρὰ προσδοκίαν for τῶν πολὺ διειργκότων. Is it not more to the point to translate 'he was (really) the son of the parents whom he got' (or picked up)—i.e. whose names he made use of for the purpose of making pretensions to the franchise? The whole sentence thus acquires a precision which vastly improves it as an oratorical effort.

In the familiar passage (§ 169) describing the reception of the news that Elateia had fallen, τὰ γέρρα is taken by Prof. Goodwin to be the wickerwork with which the booths were covered. He refers to Harpocration, but does not state that that writer expressly pronounces for this view,³ rejecting the sense of 'barriers enclosing the ἐκκλησία'. The coincidence of the word with the article being found in lix § 90 (τοὺς πρυτάνεις κελεύει τιθεῖναι τοὺς καθίσκους ὁ νόμος καὶ τὴν ψῆφον διδόναι προσιόντι τῷ δήμῳ, πρὶν τοὺς ξένους εἰσεῖναι καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἀναιρεῖν) makes it seem likely, as Abbott and Matheson suggest, that the same sense, whatever it is, attaches to the words in both places. These editors quote also a Scholiast on Aristoph. *Ach.* 22 (τὸ σχοινίον φείγουσιν τὸ μεμιλτωμένον).

ἀνεπαρτίσαν γὰρ τὰ γέρρα καὶ ἀπέκλειον τὰς ὁδοὺς τὰς μὴ φερούσας εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὰ ὦνα ἀνῆρουν ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ὅπως μὴ περὶ ταῦτα διατρίβουσιν. The coincidence with Harpocration is noteworthy and that writer's further comments on the κατὰ Νεαίρας passage deserve to be cited: ἦτοι οὖν ταῦτόν ἐστι τῷ ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος ἡ τοιοῦτό τι ὑποληπτέον ὡς παρὰ τοῖς ἐκκλησιάζουσιν πολίταις ἡ ψῆφος ἐπὶ τῶν πρυτάνεων εἰδίδοτο πρὶν εἰσεῖναι τοὺς ξένους καὶ πρὶν ἀνααιρεθῆναι τὰ περιφράγματα, τουτέστι πρὶν ἀναπατασθῆναι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παντὶ τῷ

¹ Notice especially καὶ ἥδη τισὶ τοῦ δήμου δόντος τὴν δωρεάν (sc. τοῦ Ἀθηναίου γενέσθαι), λόγῳ ἐξαπατηθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν αἰτούντων (§ 91).

² No hesitation need be felt over the occurrence in prose of *τυγχάνω* with the genitive—Aeschines (who must have used a not very different style) has i § 156 πλείστον καὶ σφρονεσάντων τυχόντας ἐραστώ.

³ τὰ τῶν σκηνῶν σκεπάσματα καὶ παρακαλύματα ἐμπράσθαι φησιν ὁ Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ συνεστάναι περὶ τὰ ὦνα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μηδὲ πρὸς ἄλλοις τισὶ τὰς διατριβὰς ἔχειν.

εἶπεν βουλομένη. In the absence of further evidence, it is reasonable to take γέρρα as in the *De Corona*, and to suppose that these were 'cleared away' and a passage 'opened up' through them before at any rate important assemblies. No doubt Prof. Goodwin is right in supposing that the fire was a signal to the outlying demes that they should come in for the next day's meeting.

Of smaller matters may be mentioned that τὰ ἀδύνατα in §108 will be, as Abbott and Matheson say, 'cases of incapacity' more aptly than, as our editor, 'cases of impossibility': in §256 ψυχρότητα, which he translates (with L. and S.) 'want of feeling,' and

which Abbott and Matheson better translate 'bad taste,' is perhaps nearly 'impertinence' in the parliamentary sense: and p. 80 notes col. 1 line 8 is the one misprint I have noticed (ἰού).

In conclusion I ought to state that seven useful essays are added to the book, on e.g. the γραφή παρανόμων, the Constitution of the Amphictyonic Council, the Hero Physician and the Hero Καλαμίτης, and the Manuscripts of the Oration on the Crown. The student will find that armed with this edition he is virtually αὐτάρκης.

T. NICKLIN.

SHARPLEY'S HERODAS.

A Realist of the Aegean. Being a Verse Translation of The Mimes of Herodas. By H. SHARPLEY. London: David Nutt, 1906. 7" x 5". Pp. x + 57. 2s. 6d.

MR. SHARPLEY is already favourably known for his edition of Aristophanes *Pax* (see *C.R.* xix. 447). The present volume is more slender than its predecessor in more senses than one. But it proves that Mr. Sharpley is possessed of skill as a translator; and it ought to have the effect of introducing Herodas (it is satisfactory to see this author's name thus spelt) to readers who have not studied him in the original. This little book forms an acceptable addition to the translations of the Classics which are being rapidly issued at the present time, and which, let us hope, find purchasers.

Mr. Sharpley can claim that his is the first translation of the Mimes of Herodas into English. His aim is thus described (Preface pp. v, vi): 'The translator has endeavoured to keep closely to the Greek, and to avoid modern associations which were not justified by the original. No decipherable passages have been omitted, although certain phrases in the second Mime have been compressed or softened.' Furthermore 'it should be added that the use of the word "belt" in the sixth Mime [*i.e.* for βαμβών] is euphemistic' (*ib.* p. vi). This aim the translator has, on the whole, satisfactorily accomplished. The metre which he has chosen is the rhyming couplet: not, indeed, an exact representative of the seazon, but it is scarcely possible to imitate in English the peculiar halting movement of

that line. The 'weak' and 'feminine' endings (to borrow phrases from Shakesperian studies) help to give to the version the necessary tinge of colloquialism. The following is a specimen (p. 57 = Herodas vii 53 *sqq.*).

'Pistos, bring out the lot,
Yes, every case. Ah, ladies, you must not
Take home with you a single coin you've
got.
Now you'll see all these various kinds:—
Ionian,
Ambracian, Argive, Chian, Sicyonian,
Yellow shoes, red shoes, hemp shoes, low
shoes, high shoes,
Parrot shoes, crab shoes, chick shoes, ankle-
tie shoes,
With striplings, sandals, buskins, midnight-
trippers,
And every kind of boots and shoes and
slippers.
Tell me your hearts' desire: the cobbler's
trade is
(When not devoured by dogs) devoured by
ladies.'

The modern associations of which Mr. Sharpley speaks may be traced on p. 7 (= i 78)

'You "care for none
Of these things," as they say:'

though it is rather beside the point to make Gullis into a female Gallio: and on p. 11 (= ii 44 *sq.*)

'His "last suit of clo'es
And what's beneath them."'

The version in this last passage is somewhat too far from the original.

The following line is inelegant in point of scansion

‘At her age, to keep one, let alone two’

(p. 11 = iii 39): and on p. 27 (= iv 66 *sqq.*) we have

The ox, the man in charge, the girl
Who walks beside, the beaked shock-headed
churl,
Aren’t they just animals?

This last word is not very complimentary to the artist in its implication: the original is οὐχὶ ζῶν βλέπουσιν ἡμέρην πάντες;

Mr. Sharpley says (Preface *ib.*): ‘the readings adopted, where they differ from Mr. Nairn’s text, have been tabulated in the Appendix, and the writer hopes to have an early opportunity of discussing some of these elsewhere.’ When this opportunity is offered it will be interesting to see Mr. Sharpley’s

reasons for deserting the indications of the MS., e.g. at iii 11, vii 8, 24, 85, 96. At vii 24 in particular the reading ἀλλὰ πάντα καλλίστως may be safely pronounced impossible after Dr. Kenyon’s article in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* i 384 (referred to in my note *ad loc.*).

Finally Mr. Sharpley speaks (in terms for which recognition is hereby rendered) of the writer of this notice as the author of the only complete English commentary. He obviously disbelieves in the existence of an edition which is mentioned at the end of the article by Dr. W. G. Headlam in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* vol. xxix (tenth edition) *s.v.* Herodas.¹ Or perhaps we may say that he tacitly relegates it to ‘the land where mice eat iron easily’ (p. 19 = iii 76).

J. ARBUTHNOT NAIRN.

¹ See Preface to Translation, p. v (note). Dr. Headlam’s words are ‘There is a complete edition, with commentary and translation, by the writer of this article:’ *i.e.* himself.

RECENT TRANSLATIONS OF THE *RUDENS*.

1. *Scenes from the Rudens of Plautus*, translated by members of the Classical Society of the University of Manchester, and adapted for acting and edited by R. S. CONWAY, Litt.D. Second edition. (Sherratt and Hughes, Manchester 1906.)
2. *The Rudens of Plautus*, adapted for representation at St. Peter’s College, Radley, with a verse translation and introduction by L. J. AMES. (Parker, Oxford 1904.)
3. *Plautus’ Rudens*, translated into English from the text of E. A. Sonnenschein by C. H. PRICHARD, M.A. (E. Johnson, Cambridge 1905.)
4. *Plautus’ Rudens* with translation, prepared for performance at the McGill University, Canada.

The *Rudens* seems to have achieved considerable popularity as an acting play. I have before me four editions, three of which have been prepared for school or college performances. Such productions must command the sympathy of all classical scholars at the present day; and I heartily endorse what the Manchester editor says in his intro-

ductory note:—‘If the venture helps in any degree to remind students (and others) that Latin is something more than a “dead language,” an entertaining exercise will have served a timely purpose.’ With the help of these editions the play might be performed either in Latin or in English.

Of the present translations two are in verse and two in prose. All of them have their merits. Both of the former (unlike the 18th century translation by Bonnell Thornton) make a laudable attempt to employ English metres which correspond to the metres of the original. For senarii they rightly employ the so-called decasyllabic verse of English; in the lyrical passages they use metres which correspond in length of line, if not in rhythmical character, to those of the Cantica. Thus in lines 185 ff. the Manchester edition begins

‘Men may talk of human woes, but there’s nobody who knows, | how bitter sorrow is till it’s their own;
For the great god of the sea has made a castaway of me, | shivering helpless in a strange land all alone.’

(I have ventured to indicate a division of these long lines into two.) The metre of the

original is the *Versus Reizianus*.¹ Here the Radley edition employs 'common metre':—

'How far more bitter human ills
To suffer than to hear!
E'en so with me, since heaven wills
That shipwrecked I should be.'

Again, in lines 906 ff. the Manchester edition begins in one of Macaulay's metres:—

'Now praise be to my patron, Lord Neptune
praised be he,
Who dwells in fishy places in the salt, salt sea!
Home he's brought me from his quarters
With my boat all safe and sound;
And upon the stormy waters
Such a treasure I have found;
The richest, rarest haul it is that ere he sent to
me!'

The Radley edition has:—

'To Neptune, protector of me, I give praise,
Who dwells in the briny and fish-haunted waves;
He back from his precincts, well laden with
store,
A glorious catch, brings my smack safe ashore,
And midst the rough breakers a-swirling and
swishing,
Has blessed me and given rare luck to my
fishing.'

Neither of these metres reproduces the bacchiacs of the original, but both of them offer a pleasant variety from the ordinary metre of dialogue. Trochaic septenarii are reproduced (ll. 557 ff.) as follows:—

'Heaven help us, what's the matter? In the
temple here I've found
Two poor things in floods of weeping, clasping
Venus' statue round.
Someone's coming they're afraid of. Only yester-
night, they say,
They were all at sea and ship-wrecked, now
they're cast ashore to-day.'

Manchester version.

'What's the meaning of it, two young women
weeping at the shrine,
Holding fast to Venus' statue? Lord knows
what it is they dread.
All last night they say they drifted tossing, and
to-day, they say,
They are ship-wrecked.'

Radley version.

The Manchester verses have decidedly more 'lilt'; some of the best seem to me those of 'W. S.,' ll. 258-289. On the other hand, the Radley edition contains nearly the

whole play together with a charming Introduction, whereas the Manchester one gives only select scenes. I feel inclined to regret the omission from it of the amusing passage 977-1003. There would be room in inmost school or college performances for the inclusion of this and also the more elevated passage 1227-1264, which has been translated into Greek by Macaulay.²

The iambic septenarius is represented in the Manchester version by decasyllables (ll. 331 ff.), in that of Radley by the English 'common metre' (same passage), by Alexandrines in ll. 290-305, and by the iamb. septen. itself in 1281 ff. This last is a difficult metre to handle: its effect depends, it seems to me, on (1) maintaining the diaeresis, which divides it practically into two lines, (2) observing the long *quantity* of the last syllable but one, which is properly trimoric. The Radley verses fail in both respects. Contrast the much better lines of Hookham: Frere, who, however disparagingly he spoke of the metre, knew how to write it: *e.g. Knights* 333 f.—

Unbroken by the rules of art, untamed by education,
Show forth the native impudence and vigour of
the nation.

Or take Burns' verses *To John Taylor*, where we have the same metre written as two lines and punctuated by rhyme:—

With Pegasus upon a day
Apollo weary flying,
Through frosty hills the journey lay,
On foot the way was plying.

Or Thomas Moore's *Shamrock* song:—

Through Erin's Isle,
To sport awhile,
As Love and Valour wander'd,
With Wit, the sprite,
Whose quiver bright
A thousand arrows squander'd,
Where'er they pass
A triple grass
Shoots up, with dew-drops streaming,
As softly green
As emerald seen
Through purest crystal gleaming.

² 'The whole performance does not occupy more than an hour.—In order to make the selection as useful as possible the publishers are prepared to print a special cover, at a charge of five shillings, to contain the name of the college, the date of the performance, and the cast, for any college which purchases fifty or more copies. Special arrangements can be made for the addition of further details. It is thought that many students would value the volume not only for its own sake, but as a memento of their student days.' (*Circular notice of the publishers.*)

¹ Not bacchiac, as suggested in the note on page 11; for, among other points, Plautine bacchiacs do not admit of four short syllables in succession.—The text of this, as of the other three versions, is in the main from my edition; but occasionally new suggestions are made, *e.g.* l. 927 *ut iam liberum te del populo prator*, l. 933, *conclaruerit* (for *erit clara*; but *conclaresco* is an unknown compound). The short marks on *nobis* 279, *Veneris* 560, *hic* 568, are misleading.

Mr. Prichard's prose version may be fitly compared with that of the M'Gill acting edition. The latter is far more spirited—indeed it reaches a high level of literary excellence; but sometimes Mr. Prichard attains a higher standard of plain correctness. Contrast the following passages, in which the superiority lies with M'Gill: l. 21 'He keeps the good entered upon other records' (P), 'The good he keeps entered on another list' (M); l. 88. 'It has flooded us with light and increased our windows' (P), 'It has made the house better lighted than ever, with the windows it has put in' (M), ll. 535 f. 'Would that I were enjoying the condition of a duck (!), so as to be dry directly I have got out of the water' (P), 'Would that I were a d-d-d-duck, so that when I came out of the water I should be as d-d-d-dry as ever' (M); l. 871 'What you have got, enjoy' (P), 'Well, you've made your bed and you must lie on it' (M); l. 907 'who dwells in his

briny home surrounded by fish' (P), 'tenant of the salt and fishy deep' (M). The following are passages where the merit of accuracy belongs to Mr. Prichard: l. 865 (*summe ibi?*) 'I'm here?' (M), 'Am not I on the spot?' (P), l. 1006 'TR. I am mad enough. GR. And I stark mad, but not so mad as to let go this wallet' (M), 'TR. I am choleric. GR. I am hare-brained; still I will not let go of this trunk for all you say' (P); l. 1038 'Never in the world will he give it against his own man to-day, even for a farthing' (M), 'He will never deprive his own slave of a three-obol piece by his decision this day' (P); l. 1087 'you should have gold for gold' (M), 'well, gold shall be bought with gold' (P): it is only the 'shall' that is superior in the latter. In l. 1215, where the M'Gill version misrepresents the sense, and in l. 1243 (a difficult passage). Mr. Prichard is more correct.

E. A. SONNENSCHIN.

PHILLIMORE'S *SILVAE OF STATIUS*.

P. Papini Stati Silvae recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit IOANNES S. PHILLIMORE. Oxonii e Typographeo Clarendoniano. Pp. xxiv + text (not paged). No date. Published 1905. 3s. 6d. cloth.

WHEN we turn the pages of this volume our first emotion is surprise that it should be the work of the editor of the Oxford text of Propertius. That text and its preface suggested the image of a furry animal, at repose on a mat of Berlin wool and gently purring content in front of a fire which the Marthas of Propertian criticism had made up by emptying on it again the dust and *débris* of centuries. This one, the same creature wide awake, alert on its feet and with an eye for dark places.¹

Professor Phillimore is not unaware of this change of attitude, but he charges it to the difference in material. Propertius being an inspired poet can only be revived by inspiration, *canonem regulamque refugit*: Statius being but a mass of rhetorical artifice may be artificially restored. This chamaeleon-

like defence will not placate the protagonists of the cause which the editor has for the nonce deserted. They will press an argument, which they and all can feel, that the close agreement of the Laurentian MS. in which *Silvae* II. vii. has fortunately been preserved, with the tradition attested by the Matritensis carries the text as we have it back to a period some two centuries at least earlier than the copying of the 'worshipped Neapolitanus.' They will further urge that as the *Silvae* avowedly consists of fugitive or *soi-disant* impromptu compositions, the same finish cannot be expected from them as from more laboured efforts. To the former criticism the Oxford editor of Propertius must find an answer himself: the latter I will help him to meet. The *festinatio* and *celeritas* of composition upon which our author dwells so much is little better than a sham. The epithalamium of book I. (277 lines in all) was composed in two days. No great feat this, if Lucilius could turn out 200 verses in an hour or if, to come to our own times, an undergraduate with a fluent muse can produce 60 metrical and intelligible hexameters in three hours. Statius' work did not improve by the *longus limae labor*, as all who have toiled through the Thebaid can bear me witness; and if he did not revise his

¹ Professor Phillimore will forgive the metaphor when he remembers that it is merely intended to match his own of the "wild cat" school of English humanists, out-Baehrensing Baehrens when Baehrens had been disavowed by the mass of Continental critics" (*Classical Review*, 1902, p. 472).

vers d'occasion before he published, his was a more than human fortitude.

To begin with the *Praefatio*. The relation of the Madrid MS. to the lost 'Vetus Codex' of Poggio and the relation of both to the Excerpts of Politian are questions which no editor of the *Siluae* can hope to escape. Their intricacy is great—much greater in fact than their practical importance—and it has been aggravated by the confusion of thought or expression which every writer who has discussed them has introduced into his discussion. This confusion I have done my best to disentangle three years ago,¹ in an article in this Journal, which I should assume to be wholly unknown to Mr. Phillimore, but for a reference to some opinions embodied in it on p. xvi of his preface. Loth as I am to repeat myself, I must again briefly set the matter in its proper light.

About the year 1418 Poggio sent into Italy a MS. of the *Siluae*. In some year not prior to 1475 nor subsequent to 1494 Angelo Poliziano, we are told, came upon the MS. of the *Siluae* which Poggio had brought into Italy and entered readings from it in a copy of the *editio princeps* now in the Corsini Library at Rome. These readings, published in extenso by Dr. R. Engelmann at the end of a dissertation noticed in *C.R.* 1902, pp. 421 *sq.*, show a most remarkable agreement with the readings of the Madrid MS., which it is admitted is either the actual MS. of Poggio or a most faithful copy of the same. If this agreement were complete, there would be nothing worth disputing about. But among some minor discrepancies there is in the Matritensis a whole line I. iv. 86 b. (not in Mr. Phillimore's text) which Politian says was not in the Vetus Poggii. Accordingly one side, including Dr. Engelmann, Mr. Phillimore and others, say the Matritensis is here interpolated, and the other side, including Dr. Klotz, Dr. Krohn and others, say that Politian is not to be believed. In the article cited I maintained with Dr. Engelmann that Politian was to be believed and with Dr. Klotz that the Matritensis was not interpolated.

The line and its context stand as follows in M.

Libyci quid mira tributi
obsequia et missum media de pace tributum
laudem et opes tantas nec qui mandauerat
ausus
expectare fuit gaudet Thrasymennus et
alpes (86a)

attollam cantu gaudet Thrasymennus et
alpes (86b)
Cannensesque animae etc.

Mr. Phillimore's line of attack is a singular one. The verse he would have it has come from a gloss on *laudem*. Why *laudem* should have acquired a gloss is explained as follows. Cut off the head of the sentence by omitting *Libyci quid* and its tail by dividing after *opes tantas*, and 'anybody' will take *laudem* to be an accusative singular.

mihi quidem sic videtur : cuiuis ea verba propone
mira tributi
obsequia et missum media de pace triumphum
laudem et opes (*Silv.* I. iv. 86a).
prima quod aiunt fronte atque obtutu vocem
laudem pro substantivo habebit.

Mr. Phillimore's fancy is not exhausted by this effort but proceeds at once to another. Which of all the possible explanations and synonyms of *laudem* shall we suppose was the first to occur to our gloss maker? Why the half hexameter *attollam cantu*! He winds up by insulting (no milder word meets the case) the memory of Poggio by suggesting that this gloss might emanate from him :

ceterum certe non prorsus indocti hominis est
glossa neque ipso Poggio indigna.

No unprejudiced reader would however for a moment think of considering *attollam cantu* as a gloss or indeed as anything but the beginning of a verse. In this regard *attollam* with *cantu* is a very proper and indeed a Statian expression, e.g. *Silu.* V. iii. 10 *sq.* 'magnanimum qui facta attollere regum | ibam altum spirans martemque aequare canendo.'

And when all is said and done this fiction of a gloss is of no use to Mr. Phillimore, for it is reconcilable with no one of his theories as to the relation of the Excerpts and the Matritensis. He holds with Prof. Wachsmuth that the Vetus Poggii excerpted by Politian is the original MS. discovered by Poggio and brought by him into Italy, not the copy which his 'most ignorant scribe' made for him on the spot and which he sent to Barbaro. This is a perfectly tenable hypothesis, and one moreover which is strongly supported by the fact, on which Mr. Phillimore lays a very proper stress, that Politian in referring to the lacuna at *Silu.* V. v. 24-26 says 'codex uetustus itercisus h̄t hos versus' in place of using *deest* or *desunt* which are employed for omissions elsewhere, e.g. V. v. 76 (*Praef.* xv), words

² *C.R.* xvii. pp. 344 *sqq.*

that indicate a mutilation of an exemplar rather than a lacuna in a copy.

For the Matritensis he offers three alternative origins :

(1) It is the copy of the Vetus Poggii sent to Barbaro.

(2) It is a copy of this copy made by Barbaro.

(3) It is a copy of this copy made by Niccoli.

It cannot be (1) because, according to Mr. Phillimore, the two words *attollam cantu* were not in the Vetus and were added as a gloss in the copy that is either in the margin or between the lines. But in the Matritensis the whole line stands in the text. It cannot be either (2) or (3) because it is inconceivable that either a 'homo doctus' such as Poggio asked Barbaro to employ (p. vii) or any Italian selected by Niccoli would have been so incapable as to copy a marginal or interlinear gloss and fill the line up by a nonsensical repetition of a part of the previous verse.

Mr. Phillimore turns every stone to convict the unhappy *attollam cantu* of irrelevance :

cuius vero ludibri est Statio τὸ *attollam cantu* imputare! non enim omnino de cantu agitur cum familiare sit colloquium inter Apollinem Aesculapiumque (p. xiv. n.).

The argument is inconclusive. Apollo and Aesculapius are but shadows: the real singer is Statius himself. An ancient reader would have understood this at once. Had I time, I could develop this point; but let it suffice to refer to an observation from the praefatio to my separate text of Propertius p. vii. on Prop. III. xi. 35 sqq. (vv. 50, 62). 'Similis sed paulo intricatior ratio in IV. i. 135 sqq. uatem enim loquentem inducit Propertius, uates Apollinem ita tamen ut Sexti ipsius dictata uterque reddat.'¹

Mr. Phillimore's assault on the view first maintained by Dr. Klotz (Teubner ed. p. lxxii) that this line was in the old MS. which Poggio discovered and that thence it was faithfully copied into the Matritensis must then be pronounced to be a failure. That this line has produced a dittography *gaudet Thrasymennus et alpes* which has bereft us of the end of the preceding one is no

ground for dubbing it spurious. In such an accident there is nothing to surprise us, as others have pointed out and as we need not go beyond the first book of Lucretius (1022, 1023) to perceive. What the words lost were it is naturally impossible to tell. But I see no reason to surrender my proposal *laudatis imparefactis*. For Statius to say that his verses were unequal to the deeds that he celebrated is an intelligible and in the circumstances a not extravagant compliment: it agrees well with the turn of *Silu.* V. iii. 10 sq. (already quoted to defend the first half of the line), '*facta attollere—martem aequare canendo*,' and in addition it would account for the slipping of the copyist's eye which produced the dittography owing to the similarity of the letters *laudat-* and *gaudet*.

The old dilemma now recurs. The line *was* in the Poggian MS. from which the Matritensis was copied; but it *was not* in the Poggian MS. which Politian excerpted. What is to be done? ταῦτὰ τρὶς τετράκις ἠ ἀμπολεῖν ἀπορία τελέθει. So I will simply refer to *C.R.* l. c. p. 349, where the solution which occurred to me, and, independently, to Mr. G. A. Davies, my colleague in the Corpus text,² is given.

I leave the relations of the MSS. and pass on to Mr. Phillimore's construction of his text. He most rightly holds that both the Matritensis and the excerpts should be used for the restoration of the poet's words. The readings of the former he takes from the collations of Klotz (Krohn) and Souter. For the Excerpts he depends upon the statements of Dr. Engelmann, which are based on the Heidelberg photographs, though in one place he says 'colus . . . mihi visus eram dispicere in A' (I. iv. 64).

When I reviewed Dr. Engelmann's dissertation in the *Classical Review*, I knew of no reason for doubting his strenuous asseverations of the accuracy of his reports. But

² Let me here protest against the assigning of this text to me alone, as is done by Mr. Phillimore ('editio—Postgatiiana,' p. xxi) and Mr. Slater (*Journal of Philology*, xxx. p. 144). It is fair neither to Mr. Davies nor to myself. The character of the joint editorship is clearly set forth in the preface to the fourth part of the *Corpus*, p. xi. It is joint in the sense that both of us contributed to the text, not in the sense that either singly is responsible for a particular reading in it.

I would at the same time with the aid of Mr. Phillimore's apparatus correct some wrong ascriptions of conjectures which escaped us. I. ii. 183 the punctuation is Herr Helm's (1900); iv. 85 *quantas* Markland; II. iii. 69 *quo* Bachrens (on this see below); IV. ii. 6 *dominamque dedit contingere mensam* Waller; *ib.* 83 *uisus* (an early emender, see below); V. iii. 269 *Heinsius*, teste Mr. Housman (*C.R.* Feb. 1906, p. 47), conjectured a lacuna here.

¹ In n. 2 on p. xiii. we read 'Klotz, Vollmer, Krohn lacunam a semet ipsis factam omnimodis caementis atque sordibus explorant certant.' The first part of this sentence begs the question and the second part, which is an echo of Dr. Engelmann, is irrelevant, as I have already shown (*C.R.* l. c. p. 348). 'He must apply himself to a supplement which Statius might have written, not to those which could by no possibility be his.'

since then I have obtained a copy of the first page, and I regret to say that after a careful examination of it with the help of more than one friend, including two of the most eminent of our palaeographers, I find that he makes statements respecting readings which he calls *A*,¹ that is to say lections supposed to be in the handwriting of Politian and to represent excerpts taken from the ancient codex of Poggio, for which no sufficient warrant is provided by the photograph.

Line 10. *n. h.e. enim n. o. . . . A al. man. ad o addidit portet huius*. The words said to be added are not visible in the photograph.

23 *Ceterū Centū A*, not visible in the photograph.

33 *gloriare & uillam] gloriari uillam A*, not traceable in the photograph.

Were the question merely one of the right assignment of readings, it would be needless to pursue it further. But sometimes the discrepancy between '*A*' and *M*' is of importance, e.g. I. iii. 26 'fluuiū ne obstare *A*,' 'fluuiorum optare' *M*. *ib.* 41 'tuta' *A* Phillimore, 'tota' *M*. The photographs ought clearly to be published or at least a copy of them obtained by the British Museum or some other public library for the use of scholars in this country.

An exact estimate of Mr. Phillimore's text involves much adding and subtracting. But we may say in general that in his treatment of the *Siluae* he pursues at any rate a sound critical method, and pursues it in the main with a good deal of judgment and acuteness. His conjectures, of which there are however too many (for example, some forty in the first book alone, and fourteen in the text), are usually addressed to real difficulties, and not unfrequently help towards. His errors are largely due to the haste of which this volume betrays more than one sign—but in part to insufficient knowledge and neglect of necessary research.

I. i. 6 *effigere M*. Of Mr. Phillimore's two suggestions *exegere* (text) is less probable than *effecere* (note).

ib. 20 *tardo M. tantum* (text) is a needless alteration. *nec tardo* means 'et non-tardo' = that is 'ueloci.'

ii. 13 *cestuque* (text, *coctuque M*) *Latino*. The note refers to Lactantius ad Theb. ii. 283 showing that Venus uses the 'cestus'

¹ *A* is to be carefully distinguished from *A**. These are readings which are safeguarded by a note from Politian that they are taken from the Vetus, and to them the remarks in the text do not apply.

'ad honestas nuptias.' But it was not 'cestus' but the expression 'cestus Latinus' that required defence, and still more the ablative 'cestu' for 'cesto.'

Ten lines below (*n.* on 23) another unattested word is proposed, *niuens*, 'blinking' (for 'coniuens'). Even worse appears at II. v. 28 'legendum puto *bibitique*. See Neue-Wagener's *Formenlehre* iii. p. 540, and *C.R.* xvi. p. 113.

ib. 131 *sin* (text) is nearer to *M* than Baehrens' *si in*, which however is more usual Latinity. [In 180 the same editor's *ea* is as near to *M*'s *et* as Otto's *haec* and less cacophonous 'Dacasque (haec gloria maior).']

ib. 203 *uiduae* (text) for *M*'s *nitidae* is ingenious and possible.

iii. 51

quicquid et argento primum uel in aere minori lusit et enormes manus est experta colossos.

expertura (text) would remove a real difficulty. But I fail to see how *et* can then stand. Perhaps *luserit* (subj.) should be read.

iv. 4 *es caelo diues Germanice cordi*. So *M* reads, and I have conjectured *Diti es*, which Mr. Phillimore's note presents as *diti es*.² This correction has been reprehended (not by Mr. Phillimore) on the ground, as I must suppose, that the reference to *Dis* is inappropriate. My citation of Hor. *carm.* I. x. 19, 20 'superis deorum gratus et *imīs*' (of the god Mercury) and the obvious reflexion that no emperor could have a higher compliment paid him than that the ruthless king of the underworld had as a favour to him relaxed his claims upon his minister should have protected it against the criticism. But a similar objection will prove fatal to Politian's lection *diue es* (text), unless an instance can be produced from imperial times of a living emperor so addressed.

ib. 97. After this verse a lacuna is marked in the text with considerable probability.

v. 32 *neu M, ne* (text) for no reason that I can see.

vi. 7, 8

dum refero diem beatum laeti Caesaris ebriamque parcen.

For the mysterious corruption *parcen* Mr. Phillimore suggests *aparchen*, which I had thought of but could not support in the sense required. He cites Plutarch *de aud.* 40 B that is ὡς περ ἐφ' ἐστίασιν ἱερῶν καὶ

² Another correction of mine *cui pateat* V. iii. 183 is made unintelligible by the omission of *cui*.

θυσίας ἀπαρχὴν παρελημμένον and Schol. ad Lucian. *Somn.* 9 i.e. τὸ ἀπροσδόκητον κέρδος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς τιθεμένων ἀπαρχῶν ἃς οἱ ὀδοιπόροι κατεσθίουσι. I doubt the sufficiency of these examples.

46 *uocare* (M) *uacare* (text) a conjecture which is worth attention.

II. i. 127

et uisae puero decrescere uestes
tum tibi quas †uestes† quae non ges-
tamina mitis
festinabat erus?

This passage raises the much debated question, within what limits may the same or similar words be repeated by an ancient author. Mr. Phillimore seems to have no canon. At I. ii. 24 his dislike of 'niueis' following 'niueos' at an interval of four lines inveigled him into an unhappy emendation. The same may be said of III. iii. 216 'sepulcro' ('sepulcri' in 210, where II. vii. 72 has not deterred him from proposing the ill-attested form *piaculum*), and of IV. ii. 54 'sacro diffusus nectare uultus,' for which *uitas* is actually suggested and this in the teeth of *Achill.* i. 53. What, we may ask, were the *uitae* doing on Juppiter or the *nectar* on the *uitae*? Markland has removed the repetition far more satisfactorily by reading *uisus* for *uultus* in 52. On the other hand the sense of superfluity did not check him at IV. ii. 159, where *laudes* is proposed after *laudem* (158), nor at I. i. 65 'it fragor et—frangit.'

In our passage the obelus is abundantly justified, though I do not understand *quae-sisses*. Faute de mieux, Mr. Housman's *quas lanas* will do. It is possible however that *telas* should be removed here from 130, where it is intolerable.

On 198 Mr. Phillimore says undeniably 'haeret sensus.' His idea that the boy first plucks at Caesar's garments and then tries to take his hand is very attractive, and hence *magis* may have come from *manum*, as he suggests, or *manus*; but his other alterations are improbable.

Lower down in 203 he alters *uehit et into quaerit*, and in 205 *porsit* M into *forsan* 'monente Slater,' but Prof. Slater (*J. Phil.* xxx. p. 139), in proposing *spondet*, says he 'firmly believes' that *forsit* is right. These changes will hardly convince, though it must be admitted that *porgit* is by no means altogether satisfactory.

iii. 69. Mr. Phillimore rightly keeps *secrete*, but also the untranslatable *quod*. Baehrens proposed *quo* as I have done;

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but I doubt if he understood it,¹ as he altered *secrete* with Markland. Cf. the striking parallel I quoted from Tacitus, *Philologus*, l.c. p. 123.

74 *Elysiae* (text) *helisia* M. Mart. x. 24. 10 is cited, but *Elysia puella* does not prove *Elysia* alone. It is hard to decide if *Elysio* or *Elysium* is correct; cf. *Achill.* i. 921.

II. vi. 6 The text has *alter tamen et procul intrat alterius sensus* for *ad te—altius in* M—a proposal of merit.

II. vii. 28 *Tritonidi* (text). This conjecture of Bentley's seems hardly necessary. *Tritonis* = *oliua*, cf. Nemes. *Cyn.* 199, where Mr. Housman has rightly condemned *oliua* for a gloss. In this poem more regard should have been had to the allusions to the Pharsalia. Thus 67 is indeed corrupt or else a line is lost after it; but *fulmen* should not have been obelized nor *consumptum* (Slater *convulsus*) conjectured, see Lucan i. 150 sqq. etc. The allusion in 90 to Lucan's words i. 70 sq. is only obscured by Mr. Slater's conjecture *pensa* for *fata*. For 100 see above p. 306.

III. i. 128. I am really sorry to see the corruption *ditesque Caprae* in an English editor's text. In every place of every ancient author, including *Siluae* III. ii. 23, where this place is mentioned, it is called *Caprae*. For the corruption see *Philologus*, l.c. p. 133.

Scarcely less distressing is it to find *Aenarumque* in the text at III. v. 104. These *Aenae* have been exhaled from a corruption '*Denarumque*,' whose origin from '*inarimesque*' is on its face. If there were a folk of this name, why did not Pliny mention them when he derived *Aenaria* from *Aeneas*, *N.H.* 3. 82?

ii. 70 *exigua fugimus* (text) for *fugimus exigua* M. If the MS. reading be inadmissible, this seems the best correction yet proposed.

iii. 143 *populo deduxit* (text Otto), *populos deduxit* M. *populo seduxit* (Baehrens) is as near to the MS. and a better way of expressing the sense required. Cf. Hor. *carm.* I. i. 30 sq. 'me gelidum nemus | Nympharumque leues cum Satyris chori | secernunt populo.' But Mr. Phillimore is apt to judge 'Baehrensian' conjectures by their authorship rather than their merit.

¹ If he did not, the correction is hardly his. It is not uncommon for this to happen. At IV. iii. 19 both Ellis and Riese have proposed *clauum*; but the first in the sense of 'nail' and the second in that of 'tiller.' One of these *clauum*'s is wrong, but Mr. Phillimore does not tell us which he takes.

IV. i. 24, 25. The old punctuation with its halting rhythm is retained. *moribus tuis* means 'for your sway' or 'direction'—not so rare a use that an editor of Statius should understand him to mean that the classes and the masses took heartfelt pleasure in the imperial character. Polster's ablative *lauribus* (note) is a false form.

iii. 23 *cauas harenas* for *graves* is a good conjecture; not so the alternative *levis*.

In *ib.* 89. *obluat* (M) a vox nihili is restored to the text. I wonder what meaning is attached to the preposition.

ib. 138. For *undaret* Mr. Phillimore and Mr. Slater propose *fronderet* which is as good as my *umbraret*.

ib. 159 *uades*, the second of Mr. Phillimore's suggestions, is superior in sense to the vulgate correction *scandes* but less near in its letters to *sondes* M. Mr. Slater's *frondes* may be right.

In the last line of the poem *senescet* (Heinsius) appears in the text. I cannot see why. The *donec* in line 160 means 'while' and takes its future, that in 162 'until' and takes its subjunctive.

v. 10

nunc uolucrum noui
questus inexpertumque carmen
quod tacita statuere bruma.

For *tacita statuere* Mr. Phillimore proposes *tacita tacuere*, an inelegance already commented on *supra* II. i. 127. The best emendation of *statuere* is an unpublished one by Mr. A. C. Clark. He proposes *studiare* = 'meditatae sunt,' comparing Pliny *N.H.* x. 83, where it is said of the nightingale '*meditantur aliae iuueniores uersusque quos imitentur accipiunt. audit discipula intentione magna et reddit uicibusque reticent. intellegitur emendatae correptio et in docente quaedam reprehensio.*'

ib. 22

hic mea carmina
regina bellorum uirago
Caesareo peramauit auro.

A capital instance of the harm which comes to scholarship from the prejudice which editors like Baehrens excite in their readers. A brilliant and certain emendation *redimuit* has been completely disregarded. PER and RED were confused and IMIVIT turned into AMAVIT, cf. II. ii. 132, where M had originally *rades* and IV. vii. 19 where 'liticen' has become 'laticem.' Markland would have been the first to surrender his 'decorauit.' For the form see *Sil.* 7. 198.

viii. 40 *si* for *sed* is a good and, I think, a true conjecture.

V. i. 6 *Phidiaca uel nata* (or *nata manu. -ue animata*, and *-ue novata* are suggested. The first is too far from the tradition. The second was my first conjecture (cf. *Philologus* p. 131). I rejected it later on two grounds, first the unusual rhythm for which I could find no exact parallel in any part of Statius, and second the doubt whether the collocation *-uel -ue* was a Statian one.

ib. 18 *sqq.* This passage is a touchstone of the method to be pursued in the *Siluae*, and this is why I devoted so much space to it in *Philologus*. Mr. Phillimore keeps the MS. text without an obelus, but in his note gets far enough along the right path to discern much of the truth.

sed cum plaga recens et adhuc in uulnere
primo
nigra domus questu miseramque accessus ad
aurem
coniugis orbatu tunc flere et scindere uestes
e.q.s.

He sees that the *que* after *miseram* is a wretched metrical makeshift of the kind of which I have given (*l.c.*) numerous instances from the *Siluae*, and building on Adrianus' *quis tum miserandam* he produces as a preferable remedy *miseram quis tunc*. This does not cure the passage, which should mean that in the first hours of bereavement it is vain to approach with words of comfort; for men are *mad* then and will not hear. The thought is not only that of II. i. 8 *sqq.*, from which I will now only quote the words '*insanos gemitus: stat pectore demens | luctus et admoto latrant praecordia tactu*' and of V. v. 23 '*tanta mihi feritas, tanta est insania luctus*,' but also of our passage if the sequel with its '*rabidis—querelis*' and '*attonito—pectore*' shows anything. *uesanam*, which I proposed to give the sense, is really an easier change than Mr. Phillimore's summary transposition, cf. *Philologus*, *l.c.* p. 132.

The *uesania* of the *orbis* may be illustrated from a passage lower down in this very poem, 197 *sqq.*

At iuuenis magno flammatus pectora luctu
nunc implet saeuo uiduos clamore penates,
nunc ferrum laxare cupit, nunc ardua
tendit
in loca (uix retinent comites), nunc ore
ligato
incubat amissae mersumque in corde dolorem
saeuus agit qualis conspecto coniugis igni

Odrysius uates positis ad Strymona plectris
obstupuit tristemque rogum sine carmine
fleuit.

So Barth has emended and Baehrens edited. But Mr. Phillimore, in spite of V. iii. 66 'uel quae primaevi coniugis ignem aspicit,' keeps the *conspicua coniuge seguis* of M. Men have ere now lost energy at the sight of their wives, but not Orpheus at that of Eurydice.

I will take yet another example, where an even more glaring corruption is still allowed to stand in the text. V. ii. 113 *sqq.*

ipse ego te nuper Tiberino in litore uidi,
qua Tyrrhena uadis Laurentibus aestuat
unda,
tendentem cursu uexantemque ilia nuda
calce ferocis equi, uultu dextraque minacem,
si qua fides dictis, stupui armatumque
putaui.

Miror te, Stati. quem Martio in campo
exerceri uidisti in equo, manus ac tela mi-
naci dextra intentantem, armatumne putasti?
nimirum tu eadem temeritate diuinandi
quem ad undas in ora maritima cum reti
uidisses, piscatorem, si qua dictis fides, pu-
tasses; quem in fluuio brachia ducentem,
natatorem. meliora sane potuisses a
Marklando edoceri a Britanno Romanus, cui
Martem in suo ipsum campo uersari minus
absolum esse uidebatur. testem is Byronum
poetam, modo aequalis fuisset, fortasse ad-
hibuisset qui ad rem satis similiter in Par-
thenone quem dicunt Mineruam uidisse se
finxit.

When, lo! a giant form before me strode
And Pallas hailed me in her own abode.
Byron, *The Curse of Minerva*.

Mr. Phillimore has nothing more to say for *armatum* than *fortasse vindicandum ex illo Sallustiano quod citat Quintil. Inst. Orat. viii. 3. 82*. How little this is may be seen from that author's words 'est uero pulcherrima (breuitas, βαρυσλογία) cum plura paucis complectitur quale Sallustii est *Mithridates corpore ingenti, proinde armatus*.'

V. i. 230 *sic cautum membris* for *siccata membris* (M) is a fine and, I believe, a true emendation. Its effect is rather spoiled by the proposal of *infamantia* for *firmitas* just above.

ii. 83. I am glad to see *uisus*, which I conjectured for *iustus*, in the text, though Mr. Phillimore has taken it from a marginal

annotation in the Bodleian copy of the ed. of 1475.

110 '*nec se reus ipse tenebat*' (note, *tenebat* the ed. princeps) for '*nec te—timebat*' is attractive.

iii. 88 '*nec fida gausam Pallada buxo*' (M). Mr. Phillimore puts into his text the useless and anticipated conjecture *bifida*, but adds in the note '*fida, def. Leo, Comment. in Siluas Göttingae 1893, p. 19,*' a reference which it would have been wiser and less unkind to omit. I will only add to my fuller treatment of the passage elsewhere that the construction of the passage '*Heliadum ramos lacrimosaque germina—et Phrygium silicem*' strongly supports my contention that *buxum* is to be read with the other consequential changes *f(o)eda—Pallade* and either *ausam* or *gausum*.

94 The suggestion (Praef.) that *cydaliben* has come from a shuffling of the letters of *bac(ch)ylides* is both ingenious and plausible; but the conjecture *Ceia fides* (it should be *Cea*), is from the nature of the case uncertain.

127 Hyele grauidus qua puppe magister
excidit et mediis miser euigilauit in
undis.

As Professor Ellis' *grauidus* for M's *gravis*, mentioned by Dr. Klotz and Mr. Slater, now appears in a text, I am constrained to state what it means. It means that Palinurus was pregnant. No wonder Sleep threw such a monster into the sea.

137. The note suggests *Euboica* for *Euboea*, a recognition of a real difficulty, and at 155 I rejoice to see *Leucade* once more 'in the text,' nor am I disconcerted to read *spernit Dom.* in the note. Rubbish from the pen of the same editor, e.g. the false quantity *lānea est* (183 *infr.*), might be removed from other parts of the apparatus.

266 *sqq.* are again in confusion. They have, since I wrote, been discussed by Mr. Housman in this Review (*l.c.*, p. 47). With his treatment in general I agree, except that I think him wrong in rejecting Mr. G. A. Davies' *quem tandem*, though the latter would have done better to delete the *et* before *uiuos*, as I should have said in *Philologus*, p. 136.

iv. 19 is perfectly sound. *transi*, which Statius has deliberately chosen as a contrast to *praeterit* 'passes by' (10), means 'fly across me.' I do not ask the slumbrous drench from your wings; a touch from your rod or the drops that fall as you fly over me will be enough. Barth seems to have understood the passage.

v. 46 nimirum cum uestra domus ego funera
maestus
increpitans.

The impossible *uestra domus funera* has been set right by Dr. Klotz, but his excellent conjecture *modis—maestis* is not even mentioned.¹

¹ I take the opportunity of acknowledging this scholar's fair and courteous review of the Corpus text in Wölfflin's *Archiv.* for 1905.

Its tone is in marked contrast to that of another notice which appeared in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* about which I might say something.

The foregoing observations might easily be extended, but they will suffice to show my view of the last edition of the *Siluae*. In brief it is this. The book could be much improved by a thorough revision, but take it all in all, it contains the best modern text of the *Siluae* which has been separately published.

J. P. POSTGATE.

But it is not worth while, as Lucretius iii. 388-390 'nec repentis itum cuiusuisque animantis [sentimus nec priua pedum uestigia quaeque] Corpore quae in nostro culices et cetera ponunt' has already expressed my sentiments.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PHILLIMORE'S TRANSLATION OF PROPERTIUS.

MAY I be allowed a few lines of explanation in order to forestall a possible charge of literary theft?

In my translation of Propertius which has recently been published at the Clarendon Press, a number of corrections appear in footnote form without acknowledgment of authorship. The reason for this omission was that it appeared pedantic to encumber the page with a kind of information which has no interest for the general reader. But I am horrified to find a reviewer in the *Oxford Magazine* for June 6th crediting me with the authorship of many of these variants which belong to other scholars, living or dead. For example *Meropem* (II. xxxiv. 33) is the property of Bergk and Schneidewin; and I had no idea of robbing Mr. Housman of

vacans (II. xxvi. 53): in such cases I presumed that emendations already published would be familiar enough to the expert, while the layman would have no concern with property in such points.

But I wish now to make public acknowledgment that the emendation '*uterer et quamvis nomine*' (II. xxiv. 8) belongs by priority to Mr. O. L. Richmond of King's. I was unconscious, when this correction struck me (in correcting the proofs of my translation) that it had been suggested by anybody, but Mr. Richmond reminds me that he communicated it to me in a conversation that we had two years ago. So it is his; and should be added to the list in the Preface of conjectures other than my own and hitherto unpublished.

J. S. PHILLIMORE.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

TRIREMES.

It surely is 'quite beyond dispute' that 'in the Acropolis relief the tholes of the thranite oars are vertically above the portholes of the thalamite oars.' If I rightly understand Mr. Newman's observations, *supra* p. 280, his point is that, if we had a section of the ship at right-angles to the plane of this relief, these tholes would not be ver-

tically above these portholes. But I have not asserted that they would.

Mr. Newman says that 'the shadow of the upper wale is much greater than those of the lower wales of the ship, and seems to indicate not merely a gunwale, but a gallery of some amplitude.' It does not seem to me to indicate more than a gunwale. And there is this difficulty about the gallery:—The remains of the Athenian docks show that

the triremes were not more than 20 ft. in width. If the triremes had a gallery 'of some amplitude' on each side of the hull, the hull itself would be so narrow that it would hardly have capacity enough to hold the crew or displacement enough to float its weight.

CECIL TORR.

SCARABS.

Scarabs: an Introduction to the Study of Egyptian Seals and Signet Rings. By PERCY E. NEWBERRY. Pp. xvi+218. 44 Plates and 116 Text-Illustrations. London: Constable, 1906. 18s. net.

SCARABS are to the friend of Egyptian antiquity what coins or gems are to the lover of classical art. This has often been said, and, though a somewhat exaggerated simile, it still makes clear to those who are more familiar with the art of Greece and Rome the peculiar position which the scarab occupies in Egyptian art. Perhaps we might with more justice and less exaggeration say that the scarab is to Egyptian art what the netsuké is to that of Japan. The Greek coin or gem, the Egyptian scarab, the Japanese netsuké, all have identical qualities which make them dear to the collector's heart. They are small, to rest in the palm of the hand and be admired, and when they are not precisely beautiful, they are at least curious and they may have some great historical interest of their own: this coin may be the only monument of a lost Greek Kingdom of Hither Asia, that scarab may be the only relic of a Hyksos king, that netsuké may have been worn by the greatest of Tokugawa shoguns. In the case of the scarab there are, apart also from the general matter of beautiful or quaint workmanship and design, the hundred nuances of these which are unknown to all save its devotees: the many variations of form, material, and nature and colour of glaze which give the criteria by which they know their scarabs, and can say that this is a good thing, and that of no account, or that this is contemporary with the king whose name it bears, while that is much later in date. This knowledge, like that of connoisseurs of coins, gems, or netsukés, comes only with much handling and comparing of many specimens, till nuances of colour and appearance of glaze or minute varieties of design-cutting can be distinguished which are invisible to him who has not handled and studied scarabs with care and a 'comparing' mind.

Mr. Newberry's book, which lies before us, will be of interest to the archaeological readers of the *Classical Review* in connexion with Mycenaean or Minoan research or the tomb and temple finds of Etruria, Rhodes, or Ephesus. In Crete and Cyprus Egyptian scarabs are found with Mycenaean remains, in Etruria, at Kameiros, at Ephesus with Etruscan or Greek relics of the eighth to the sixth centuries B.C. Invariably the 'Mycenaean' scarabs or rings are of the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty or earlier (before 1400 B.C.): invariably those of the earlier Greek period are of the contemporary XXVth Dynasty. It is sometimes asked: why cannot this scarab of Amenhetep III or Queen Tii, or this ring of Khuenaten have been made at a later date than that of the monarchs whose name it bears? Why need they and the Mycenaean things with which they are found date to 1400 B.C.? The archaeologist may then explain that certain types of scarabs or rings of Amenhetep III can only be contemporary with that king, while no later instance of the name of Queen Tii is known, and no later commemoration of the abominable arch-heretic Khuenaten, whose name every later Egyptian would strive to forget, could ever possibly have taken place.

Mr. Newberry's introduction contains much matter of interest on the subject of the various nuances of type and glaze which tell us so much, though we could have wished that he had written rather more at length on this subject and also that he had devoted more space to the later scarabs of the Ramesside period and the XXVth Dynasty. It is true that the scarabs of the Middle Kingdom and the XVIIIth Dynasty are of greater beauty and interest than the later ones, but we think that the amount of space he has allotted to these latter is disproportionately small. The later types are worth more careful working out, and deserve a fuller description than simple references to the collections in which they are found (*e.g.* Plate XXXIV, description on p. 179), while their XIIth Dynasty brethren are honoured with full translations of their (often difficult) inscriptions.

Mr. Newberry will not have it that any scarabs exist that are older than the VIth Dynasty, but it does not yet seem absolutely certain that none of the scarabs which bear the names of Khufu, Khafra, and Menkaura are contemporary with those kings. This opinion is based on certain peculiarities of shape, size, and glaze which seem to differentiate some of these scarabs from the

undoubted XXVIth Dynasty ones with the names of the Pyramid-kings. Mr. Newberry's oldest scarab is, however, one of Merenra, of the VIth Dynasty, which 'closely resembles in style and technique a very small and distinctive class of scarab-seal which has been recently found in association with button-shaped seals in graves of the intermediate period between the end of the Old Kingdom and the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty' (p. 68). These 'button-shaped seals' Mr. Newberry dates between the VIth and XIIth Dynasties, and makes them the immediate predecessors of the scarabs, a transition-form, so to speak, between the older cylinder-seals and the scarabs. We do not quite gather whether Mr. Newberry considers the scarab to have evolved out of the button-seal, but if he does, the adoption of the scarab-form does not seem very explicable. It would seem more probable that the scarab-seal was really of independent origin, and we have seen reason to believe that it was in use as far back as the time of the IVth Dynasty.

The button-seals are interesting on account of their resemblance to similar seals from Crete and the Italian *Terramare* and cave-deposits, 'from which we may perhaps infer that they are of common origin' (p. 60). Both they and certain cylinder-seals of the same date are often engraved with representations of monstrous animals, which, as Dr. Arthur Evans pointed out, are identical with early Cretan pictographs. Dr. Evans's view that these resemblances and those of the spirals on Egyptian XIIth Dynasty scarabs and Cretan seal-stones shew an artistic connexion between the Northern and Southern shores of the Mediterranean about 3000 B.C. is of course now generally accepted. Mr. Newberry's figures of some of the Egyptian designs (pp. 49, 56-61) will be of interest to Greek archaeological students.

The mention of cylinder-seals reminds us that Mr. Newberry does not treat of scarabs alone, but of Egyptian seals generally. In fact he starts with the thesis that the scarab was primarily a seal and that its use as an amulet was secondary. We think that this view needs some modification. In the majority of cases there can be no doubt that the scarab was never the seal of a living man. A glance at the plates will shew the reader who has any knowledge of the hieroglyphs that the names of most of the officials commemorated on them are followed by the signs *maa-kheru*, 'deceased'. They commemorated dead men, and either originally

belonged to their tomb-furniture or were dedicated as memorials of them in the necropolises.¹ Therefore they were never used as seals. Scarabs were also strung together in necklaces and dedicated as votive offerings in the temples, as to Hathor at Deir el-Bahari. Some of these are inscribed, some not. The large 'heart scarabs', which Mr. Newberry does not mention in his book, were purely religious in their signification, and were used as amulets to protect the dead man in the next world. They too have inscriptions on their bases (the 'Heart-chapter' of the 'Book of the Dead'), but they were not seals. Among others which can never have been used as seals are those of the late period which were bought at Thebes by pilgrims as mementos, inscribed 'A good coming to Karnak' (like 'A present from Margate') or were sent as new year's gifts like the scarab (Pl. xl. 8) wishing that Ptah may give 'A Happy New Year to the prince Shashank, whose mother was Karomama deceased' (this is the correct translation: Mr. Newberry seems to be mistaken in his rendering on p. 78).

Mr. Newberry would of course agree that such scarabs can never have been used as seals, but would say that originally the scarab was a seal, and not an amulet. That it was a seal is certain, but it seems more probable that from the earliest times the scarab was a religious amulet as well as a seal, while the cylinder never had any religious signification.

Mr. Newberry's description of the use of the seal in Egypt, and of the various classes of officials who carried the seal as the badge of their office, is interesting: the study of the Egyptian bureaucracy he has made specially his own. It may be noted by the way that the usual idea that a scarab or ring bearing a king's name must necessarily have belonged to that king is erroneous: it may have been the signet of a royal official or be purely commemorative: at all periods, from the time of the XIIth Dynasty to the end, scarabs with royal names were made in hundreds for loyal subjects to buy for use as amulets.

Mr. Newberry's plates, drawn by himself, give very accurate reproductions of the seal-designs and the book, though it has shortcomings (whose has not?), will be of

¹ It is true that instances are known of the epithet *maa-kheru* being applied to a living person, but we do not think that this could have been the case with regard to all the persons commemorated on the scarabs: it is more natural to take the phrase in its usual sense, and to regard the object on which it occurs as the memorial of a dead man.

use to archaeological students as well as of interest to the 'devotees of the scarab.'

H. R. HALL.

FURTWÄNGLER'S EXCAVATIONS IN AEGINA.

Aegina: Das Heiligtum der Aphaia. Unter Mitwirkung von E. R. FIECHTER und H. THIERSCH herausgegeben von A. FURTWÄNGLER. Mit 130 Tafeln, 1 Karte, 6 Beilagen und 413 Abbildungen im Text. Two vols. 4to. München: Akademie der Wissenschaften. 1906. Price M. 120.

THE archaeological world has been for some time eagerly expecting Professor Furtwängler's publication of the results of his recent excavations at Aegina, results of which he gave a summary at a meeting of the Archaeological Congress at Athens last year. The first and most important part of this publication has speedily appeared, dealing with the well known temple and its surroundings; and he would be a very unreasonable person who found it in any way disappointing. Beyond question, this is among the most noteworthy archaeological productions of our time. It not only exhibits throughout the astonishing knowledge possessed by the editor alike of ancient monuments and of modern literature in regard to them, but it is worked out in every part with a conscientious thoroughness which could scarcely be surpassed. The method of Furtwängler is one of extreme vigour and rigour. He proceeds to make up his mind as to the precise character and meaning of every work and every fragment with which he has to deal, and to follow out to the end every consequence which can be drawn from that verdict in regard to any part of our knowledge of antiquity. The labour involved is enormous; and when one reflects that the excavations at Aegina were only begun in 1901, one wishes that something of Furtwängler's spirit could be infused into other excavators.

Even extreme thoroughness is not without its snares; and the determination to be definite and precise may lead a writer into dogmatism, or into the construction of great systems of hypothesis which rest on an insufficient amount of evidence. It is clear that the method is least satisfactory in its working when the monuments dealt with are

of mixed character and doubtful period. On the other hand, its advantages are greatest, and its risks smallest, in dealing with a definite group of monuments of which the time and the place are fixed. Such a group are the sculptures of Aegina: thus in the book before us we find Furtwängler's methods working in the most effective way, and with diminished risks. He has, in my opinion, reached far more satisfactory results in dealing with the Aeginetan marbles than in the *Masterpieces*. In fact he may be said to have reached a standard of thoroughness in work of this kind hitherto attained only by a few books such as the great publication on Olympia.

It is clear that any criticisms which I should have to make, after a single rapid perusal, of a book which is such a monument of laborious thought, could have but small value. I shall therefore in the main content myself with giving a brief summary of the contents.

The editor begins by vindicating the temple of Aegina as dedicated not to Zeus or to Athena, but to the almost unknown goddess Aphaia, one of the many varieties of Artemis. The proof is based on inscriptions, which certainly clearly shew that there was a shrine of Aphaia on the site from a very early period, though some authorities maintain that they do not shew this shrine to have been the *chief* building on the spot. Pausanias however mentions a temple of Aphaia as on the way to that of Zeus Panhellenius, and says that Pindar wrote an ode about her. Furtwängler advocates the reading 'Αφαίης for 'Αθηναίης in Herodotus ii. 59; and thinks that the shrine or shrines of Athena which certainly existed in the island of Aegina were only set up at the time of the Athenian conquest, after the Persian war.

The temple of Aphaia was first excavated in 1811 by the architect Cockerell and Baron Haller. The record of the co-operation of these two friends in their great enterprise is full of charm. No friction and no dispute seems to have intervened between the Englishman and the German. Cockerell is the more brilliant figure. Handsome, wealthy, enthusiastic, overflowing with talent and generosity, he devoted himself for years to the study of the Aegina sculptures, publishing his great book about them, *The Temples of Aegina and Bassae*, as late as 1860, after fifty years' incubation. But Haller also brought something to the task, German care and thoroughness, which Cockerell enthusiastically valued.

Fortunately the union of men of different countries in a great scientific task is still possible; and it is to be hoped that the recent federation of the Academies of Europe will make it more and more common.

The architectural section of the book is by Dr. E. R. Fiechter; and is worked out in exactest detail. Perhaps the most interesting question with which it is concerned is the existence or non-existence of temples previous to that of the time of the Persian wars with which we are familiar. According to Fiechter there had existed on part of the site of this shrine a small temple *in antis* without surrounding columns, the internal plan of which is closely like that of the earliest Athena temple of the Athenian Acropolis. Since the foundations of this building lie under the existing temple, they can scarcely be investigated, but considerable fragments of column and entablature were discovered, on the evidence of which Dr. Fiechter restores not only the ground plan of the temple, but even its elevation and colouring (Pls. 59-61). Contemporary with it appear to have been an altar, a propylon, and other buildings. In regard to the temple now largely extant Dr. Fiechter has much new information. He shews that it was not hypaethral, as Cockerell supposed. He identifies a spot about 92 centimètres broad and 112 deep as the space covered by the basis of the cultus statue, which seems to have been of small size and in a seated attitude. He proves that the opisthodomus of the temple was completely fenced in, and apparently used as an adytum, the door of approach from the temple being small and (probably for some sacred reason) not in the middle of the west wall. He finds a near architectural parallel in the Athenian Treasury at Delphi, happily reconstructed by the French excavators of that wonderful site.

It is however to the sculptures of the great temple that we naturally turn. Here Dr. Furtwängler had a great opportunity, and he has used it to the very utmost. Students of the Aegina Pediments must have long felt two drawbacks, diminishing their extraordinary merit, first that the individual figures as restored by Thorwaldsen were brought too near to a fixed pattern, and second, that the accepted arrangement in the Pediments was too hard and conventional, with overstrained balance, and too great detachment of figures. There can scarcely be any question of the removal of Thorwaldsen's restorations, for where he added he

cut down the broken surfaces to a smooth face; so that if the limbs he added were removed, the warriors of Aegina would all look as if they had been through the operating room. In fact evidence as to junctures has largely disappeared, a fact which seems to have long ago disturbed Cockerell's mind. But in the other matter, that of composition and arrangement, Furtwängler is able to set forth striking novelties. The reasons for complete rearrangement are set forth succinctly on pp. 192-195. The existing stereotyped arrangement has little authority; it is but one of the many schemes successively tried by Cockerell—and it is inconsistent with certain definite new facts. For example, the discovery of a hand, grasping a stone which rested on the base of the pediment, is held to prove the existence of a fourth wounded man in the West (more archaic) Pediment, in addition to the three already recognized; and moreover this base of the pediment, many fragments of which were recovered, proves by the depressions into which the figures were set that Athena stood on the outer edge of this pediment, with two warriors striding out on either side from behind her. The centripetal arrangement of the whole is thus disproved: Athena must have stood invisible in the midst, with groups fighting over a fallen hero on either side. The two archers on either side also discharge their shafts not towards the middle of the pediment, but into the angles.

The arrangement of the Eastern (Hercules) Pediment is quite as completely upset. Here the new arrangement gives us Athena in the midst, and on either side of her a warrior striking at a foe who is in the act of falling into the arms of an unarmed follower.

Whether the new grouping will in all details hold its own is of course a question as to which it would be premature to express an opinion. It is quite a new light that artists of the period of the Aeginetans would choose to sculpture a figure in the act of falling. Furtwängler is able to cite (p. 502) a small archaic bronze figure at Modena, in very nearly the position required: but this figure stands isolated. Also to construct an entire wounded hero, turning his back to the spectator, when all that actually exists of him is part of a hand holding a stone, is very bold, though of course not therefore unjustified.

Another very surprising discovery of the excavators is that the sculptured remains belong not to two pediments, but to three, and that the third pediment was even

completed with a tall acroterion. The fragments (mostly heads) belonging to this third pediment were found almost exclusively at the east end of the temple; but in style they are slightly more archaic than even the figures of the west end. The explanation suggested by Furtwängler is that at least three artists competed in the production of pedimental groups; and that three of these groups were thought worthy of permanent preservation.

After losing one's breath over Furtwängler's astonishing innovations, one recovers it with the discovery that he is conservative as regards the date and meaning of the sculptures. They belong to the time of the Persian war, and they commemorate the two great expeditions against Troy, that of Telamon and Heracles and that of Agamemnon and Achilles, though as regards the latter expedition it is not possible to pick out any particular battle or episode as the subject of the Western Pediment.

No trace has been found of any metopes belonging to the temple. They can scarcely have been of marble sculpture. They may have consisted, as Furtwängler suggests, of wood. Or possibly they were adorned, not with sculpture but with painting.

One valuable feature of the great work on Olympia is here missing: there is no plate in which the exact places where the various fragments were found are marked. No doubt any such plate, if attempted, must have been incomplete, as the earlier excavators did not leave on record the exact localities where figures came to light. Doubtless the editor considered this point, and decided that it would be of no use to attempt a plate on the Olympian model. The *finding-places* of the figures in the different pediments are distinct, the temple intervening between the Eastern and Western remains; the remains of the third pediment were found near the east end of the temple, but apparently not quite where they had fallen. The exact place of this third pediment cannot therefore be determined with certainty.

It might well seem sufficient contents for a great book to bring before the learned world a complete rearrangement of the Aegina sculptures. But the chips of Furtwängler's workshop are in some cases of very considerable importance. On such subjects as the colouring of ancient sculpture, and the principles of pedimental arrangement, he pours out a great wealth of observation argument and theory. As a trifle thrown in, he publishes (p. 323) what

are among the most important unpublished Greek statues in existence, those preserved in the museum at Chalcis in Euboea, an Athena, and a Theseus carrying off Antiope. These striking works are, Furtwängler says, the finest Greek archaic sculptures in existence; from a careful examination of them, I can confirm his judgment. They resemble, but surpass, the figures of the time immediately preceding the Persian war found on the Athenian Acropolis. They are regarded as part of a pediment of the temple of Apollo Daphnephorus at Eretria.

It is easily to be understood that Professor Furtwängler's methods of working compel him to frequent changes of opinion in regard to matters on which he has already written. It is to be noticed that the Athena Medici of the École des Beaux Arts at Paris which was last heard of in Furtwängler's writings as occupying a place in the East Pediment of the Parthenon (*Intermezzi*, p. 29) has now once more reverted to her old position as a copy of the so-called bronze Promachos of Pheidias on the Acropolis. The view as to the representation of the *Volneratus* of Cresilas on a vase (*Meisterwerke*, p. 280) is entirely withdrawn, and so forth. This willingness to change one's view on the production of new evidence or fresh arguments shews alike candour and vitality. But at the same time, when one turns back to the places where these superseded views were set forth, and notices with what confidence they were proclaimed, one has to allow that the faculty for weighing evidence is not so trustworthy as some other powers of Furtwängler's remarkable intelligence.

The third colleague in the production of this book, Dr. Thiersch, has undertaken the inscriptions and the smaller antiquities. The inscriptions are few, but of course important as evidence as to the deity to whom the temple belonged: the name of Aphaia occurs on no less than three of them. Among small objects the pins and fibulae are conspicuous; and Dr. Thiersch puts himself in line with his colleagues by a careful investigation of the use of these forms of fastening respectively in Greek dress at various times.

The last chapter of the volume of text is again by Professor Furtwängler, and consists of a concise history of the shrine of Aphaia from first to last. This chapter concludes one of the most laborious, most careful, and most striking records of discovery and research which our times have seen. If it had been followed by an index, which,

strangely enough is wanting, the finish would have been still better.

P. GARDNER.

FURTWÄNGLER'S ATHLETICS IN GREEK ART.

Die Bedeutung der Gymnastik in der Griechischen Kunst. A. FURTWÄNGLER. Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1905. 8vo. Pp. 15. 9 Illustrations. 80 Pf.

A NOTE ON THE ENNEACRUNUS.

At page 131 of Miss Jane Harrison's *Primitive Athens* the following statement occurs: 'It may be taken therefore as certain that, in the seventeenth century, remains of an "Enneakrunos" and of a theatre-like building near it, existed.' This inference rests on the brief mention, p. 130, of a 'curious old plan then drawn by Guillet and Coronelli,' and a cut of a portion of Coronelli's plan is given. Coronelli's work has of course no independent authority whatever. It is merely a somewhat inaccurate copy of Guillet's, slightly influenced by Spon in all probability, and certainly affected by documents which originated in the time of the Venetian siege. (See *Harvard Studies in Class. Philol.* vii, pp. 177 ff.) This, however, is but a detail. The fact of interest is that Guillet's (Capuchin) map, or a later one much like it, is in positive terms stated to afford proof of the existence of the Enneacrunus in the seventeenth century, on the spot where Dörpfeld would place it.

This is, I believe, the first time that such a view, expressed some years ago by Prof. Dörpfeld, has found its way into English print, and I venture to think that its truth will be accepted by few who have studied Guillet's *Athènes* with any care and compared his statements and map with what is said about this point of Athenian topography in Spon's *Voyage* (Lyons edition, ii, pp. 162, and 209) and Wheler's *Journey* (p. 383). The authority of the map and Prof. Dörpfeld's views about it are discussed in the *Harvard Studies* xii, pp. 221 ff. There are no doubt many good reasons for believing that the Enneacrunus was where Prof. Dörpfeld would place it, but the evidence of the map in question is not one of them. Judeich (*Topographie von Athen*, p. 185), who has evidently studied the maps with great care, ends his account of location of the Enneacrunus with these sensible words, 'von der alten Enneakrunos fand sich damals (in der Byzantinerzeit) keine Spur mehr vor.'

J. R. WHEELER.

GREEK art, says Professor Furtwängler, is inseparable from Greek athletics. It excels especially in the representation of the human figure, and the idea that inspires it is that of the trained athlete as seen in the daily life of the palaestra. Other nations have given equal attention to the training of the body, but no other age or nation has combined the necessary athletic training with the artistic ability to reproduce it.

The athletic ideal is marked even in archaic art by the treatment of the muscles of the body, it finds its perfect realisation in the fifth century, giving a unity to all the diversities of individual artists and being traceable even in the representation of the female figure, and it survives through all the changes of Hellenistic and Roman art. Its charm is due to the position of athletics in Greek education. In the harmonious development of body and mind gymnastic and music were indissolubly united, and the physical beauty produced thereby was regarded as the expression of the spirit within. Hence the art of the fifth century not merely delights the eye but produces a sense of freshness and power, of courage and resolution combined with self-control.

These general considerations are illustrated by a few typical examples. The subject is a wide one and deserves fuller treatment than is possible within the limits of a magazine article. For example the connection between the decline of Greek athletics and Greek art and the diversity of athletic type produced by specialisation are questions full of interest from the artistic and the educational point of view. In his criticism of modern art Professor Furtwängler hardly makes adequate allowance for the influence of clothing. Even the scanty garments of our modern athletes are sufficient to disguise the muscles of the trunk, to the treatment of which he ascribes much of the effect of Greek sculpture. But if he is somewhat hard on the artistic powers of our countrymen, the much-abused English schoolmaster will at least find some consolation in his admission that all is not well with education even in Germany and that 'in spite of theory the system of education in German Gymnasia

results in little more than a cramming with indifferent knowledge.'

E. NORMAN GARDINER.

ALTMANN'S ROMAN SEPULCHRAL ALTARS.

Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit.
VON WALTER ALTMANN. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1905. 11 × 8 in. 1 Vol. Pp. 306. 208 Illustrations in the Text and 2 Heliogravure Plates. 18 M.

THE Roman sepulchral monuments have none of the grace and charm inseparably connected with Greek funeral *stelai*. Apart from the inferiority of the Romans in artistic gifts, the reason for this is to be found in the intensely practical character of the race, a character which reveals itself in the double purpose served by a large proportion of these monuments. They were at once receptacles for holding the ashes of the dead and (perhaps primarily) altars of libation and sacrifice. In keeping with this sternly practical character are the inscriptions engraved on the altars. As a rule, they give little more than the name of the erector and the name and age of the deceased.

The present work has for its object the classification and discussion of the Roman sepulchral altars of the Empire. Naturally it is of the greatest importance to establish a chronological sequence of types. The data for this are somewhat scanty, but by the aid of clues afforded either by the names of persons known to history, or by distinctive styles of garb and head-dress, a probable order can be evolved. An interesting example of a date derived from literary evidence occurs in the case of the monument of Minicia Marcella, whose death is mentioned by Pliny in a letter (v. 16) to his friend Marcellinus (not to the bereaved father Fundanius, as is wrongly stated on p. 34). With such helps the altars are arranged according to the leading motive of their decoration. To the Augustan period belong those with bucrania and garlands. The Claudian monuments have rams' heads and heads of Jupiter Ammon at their angles; these in turn give way to figures of Victory. To Flavian and Trajanic times are assigned the altars decorated with torches and columns.

Though the altars of the Augustan age show more refinement and restraint in their decoration, those of the succeeding periods

have a greater human interest. Not until Claudian times do portraits appear actually on the tombstones, while it is in the Flavian period that they become most common. Here Roman art, though not independent of Hellenistic influence, shows its greatest originality. The second century witnesses the development of subject representations on altars, though they occur more frequently on ordinary gravestones. We see the priest, the peasant, the artisan, the child with his playthings—all sorts and conditions of men. One of the most interesting is the monument to the cutler L. Cornelius Atimetus, who is shown in his workroom and shop with all the instruments of his craft around him (p. 172 f.).

The book gives a valuable collection of sepulchral altars, arranged with care and skill. The author has taken great pains to bring out the connection of their decoration with contemporary wall paintings and stucco-designs. The illustrations are good. The chief ground of complaint here is on the score of arrangement. It is of course impossible in all cases to put the illustration next to the corresponding description. But in this work we find blocks sometimes quite unnecessarily banished from their proper position in the text. (Why, for instance, should not figs. 112 and 113 have been put on their proper page—138? Again, on p. 125 is the description of the altar of Livia Ephyre; the illustration is on p. 129. No reference is given from one to the other.) Under these circumstances references should certainly have been placed beneath the illustrations to guide the reader to the proper description. References from description to illustration are not sufficient. Such omissions do not indeed detract from the essential merits of the book, but they are somewhat of a trial to the reader's patience.

F. H. MARSHALL.

CARTER'S RELIGION OF NUMA.

The Religion of Numa and other essays on the Religion of ancient Rome. By JESSE BENEDICT CARTER. London: Macmillan and Co. 1906. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 184. 3s. 6d. net.

MR. WARDE FOWLER in his admirable book on the Roman Festivals devoted most of his attention to the study of native Roman ritual and purposely neglected extraneous elements. There was therefore room for an

account of the development, or rather of the deterioration, of the Roman religion under the influence of foreign cults. The present book fills this gap in a very interesting, though unpretentious, way. The author freely acknowledges his debt to Professor Wissowa, and his obligations to him are indeed evident throughout. But we find unmistakable signs of an independent judgment as well as much freshness of illustration. The five essays which make up the work describe the half-animistic religion of Numa, the Servian reorganisation, the invasion of Greek deities under the aegis of the Sibylline books, the fatal advent of the ecstatic worship of the East, and finally the short-lived Augustan revival.

One piece of criticism may perhaps be ventured upon. Is it not possible that excessive stress is laid upon the formalism and spiritual inadequacy of the Roman religion? Our ideas as to the effect of that religion upon the hearts and characters of its votaries must not be derived from the conduct of the mob at Rome. Roman religion was essentially a religion for the tiller of the soil, and it was away from the baneful influences of the city that its saving power was best exemplified and most thoroughly understood. The ceremonies of the Roman Festivals may have been minute and often (to our minds) bordering on the ridiculous. But the provincial-bred Livy knew something of the secret of the Roman character at its best when he wrote: *parva sunt haec, sed parva ista non contemnendo maiores nostri maximam hanc rem fecerunt.*

In the useful references to recent literature given in the Index more frequent mention might have been made of Boissier's *La religion romaine* which gives an excellent account of the Augustan revival and treats of many points beside that of Emperor-worship. The printer's error (on p. 101) of 'symbols' for 'cymbals' may be mentioned as a curiosity.

F. H. MARSHALL.

BRIEF NOTICES.

Der Blitz in der Orientalischen und Griechischen Kunst. Von PAUL JACOBSTHAL. Berlin, 1906. Pp. 60; four plates. M. 3.60.

THE writer traces the development in art of the well-known symbol of Zeus, which first appears in the art of Assyria (but not in Egypt, where storms were seldom known),

in the simple form of a double zigzag line, which gradually becomes triple, obviously representing a lightning flash. About the eighth century its form was doubled, and that conception was taken over by the Greeks, whose decorative instincts however tended to convert it into the form of a flower, especially the familiar motive of the lotus-bud or blossom. The writer quotes as an interesting parallel the 'Red Flower' of Kipling's *Jungle Book*; but he does not appear to have realised how often the trident of Poseidon was treated in the same fashion. He points out that different varieties of the flower-thunderbolt are found in Ionic and in western Greek art. Subsequently the flower-type gives way to more naturalistic treatment, and the weapon becomes barbed like a bunch of arrows, or is furnished with wings as on the coins of Elis. The plates give some seventy instances of variant forms, from Greek and earlier art.

Aus den Phönikischen Nekropolen von Malta. Von ALBERT MAYR. (Separat-Abdruck aus den Sitzungsberichten der philos.-philol. und der hist. Klasse der kgl. Bayer. Akad. der Wissensch. 1905, Heft III.). München, 1905. Pp. 32; four plates.

AN interesting record of finds in Maltese tombs, which include various funeral sculptures and forms of coffins. Among the latter is an anthropoid sarcophagus of terracotta; this the author regards as illustrative of a Phoenician custom of the fifth-third centuries, and claims as peculiar to Malta. But they are not unknown in Cyprus. Among the pottery are some interesting Greek vases of various periods, a few Corinthian and black-figured; those of later date come from the South Italian workshops, and include a fine krater *a campana*. A study of the burial-customs shews that inhumation was practised down to the end of the third century, when burning became customary. The monograph will be useful as a record of some little-known discoveries.

H. B. W.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NUMISMATIC SUMMARIES.

American Journal of Archaeology. Vol. x. Part 1. 1906.

1. O. M. Washburn and A. Frickenhaus: The Building Inscriptions of the Erechtheum. (Four plates.)

The text of certain inscriptions (one new) is given by Mr. Washburn, with some proposed new

readings, and explanatory comments by Herr Frickenhaus. They tend to show that the walls were built in 409, the east cella in 408, and the whole roofed and completed in 407.

2. O. M. Washburn: Excavations in Corinth in 1905; Preliminary Report. (Plate and cut.)
3. G. P. Stevens: The East Wall of the Erechtheum. (Four plates, fourteen cuts.)
Discoveries tending to prove that the east wall had a central door with a window each side, and that the building was therefore planned to be a well-lighted religious museum.
4. R. Norton: Report of Director, American School in Rome.
5. Report on researches of the Archaeological Institute of America.
6. Proceedings of Seventh General Meeting, 1905 (with abstracts of archaeological papers).
7. Archaeological News (*ed.* H. N. Fowler).

Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. xxvi. Part I. 1906.

1. E. Strong: Statue of a Boy leaning on a Pillar. (Two plates.)
2. E. N. Gardiner: The Pankration and Wrestling. III. (Three plates; nine cuts.)
3. F. W. Hasluck: Poemanenum. (Plate.)
4. J. G. Milne: Clay-sealings from the Fayum. (Seventeen cuts.)
5. L. Dyer: Details of the Olympian 'Treasures.' (Fourteen cuts.)
6. J. L. Myres: On the 'List of Thalassocracies' in Eusebius.
7. P. Ure: The Origin of the Tyrannis.
8. A. J. B. Wace: The Topography of Pelion and Magnesia. (Map; twelve cuts.)
9. E. A. Gardner: The Atalanta of Tegea. (Cut.)
10. H. R. Hall: The Pyramid of Moeris.
11. W. H. D. Rouse: Inscriptions from Astypalaea.
12. H. S. Cowper: The Rock-cut Statue near Manissa.
13. Notices of Books.

H. B. W.

Revue numismatique. Part I, 1906.

J. de Foville. 'Etudes,' etc. On Greek, etc. scarabaei in the French Cabinet. (i) Herakles crowned by Eros. Greek, assigned to the fifth century B.C. (ii) Graeco-Italian. Theseus putting on the sandals of his father Aegeus.—A. Dieudonné. 'Une monnaie des Aleuades à Larissa.' The *rev.* inser. ΕΛΛΑ on this coin does not refer to Hellas, but is probably the name of Hellanokrates, a member of the family of the Aleuadae. The head of Aleuas appears on the *obv.* of the coin.—J. Maurice. 'L'Iconographie par les médailles' (continued). Deals with the portraiture of Constantius II. and Constans II. The portraits of both on coins are much alike but they can be distinguished from Constantinus II. by certain characteristics referred

to, p. 29.—'Choix de monnaies, etc. du Cabinet de France.' Coins of Magna Graecia.—Review, by A. Blanchet, of Macdonald's Hunterian Catalogue, Vol. III.

Journal international d'arch. numismatique. Parts 3 and 4, 1905.

C. Gerojannis. 'Greek Coins.' Includes a large bronze coin with types Head of Athena and Ship's prow. This has been assigned to Chersonesus in Crete, but I long ago (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Crete*, p. xxxvi) ventured to dispute this attribution. The present specimen was found in Rhodes, and Gerojannis suggests that it belongs to the city of Rhodes.—Svoronos. *Νομίσματα Ἑβερῶν*. A coin of an unknown people of Thessaly or Epirus, perhaps, as Svoronos suggests, the *Ἑβνέσται*, *ἔθνος Θεσσαλίας*, of our texts of Steph. Byz. The three known specimens have been procured, one in Chalcis of Euboea, two in Epirus. *Obv.* ΖΕΥΣ ΕΘΕΤΩΝ

Head of Zeus. *Rev.* ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ Bull butting.

Large bronze coin of good style, end of fourth century B.C. Struck in Argos, a town of the Ethetai?—E. Assmann. 'Der Phöniciische Kronos mit Mauerkrone auf Münzen von Byblos.'—Svoronos. *Νεοελληνικά παραδόσεις περί αρχαίων νομισμάτων*.—*Ἀρχαία πηλίνα σύμβολα καὶ ἐκμαγεία νομισμάτων*, etc. Terra-cotta pieces such as are often found in Attica, impressed with types of coins and gems. It is suggested by Svoronos that some of these may have served as substitutes for Charon's obol.—*Νομίσματα Μακεδονίας* (Σκιώνης), *Κυζίκου* καὶ *Κῷ*. Svoronos publishes some specimens—including a new type—of the curious early silver coins with a bunch of grapes on the *obv.* These pieces have been attributed to Cyrene, but Svoronos favours a town of the Macedonian Chalcidice, probably Scione. Some specimens were purchased by Mr. Wace in Sciathus, the island off the Thessalian Magnesia. But the clue to the true attribution of some, if not all, of these coins has recently fallen into the hands of the British Museum. It consists of a coin (allied to this series) found in Peparethus (an island east of Sciathus) and inscribed with the letters ΠΕ. We have thus the early silver coinage of *Peparethus*, though previously only bronze coins were known. The types of the Peparethian coins are mainly Dionysiac as was natural in an island founded by Staphylus and famous for its wine. I propose to publish this inscribed coin and some other pieces procured by the Museum at the same time, in the pages of the *Numismatic Chronicle*.—Also various papers on Byzantine seals. May I point out that these papers would be much more helpful if they were systematically accompanied by illustrations, at least in the case of well-preserved examples, for, unfortunately, the catalogue of lead seals has often to add to his descriptions—*μετρίως* or *κακῆς διατήρησεως*?

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xxvii. No. 1.

The Use of the Optative in the Edda, Tenney Frank. *ἑκαστοὶ in Thucydides*, A. G. Laird. *Causal Clauses in Livy*, R. B. Steele. *Etymological Miscellany*, Francis A. Wood. Notes: *The Etymology of OΔVCCCEVC*, George Melville Bolling. *Plautus' Mostellaria*, Herbert A. Strong. Reviews, etc.: Norden's *Vergilius Maro Aeneis VI.*, Charles Knapp. Hepding's *Attis: Seine Mythen und Sein Kult*, Grant Showerman. Summaries of Periodicals. Brief Mention by the Editor (notice of Usener, Ramorino's *Persius*, Conybeare and Stock's *Selections from the LXX*, A. Macé's address on Latin Pronunciation, etc.); by C. K. (Dougan's *Disputationes Tusculanæ*); by D. M. R. (Baumgarten Poland and Wagner's *Die Hellenische Kultur*). Recent Publications, etc.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1906.

2 May. O. Immisch, *Die innere Entwicklung des griechischen Epos* (K. Kunst), favourable. L. van Hook, *The metaphorical terminology of Greek rhetoric and literary criticism* (H. Blümner). W. Soltan, *Die Quellen Plutarchs in der Biographie des Valerius Poplicola* (Fr. Reuss).

9 May. Meyers Reisebücher. *Griechenland und Kleinasien*. 6. Aufl. (G. Lang). *Thucydides*, Book I, ed. by E. C. Marchant (H. Gillischewski). 'An excellent school-book, which should be translated into German.' Galen, *Über die Kräfte der Nahrungsmittel*. Book I, cc. 1-13, herausg. von G. Helmreich. G. Ferrara, *La forma della Britannia secondo la testimonianza di Tacito* (Ed. Wolff). G. Ferrara, *Della voce 'Scutula'* (Ed. Wolff).

16 May. R. Pöhlmann, *Grundriss der griechischen Geschichte*. 3. Aufl. (Schneider). A. Hauvette, *Archiloque, sa vie et ses poésies* (J. Sittler), favourable. J. Heckmann, *Über präpositionlose Ortsbezeichnung im Alllateinischen* (H. Ziemer). G. Grupp, *Kulturgeschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*. I. *Untergang der heidnischen Kultur*. II. *Anfänge der christlichen Kultur* (J. Ziehen), favourable on the whole.

23 May. Xenophon, *Anabasis*. Text by W. Gemoll. 3. Aufl. (W. Nitsche). O. Binder, *Die Abfassungszeit von Senekas Briefen* (C. Hosius). H. Blase, *Studien und Kritiken zur lateinischen Syntax*, I and II. (H. Ziemer). J. Ulrich, *Proben der lateinischen Novellistik des Mittelalters* (M. Manitius).

30 May. Berliner Klassikertexte. III. *Griechische Papyri medizinischen und naturwissen-*

schaftlichen Inhalts, bearb. von W. Kalbfleisch und H. Schöne (W. Crönert). A. Wittneben, *Das Perikleische Zeitalter in Aristoteles' Schrift vom Staate der Athenen* (Schneider), favourable. E. Bourget, *L'administration financière du sanctuaire Pythique au IV^e siècle avant J.-C.* (H. Gillischewski). C. D. Buck, *A grammar of Oscan and Umbrian* (Bartholomae), favourable. Tacito, *Il libri III. delle Storie*, commentato da L. Valmaggli (E. Wolff).

6 June. A. W. Verrall, *Essays on four plays of Euripides* (W. Nestle). 'In spite of their acuteness the result of these studies is comparatively slight.' Xenophon's *Anabasis*, erkl. von Rehdantz-Carnuth-Nitsche. II. Books IV-VII. 6. Aufl. (W. Gemoll). *Appiani historia Romana*, ex rec. L. Mendelssohnii, ed. alt. corrector cur. P. Viereck. II. (W. Crönert). E. Dünzelmann, *Aliso und die Varusschlacht* (Ed. Wolff), unfavourable. Ph. Krebs, *Antibarbarus der lateinischen Sprache*. 7. Aufl. von J. H. Schmalz (Th. Stangl).

13 June. *Festschrift zum 25 jährigen Stiftungsfest des Historisch-Philologischen Vereins der Universität München*, redigiert von Ammon, Hey, Melber (O. Weissenfels). W. Dignau, *The idle actor in Aeschylus* (Chr. Muft), favourable. *Xenophon's respublica Lacedaemoniorum*, rec. G. Pierleoni (W. Gemoll). *Diodori Bibliotheca Historica*. Edit. prim. cur. Im. Bekker, alt. L. Dindorf, rec. C. Th. Fischer. IV. (Fr. Preuss). W. Soltan, *Petrus-anekdoten und Petruslegenden in der Apostelgeschichte* (J. Draeseke). P. Maas, *Die Chronologie der Hymnen des Romanos* (J. Draeseke). R. D. Archer-Hind, *Translations into Greek verse and prose* (H. Draheim), very favourable.

20 June. C. Niebuhr, *Forschung und Darstellung. Vermerke und Einzelheiten zur historischen Betrachtungsweise insbesondere der alten Orients* (O. Meusel). H. Winckler, *Der alte Orient und die Bibel* (O. Meusel). *Paulus Realencyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, herausg. von G. Wissowa. 10. Halbb. *Donatio-Ephoroi* (Fr. Harder). W. S. Ferguson, *Athenian politics in the early third century B.C.* Nachwort von E. Meyer (Schneider). *Horaz sämtliche Gedichte im Sinne J. G. Herders* erkl. von K. Staedler (W. Nitsche) I.

27 June. Th. Zielinski, *Die Antike und vir.* Übersetzung von E. Schoeler (O. Weissenfels). W. S. Ferguson, *The oligarchic revolution at Athens of the year 103/2 B.C.* (Schneider), favourable. *Horaz sämtliche Gedichte im Sinne J. G. Herders* erkl. von K. Staedler (W. Nitsche) II. favourable. P. Oltramare, *L'épître d'Horace à Auguste, son objet et sa disposition* (O. Weissenfels).

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

The size of Books is given in inches. 4 inches = 10 centimetres (roughly).

** * Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.*

- Adam* (Dr. J.), see *Praelections* etc.
- Aristotle*. Ross (G. R. T.) *Aristotle De Sensu and De Memoria*, text and translation with introduction and commentary by G. R. T. R., D. Phil. (Edin.) 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xii + 304. Cambridge, University Press. 1906. Cloth 9s. net.
- Brochet* (J.) *Saint Jérôme et ses ennemis. Étude sur la querelle de Saint Jérôme avec Rufin d'Aquilée et sur l'ensemble de son œuvre polémique.* 9" x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xvi + 496. Paris. A. Fontemoing. 1906.
- Broughton* (Reginald) *Carmen Coleridgianum quod senex nauta inscribitur Latine reddidit* R. B. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". Pp. 20. Oxford, Parker & Sons. 1906. Paper 1s. net.
- Brunn* (Heinrich) *Kleine Schriften gesammelt von Heinrich Bulle und Hermann Brunn.* Band III. 10" x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. viii + 356, mit 53 Abb. im Text. Leipzig und Berlin, B. G. Teubner. 1906. Geh. M. 14.
- Brunn* (Hermann), see *Brunn* (Heinrich).
- Bruno* (Bianca) *La Terza Guerra Sannitica. (Studi di Storia Antica pubblicati da Giulio Beloch.* Fasc. VI.) 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. iv + 124. Roma, Ermanno Loescher & Co. 1906. L. 5.50.
- Bulle* (Heinrich), see *Brunn* (Heinrich).
- Burnet* (Joannes), see *Plato*.
- Caesar*. *Selections from Plutarch's Life of Caesar*, see *Plutarch*.
- Cardinali* (Giuseppe) *Il regno di Pergamo, ricerche di storia e di diritto pubblico. (Studi di Storia Antica pubblicati da Giulio Beloch.* Fasc. V.) 10" x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xvi + 304. Roma, Ermanno Loescher & Co. 1906. L. 12.
- Conway* (R. S.), see *Melandra Castle*.
- Coriolanus*, see *Plutarch*.
- Cornutus*, see *Reppe* (R.).
- Dobson* (J. F.), see *Tibullus*.
- Du Pontet* (R. L. A.), see *Plutarch's Life of Caesar*.
- Euripides*, see *Schroeder* (Otto).
- Gruppe* (Dr. O.) *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte. Zweite Hälfte, 3. Lieferung. (Schluss des Werkes.) (Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft herausg. von Dr. Iwan von Müller.* Band V. Abt. 2. Hälfte 2. Lief. 3.) 10" x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 1153-1924. München, Oskar Beck. 1906. Geh. M. 15.
- Headlam* (Dr. Walter), see *Praelections* etc.
- Hicks* (E. L.), see *Melandra Castle*.
- Jackson* (Dr. H.), see *Praelections* etc.
- Kayser* (Johannes) *De Veterum arte poetica quaestiones selectae. (Leipzig Degree Dissertation.)* 9" x 6". Pp. 100. Lipsiae, Typis Roberti Noske Bornensis. 1906. M. 3.
- Kock* (Axel), see *Lund*.
- Kornemann* (E.) *Kaiser Hadrian und der letzte grosse Historiker von Rom. Eine quellenkritische Vorarbeit von E. K.* 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. vii + 136. Leipzig, Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1905. M. 4.20.
- Longinus*. Prickard (A. O.) *Libellus de Sublimitate Dionysio Longino fere adscriptus, accedunt excerpta quaedam e Cassii Longini operibus, recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit* A. O. P. (*Script. Class. Bibl. Oxon.*) 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". Pp. xvi + 98 (?). Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1906. Paper 2s., cloth 2s. 6d.
- Lund*. Från Filologiska Föreningen i Lund. Språkliga Uppsatser III. (Tillegnade Axel Kock.) 10" x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". P. iv + 316. Lund, H. J. Möller. Leipzig, O. Harassowitz. 1906. 5 kr. (M. 5.50.)
- Lygdami Carmina*, accedit Panegyricus in Mesallam, edidit adnotationibus exegeticis et criticis instruxit Geyza Némethy. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 180. Budapestini, sumptibus Academiae Litterarum Hungaricae. 1906. Pretium 3 cor.
- Melandra Castle*, being the Report of the Manchester and District Branch of the Classical Association for 1905, edited by R. S. Conway, Professor of Latin, with an Introduction by the Rev. E. L. Hicks. With numerous plans and illustrations. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6". Pp. xvi + 167. Manchester, at the University Press. 1906. 5s. net.
- Mayhoff* (C.), see *Pliny*.
- Némethy* (G.), see *Lygdami Carmina*.
- Nepos* (Cornelius). *Lives of Miltiades, Lysander, Themistocles, Alcibiades, Iphicrates*, edited with introduction and vocabulary by L. D. Wainwright. (*Arnold's Latin Texts.*) 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 4". Pp. 64. London, Edward Arnold. 1906. 8d.
- Nicole* (Jules) *Un catalogue d'œuvres d'art conservées à Rome à l'époque impériale. Texte du papyrus latin VII de Genève transcrit et commenté par J.N. avec un facsimilé.* 10" x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 34. Genève-Bâle, Librairie Georg et Cie. 1906.
- Ovid*. *Selections*, edited, with introduction and vocabulary by George Yeld, M.A. (*Arnold's Latin Texts.*) 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 4". Pp. 64. London, Edward Arnold. 1906. 8d.
- Ovid in Exile*, edited with introduction and vocabulary by L. D. Wainwright, M.A. (*Arnold's Latin Texts.*) 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 4". Pp. 64. London, Edward Arnold. 1906. 8d.
- Paepcke* (Charles) *De Pergamenorum Litteratura.* 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 38. Rostochii, Typis Academicis Adlerianis. 1906. M. 1.50.
- Plato*. Burnet (Joannes) *Platonis opera recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit* J. B. Tomus I. fasc. i. Euthyphro, Apologia Socratis, Crito, Phaedo. (*Script. Class. Bibl. Oxon.*) 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 172 (?). Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1906. Paper 2s.
- Pliny*. Mayhoff (C.) *C. Plini Secundi naturalis historiae libri XXXVII post Ludovici Jani obitum recognovit et scripturae discrepantia adjecta edidit* C. M. Vol. I. Libri i-vi (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xviii + 556. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1906. Geh. M. 8.

- Plutarch's Life of Caesar.* Selections from, edited by R. L. A. Du Pontet. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. iv + 108. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1906. Cloth 2s.
- Plutarch's Life of Coriolanus*, edited with introduction and notes. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. iv + 70. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1906. Cloth 2s. (50 c.).
- Praelections delivered before the Senate of the University of Cambridge*, 25th, 26th, 27th January, 1906. (Dr. Jackson, Plato, Cratylus, cc. 42-44; Dr. Adam, Pindar, Fragment, 131; Dr. Verrall, Aeschylus, Eumenides, 734-743; Dr. Walter Headlam, Aeschylus, Agamemnon, second chorus; Prof. Ridgeway, Aeschylus, Supplices, 304 sqq.) $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 164. Cambridge, University Press. 1906. 5s. net.
- Prickard (A. O.), see *Longinus*.
- Reppe (Rudolf) De L. Annaeo Cornuto. (*Leipzig degree Dissertation.*) $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. 90. Lipsiae, Typis Roberti Noske Bornensis. 1906. M. 1.80.
- Ridgeway (Prof. William), see *Praelections* etc.
- Ross (G. R. T.), see *Aristotle*.
- Schmiedel (Paul Wilhelm), see *Smith (William Benjamin)*.
- Schroeder (Otto) De Tichoscopia Euripidis Phoenissis inserta (Eur. Phoen. 103-192). (*Commentatio ex programme Gymnasii Regii Joachimici Berolinensis seorsum expressa.*) $10'' \times 8''$. Pp. 16. Leipzig, Gustav Fock. 1906. M. 1.
- Smith (William Benjamin) Der vorchristliche Jesus nebst weiteren Vorstudien zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Urchristentums, mit einem Vorworte von Paul Wilhelm Schmiedel. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. xviii + 244. Gieszen, Alfred Töpelmann (vormals J. Ricker). 1906. Geh. M. 4., geb. M. 5.
- Symonds (Aubrey V.), see *Tacitus*.
- Tacitus*. The Annals of Tacitus. Books I.-VI. translated by Aubrey V. Symonds. $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xiv + 296. London, Swan Sonnenschein and Co. 1906. Cloth 3s. 6d. net, leather 4s. 6d. net.
- Tibullus*. Dobson (J. F.) Selections from Tibullus edited with introduction and vocabulary by J. F. D. (*Arnold's Latin Texts.*) $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4''$. Pp. 64. London, Edward Arnold. 1906. 8d.
- Verhandlungen der 48. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Hamburg von 3. bis 6. Oktober, 1905.* $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6''$. Pp. viii + 224. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1906. Geh. M. 6.
- Verrall (Dr. A. W.), see *Praelections* etc.
- Waimwright (L. D.), see *Nepos (Cornelius)* and *Ovid*.
- Werner (Paul) De Incendiis urbis Romae aetate Imperatorum. (*Leipzig degree Dissertation.*) $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. 88. Lipsiae, Typis Roberti Noske Bornensis. 1906. M. 1.60.
- Witton (W. F.) Dies Romani. Short Readings from Latin Literature, compiled by W. F. W. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. viii + 120. London, Edward Arnold. 1906. Cloth 1s. 6d.
- Yeld (George), see *Ovid*.

The Classical Review

OCTOBER 1906.

THE current year sees the completion of the second decade of the *Classical Review*, and its close seems an appropriate time for the introduction of changes which it is believed will increase its usefulness and popularity. These changes, outlined in a circular of the publisher with which most, if not all, of our readers have already been made acquainted, involve its division into two parts. An issue of one or other of these will appear in each month of the year—of one, the *Classical Quarterly*, in January April July and October; of the other, the new *Classical Review*, in the eight remaining months. The *Classical Quarterly* and the *Classical Review* will be complementary to each other and will between them cover the whole ground occupied by the existing Review. But it is designed in addition that in the *Classical Review* there shall be a fuller representation of the literary and the educational sides of the Classics.

In token that no violent change is contemplated the present Editor will remain as editor of the *Classical Quarterly*, and assist in editing the *Classical Review*, which will be under the chief direction of Dr. W. H. D. ROUSE. It is hoped furthermore that the Associate Editors, both English and American, will continue to collaborate. In addition to the Editors the *Classical Review* will have the advantage of the services of an Advisory Committee, now in process of formation, which will include the names of

Professor MACKAIL, Mr. T. E. PAGE, Mr. V. RENDALL, and others.

Further particulars will be announced in our November issue.

The Classical Association holds its fourth General Meeting in Manchester on the 11th, 12th, and 13th of October with the welcome of the City and the University. To the general regret Lord Curzon, the President for 1906, is unable to attend and deliver his presidential address. The Master of the Rolls, the first President of the Association, will preside at the meetings, and another learned judge and Vice-President, Mr. Justice Kennedy, will give an address on the afternoon of the 12th. The programme includes short lectures on literary topics by Professors Postgate, Rhys Roberts and Conway, and another on 'A Bucranium from the Dictæan Cave in Crete' by Professor Boyd Dawkins; also what promises to be an interesting discussion on 'The relative functions of Classical and modern languages in Secondary Education.' The most important piece of business is the consideration of a Committee's report upon the Pronunciation of Latin. Their recommendations tally with those of the scheme, already printed in the *Classical Review* of April, p. 146, which it is proposed to introduce into Oxford and Cambridge teaching simultaneously in the present term. Visits and excursions to places of interest inside Manchester and outside it have also been arranged.

THE HOMERIC ASSEMBLIES AND ARISTOTLE.

τοῦτο (sc. τὸ ἡγούμενον) γὰρ τὸ προαιρούμενον. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων πολιτειῶν, ὡς Ὅμηρος ἐμμείτο· οἱ γὰρ βασιλεῖς ἂν προέλουτο ἀνγγέλλον τῷ δήμῳ. *Nicomachean Ethics* 1113a.

No commentator on Aristotle seems to question this last statement, and Buchholz in his voluminous *Homerische Realien* quotes it with no criticism except that Nietzsche considers it too general. But is the statement true that Homer represents the people as meeting simply to receive the commands of the princes?

(1) At the opening of the *Iliad*, after the plague has raged in the camp for nine days, Achilles calls an assembly of the soldiery. This, at least, was for deliberation; the council had not met, the commander-in-chief does not seem to have been consulted, and no one had an order to promulgate. The question before them is what shall be done in order to secure relief from the plague, and Achilles proposes that they seek to learn from some seer the cause of the god's anger. No one raises the point of order that this matter belongs to the council of Elders or to the commander-in-chief, and not to the people. (2) After the meeting of the council on the first day of battle, another assembly is held which indeed at first seems to be for the purpose of making known to all the council's decision to arm the soldiers for battle. But Agamemnon, far from presenting the plan as voted by the council, says nothing about a previous discussion and decision, and closes his speech with the exhortation: 'Come! as I say, let all obey! Let us return with our ships to our native land.' To say, with Fanta, that this assembly is not for deliberation, but for a trial of the sentiment of the soldiery, is misleading. The men start for the ships before another word is said,—no formal vote was usual in an Homeric assembly,—but are brought back to the agora, and Odysseus and Nestor propose plans for action which are adopted. (3) On the next following morning, a Trojan herald comes to the Greek camp to ask for a truce for the burial of the dead, and to offer a proposition of Paris, looking toward peace. The Achaeans are assembled at the stern of Agamemnon's ship (H 383), *i.e.* at the door of his tent. After hearing the message, Diomed states his opinion, and 'all the the sons of the Achaeans shout in approval.' Agamemnon

understands this as a *viva voce* vote, settling the question, and says to the Trojan herald, 'You yourself hear the answer of the Achaeans.' (4) At the close of the second day of battle, the heralds call an assembly (I 11), which is distinguished from the council of Elders (I 89) held *later*, not before it. Here again no order is to be promulgated, but again Agamemnon urges the return to Argos. Diomed rebukes him severely, and the proposition is withdrawn; Nestor directs the stationing of a guard, and asks that a meeting of the Elders be held. (5) Again, at the opening of the last day of battle, all the Achaeans come together (T 45) simply to witness the reconciliation between Achilles and Agamemnon. No orders are to be promulgated. (6) Finally after the capture of Troy, the sons of Atreus call an assembly at evening (γ 137),—not to give directions, but laying their matter of dispute before the soldiery in order to secure a decision between two plans: Menelaus desiring to hasten home, while Agamemnon thought it better to remain and offer propitiatory sacrifices to Athena. The adherents show their mind by departing,—a literal and effective 'division' of the people. In no instance, then, is an Achaean assembly called that the people may learn the will of the chieftains.

As for the Assemblies of the Trojans. (1) Coming as ambassadors of the Achaeans to demand the return of Helen, before the actual beginning of hostilities, Menelaus and Odysseus state their case before the assembled Trojans (Γ 209), who must have been gathered to decide between war and peace, not simply to gratify their curiosity. At this meeting of the people, Antimachus, who was not one of the princes, urged that the envoys be put to death, and not allowed to return to the Achaean camp (Λ 123, 139); that is, a debate was held and different propositions were made, concluding with the decision to refuse the demand of the envoys but to allow them to depart. (2) Before the first battle of the *Iliad*, the Trojans are assembled before the gates of Priam's palace (B 788). The subject of discussion does not appear, but no orders are mentioned as given; when this assembly is dismissed, the men hasten to take their arms, but this is because of the tidings brought of the Achaeans' approach. (3) At the close of that day's battle, they are gathered again by the gate

of Priam, in confusion and fear because of the unexpected strength shown by the Achaeans (H 345),—evidently met for a discussion of the situation. Antenor proposes to surrender Helen and her possessions; Paris refuses to give up Helen, but consents to surrender the treasures. Then Priam directs the herald to bear to the Achaean camp the proposition of Paris, and to ask for a truce for the burial of the dead. In one sense this is an order, but it is a result of the assembly,—the people were not called together to hear it. In modern parlance one might say that Antenor offered a motion to give up Helen and her treasures; that Paris then proposed an amendment to the motion, and Priam declared the motion adopted as amended. If Priam did not care for the vote, or at least to know the mind of the people, he would have settled the question in private. He gives no commands to the assembly. (4) On the next following morning, the Trojans assemble again to hear the reply of the Achaeans and to act accordingly (H 414). (5) The Trojan soldiers are called to an assembly on the field at the close of the third day of battle (Σ 245). This can be for nothing but deliberation. Pulydamas urges that they should return to the city; but Hector insists that they remain by the Greek camp,—saying indeed that he will not allow anything else,—and he has the whole army with him (ἐπὶ δὲ Τρῳῆς κελεύσσαν). ‘Pallas Athene took from them their senses, for they praised Hector though he devised an evil plan, while no one praised Pulydamas who framed excellent counsel.’ Here Pulydamas makes a motion which is rejected under the influence of Hector.

In the assembly of Ithacans (β 10 ff.),

the old Aegyptius who speaks first, expects not orders but information. He asks who has brought them together. ‘Has this man tidings of the return of our army, or does he lay some other matter of public interest before us?’ Telemachus then asks the people to relieve him from the oppression of his mother’s suitors, but lays no commands upon the assembly,—which would be futile. This assembly is summarily dismissed by one of Penelope’s suitors, who tells the people to go to their homes and leave Telemachus to the care of his friends, and they think it wise to do so.

The Homeric poems tell of two other popular assemblies,—one at Mycenae to determine the sending of troops against Thebes (Δ 380), where the men of Mycenae (not the king) ‘were willing’ to grant the request; and the other of the Phaeacians (θ 5), where Odysseus is introduced by Alcinoüs, who begins, ‘Hear me, that I may say what my soul in my breast bids me,’ which does not sound like the promulgation of a formal order.

The importance attached to oratory (θ 170), the epithet of Nestor, ‘The clear-voiced man of the assembly’ (A 248), and the epithet of the assembly itself (κυδιάνειραν A 490), all imply that the people were gathered for deliberation. Nestor’s oratory was useful for persuasion, not simply for the conveyance of commands.

Thus the Homeric assembly of the people is clearly for deliberation and action, even in the midst of a military campaign, when the discipline is necessarily stricter than at home in time of peace, and Aristotle’s statement or comparison is inaccurate.

THOMAS DAY SEYMOUR.

A PECULIARITY OF CHORIC RESPONSION.

‘REIM’ is the name given by Karl Frey *Aeschylus-Studien* 41–3 to a ‘Wiederholung nicht nur von Worten, sondern von Vokalen und Consonanten oder sogar der Verbindung gleicher Vokale, und zwar wie man erwartet da, wo auch eine Wiederholung der Quantität stattfindet, in den Chören.’ He was, as far as I know, the first to point this out¹

¹ As a constant practice, I mean: I cannot trace all the sporadic notices of single instances, e.g. Heimsoeth *Wiederherstellung* 56, Verrall ‘On a Chorus of the Choephoroe’ (*Journal of Philology* ix).

and to maintain that it was not due to accident: his tabulation admits of more analytic statement and, as it refers only to Aeschylus, of amplification.

I.—*Responson of Words.*

(a) the same word or words common
Cho. 319 = 336 *δμοίως*.

(b) different forms of the same word *Cho.*
45 *φοβοῦμαι* = 56 *φοβέται*.

(c) similar words (akin to II a b) *Cho.* 28
ἔφλαδον = 38 *ἐλακον*.

(d) different forms of similar words Eur. *Hipp.* 533 ἦσαν=543 ἴοντα.

(e) similar forms of different words Cho. 27 ἰφασμάτων=37 ὀνειράτων (may be reduced to II a).

(f) the same word-combination (subdivisible as above¹); generally interjections.

(g) similar word-combinations (subdivisible as above¹) Cho. 381 Ζεῦ Ζεῦ=395 φεῦ φεῦ.

(h) words of different sound but of the same, similar, or contrasted sense (not found in Aeschylus) Eur. *Hec.* 927 ἐς εὐνὰν=937 ἀκοίταν.

II.—Responsion of Vowels and Consonants.

(a) the same vowels or consonants Aesch. *Supp.* 118 πάθεια μέλεια θροεμένα=129 (ἐν-)αγεία τέλεια πελομένων (partly I c d).

(b) similar combinations Aesch. *Supp.* 539 ἄταν=546 -οικοι.

III.—Irregular Responsion (all kinds of I and II involved).

(a) reversal of answering elements in the same part of the antistrophic line; rare in Aesch. e.g. Cho. 25 ὄνυχος=35 μυχόθεν, otherwise only in Euripides e.g. *Orestes* 150 ἀπόδος ἐφ' ὅτι=164 ὄτ' ἐπὶ τριπόδι (combined with exact vowel responsion in ὅτι=-ποδι).

(b) cross-responsion: e.g. *Hipp.* 529 μηδ' ἄρρυνθος ἔλθοις 532 τὸ τὰς Ἀφροδίτας 533 ἴσιν 534 ὁ Διὸς παῖς=539 τὸν τὰς Ἀφροδίτας 542 -τα καὶ διὰ πάσας 543 ἴοντα 544 ὅταν ἔλθῃ i.e. (I b)+(I b+I a)+(I c)+(II a+III a)=(I b+I a)+(II a+III a)+(I c)+(I b).

(c) exact responsion combined with inexact *Hipp.* 1109-10 μετὰ δ' ἵσταται ἀνδράσιν αἰὼν πολυπλάνητος ἀέ=1118-9 μεταβαλλομένα χρόνον ἀέ βίον συνευτυχοῖν.

I have not made a rubric for syllables, they find their place indifferently under I or II. In giving the tragic examples, which are as nearly complete as repeated search can make them, I ignore (generally) all responsion of less than two syllables in each line and all responsion of mere interjections, as purely mechanical: where the same word occurs in both places it is given only once, instances given above are not written out in full. The plays are arranged in the most probable chronological order, where such order is possible: for Aeschylus, I acquiesce in Campbell's, for Sophocles and Euripides, needing guides, I have followed respectively

¹ I insert this proviso for the sake of theoretical completeness: it is at present unnecessary, but no one knows what may not yet be discovered.

Sir Richard Jebb and Dr. Murray. Variant readings of importance are noted wherever they have not escaped me. For the further convenience of those who wish to have their statistics as full as possible I have added to the title of each play the proportion of antistrophic lines to the total number.

AESCHYLUS *Supplices* (556: 1084 add 8 necessary for exact correspondence viz. 181a -f 367a 583a then 564: 1092; if 832-842 can be reduced to two antistrophae of 8 verses apiece then 580: 1091) 40 ἐπικεκλόμενα (vulg. ἐπικεκλομένα)=49 ἐπιλεξαμένα; 44=53 ἐπι-; 59 οἶκτον οἰκτρὸν . . -ων=65 (νέ)οικον (Klausen, νέον M) οἶκτον . . -ων; 73 παρείαν=82 παρ' αἶσαν; 92 κὰν σκοτῶι (μελαίναι ἐμπτυχαί: scripsi, κὰν σκότῶι μελαίναι ξὺν τύχαι M)=99 δάσκιος; 104 βίαν=112 δ' ἄ-; 109 ἐφ' ἄγν=117 μεταγν-; 118=129 Π a; 145 πατὴρ ὁ παντόπτας=155 ἀδμήτας (Westphal) ἀδμήτα; 162=176 τόν; 164 -κότων=178 γόνῳι; 376 πρύτανις . . -ος ὦν=387 φύλακα . . -πόνων; 379 μονο- =390 μένει; 397 γενοίμαν=407 δμαίμων; 400 ἐλόμενος=410 ῥεπομένων; 533 ἀνάκτων . . -ων=540 γυναικῶν . . -ών; 539=546 II b; 552=561 -μένα; 572 ὀδύ- =581 πολύ-; 573 Ἥρας=582 Ἰώ; 583=590 αἰῶνος; 588 ἔρμα . . λόγῳι=596 ἔργον . . λέγων; 599 -λόγως=604 -όνων; 646=659 -οντα; 648 ψήφον=661 Ζητός; 687=697 -έτω; 689 ἀχορον=699 πρόνομα; 690 δακρυνογόν=700 πολύγονα; 691 βοάν τ' ἐνδημον=701 τὸ πᾶν τ' ἐκ δαιμόν-; 711 δίκας=717 Δίκας; 758=765 -φρονες; 759-60 κόρακες ὥστε, βωμῶν ἀλέγοντες οὐδέν=766-7 κυνοθρασεῖς, θεῶν οὐδὲν ἐπαίοντες; 786 -ός, . . αἰ . . εἶ=794 ὅς . . αἰ . . εἶ; 803 οἰόφρων=811 -αἰάκτων; 807 γάμον κυρήσ- =815 γάμον λυτῆρ-; 818 -όμενα=826 -όμενοι; 820=828 βίαια; 822 -ον δ' ἔ . . σέθεν=830 -τον τί δ' . . σέθεν; 857 ἀλμήντα πόρον=867 ἀλφεσίβοιον ἔδωρ; 916 πρόμοι, δάμναμαι=919 ἀνάξ, πάσχομεν; 1030 πολί- =1038 πολύ-; 1031 χεῖμ' =1039 χεῖμ-. It is to be noticed that 73 82 117 659 now show stronger resistance than has been thought to conjectural alteration. 815 is doubtful (καὶ λυτῆρια M), but certain bold lines of emendation now seem forbidden. As for 832-842 where all is hopeless and one can only flatter oneself with a pleasing dream, it is remarkable that Hermann's wonderful instinct led him to write ὁσιόφρονα in 837-8 (=βλοσυρόφρονα 846). It is possible that 864 λέιφ' ἱδρανα (a form defended by Marckscheffel) κί' ἐς δόρν answers 876 βᾶθι μὴ πρόκακα παθεῖν with ὁλομένα in 877 (βᾶται βαθν of M is a con-

flation of double readings with itacism βαταί^ε βᾶθι).

ὄναρ ὄναρ μέλαν 899 supports Dr. Headlam's δάκος ἄχος μέγα in 909. *Persae* (367: 1077 add 985a then 368: 1078) 69 λινωδίσμ= 77 διχόθεν; 133=140 τόν; 262 τόδ' ἄχος= 268 τόδε πῆμ' ; 272 βέλεα παμμυγῇ= 287 μέλα (γρ. rec., σώματα M), πολυβαφῇ (παμ-βαφῇ Kayser); 286 ἔβησαν=292 ἔκτισαν; 553-5 Ξέρξης μὲν ἦγαγεν, ποποῖ, Ξέρξης δ' ἀπώλεσαν, τοτοῖ, Ξέρξης=563-5 νᾶες μὲν ἄγαγον, ποποῖ, νᾶες δ' ἀπώλεσαν, τοτοῖ, νᾶες; 569 πολυταῖς=569 πεδιύρεις; 572=580 πρὸς; 557-6 οὐράν' ἄχρ, δᾶ=583-4 δαιμόν' ἄχρ, δᾶ; 578 βοᾶ=586 τὸ πᾶν; 639 ἰέντ=646 ἰόντ; 650 ἄνῃρ=655 ἄνδρας; 652-3 Ἰδωνεὺς δ' . . Ἰδωνεὺς;=657-8 θεομήτωρ δ' . . θεομήτωρ δ'; 696 σέβομαι μὲν=702 δέμαί μὲν; 697 σέβομαι δ' ἀντία λέξαι=703 δέμαί δ' ἀντία φάσθαι; 853 ἄμαχος=864 ἀπόνους; 859 ἄρχε=865 ἄγον; 887 Χίος ἡδὲ Πάρος=896 Πάφον ἡδὲ Σόλους; 934 αἰακτός=943 πάνδρυτον; 940 θρηνητήρος=949 περθητήρος; 941 πέμψω=950 κλάζω; 942 πολυδακρυν ἱαχάν=951 γόον ἀριδακρυν (ἀριδακρυν ἱαχάν Hermann); 956 ἄκτάν=969 ἀκτᾶς; 959=972 πού δέ; 980 συγγῆς Ἀθάνας=993 ἄλαστ' ἄλαστα (στνγνᾶ); 983 ὀφθαλμόν=996 ὄνταρχον; 988 ἔλιπες ἔλιπες=1002 ἔταφον ἔταφον; 1005-6 βεβᾶσι=1010-1 πεπλήγμεθ'; 1007 ἰὴ ἡ, ἰὼ ἰώ=1012 νέαι νέαι δύαι δύαι; 1021 ὀρῶ ὀρῶ=1032 παπαῖ παπαῖ; 1026 ἐσπανίσμεθ' ἀρωγῶν=1037 γυνυδὲς εἰμι προπομπῶν; 1039 δαίνε δαίνε=1047 ἔρσσο' ἔρσσο; 1045 βαρεῖα=1053 μέλαινα; 1046 οἷ μάλα=1054 οἷ, στονό-; 1055 καὶ στέρν' ἄρασσε=1061 πέπλον δ' ἔρεικε. The 'dirge' 934-1066 is of course responsible for a very large number of these instances, making the percentage of the *Persae*, in spite of its low proportion of antistrophic verse (due no doubt to the epic character of the play), so notably higher than that of the *Supplices*, nearly half of which is antistrophic. *Septem contra Thebas* (424: 1070 omitting 886 then 423: 1069 or adding 874a then 425: 1071) 112 ἀρῆξον=126 φύλαξον; 136 ὦ πότνι' Ἥρα=145 ὦ φίλ' Ἀπολλων; 137=146 similar sense; 151 ἰὼ παναρκεῖς θεοί=159 ἰὼ φίλοι δαίμονες; 187 ὅτε τε=197 ὅτ' ὅλο; 282 ποτὶ=299 πολυ-; 286 ἰάπτονσι=303 ἐμβαλόντες; 308 οἰκτρὸν=320 κλαυτόν; 309=320 προ-; 407 -ρους . . -ρους ὑπέρ=442 -ω . . -ω . . ὑπέρ-; 674 δορί-μαργος=680 πικρόκαρπον; 687 -ερον=694 -ίρω; 708 ὁμοίαν=715 ἄποικος; (III a); 751 γάρ . . ἄρᾶν=757 γάρ . . -σαν; 817 τελεία=825 ἀπέειπεν (III a); 818 γένεος . . ἄρᾶ=826 πα-τρόθεν . . φάτις; 863 σὺν αἰχμᾷ=869 σιδάρωι; 875-6 αἰαὶ δαιμόνιοι, αἰαὶ=887-8 δὲ ὦν αἰνομόροις, δι' ὦν; 887 θανάτων=889 θανάτου (καὶ θανάτου M); 906 δυοῖν ἀνάκτοις=916 ὁμοσπόροις; 956-7=971-2 similar sense;

958-9 διπλᾶ λέγειν, διπλᾶ δ' ὀρᾶν=973-4 τάλαν γένος, τάλαν πάθος. Note too the responsions in the monostrophic dirge (antistrophic in Hermann's text) 941=942, 943=944, 945=946, 947=948, the last three instances corresponding in metre. *Agamemnon* (581: 1673 omit 1009 (Verrall) 1074 then 579: 1671 add for ephymnia 18 then 597: 1691; personally however I still have a hankering after Hermann's arrangement of 1449-1576 which yields this symmetry:

ABA CC DBD, cf. the similar but more

complex system of Cho. 305-476; I can with difficulty get over the brusque attribution of Agamemnon's death to Helen in 1459 ff: then the proportion would be 584: 1676) 110 ὅπως=131 χρόνιοι; 115 οἶων=136 οἶον; 170=178 ὅστις; 231 μετ=241 μετ'; 251 βέλει=262 -ρέπει; 381=398 οὐκ; 394-5=411-2 similar sense; 415 -οράν=431 ὀρᾶν (now first explained by Dr. Headlam); 416=432 διά; 417 -στενον=433 -στερον; 447 -ίου=465 τί μου; 688 μή τις=704 μῆνις (as I have no reputation to lose by it I will confess that when I reach μῆνις the strophe rings back μῆνις); 689 τοῦ πεπρωμένου=705 ὑστέρωι χρόνιοι; 697=713 πολυ-; 701 αἶμ=717 αἶμ'; 740 ἀγαλμα=751 ἀπαιδα; 969=981 similar sense; 973 φρενὸς φίλον θρόνον=985 πρὸς ἐνδοίκους φρεσίν; 993 εἶθι=1007 ὀρθο-; 1085 ἰὼ ποποῖ, τί ποτε μῆδεταί=1093 ἰὼ τάλαινα, τόδε γὰρ τελεῖς; 1110 ἐπὶ δέ=1124 ἀπὸ δέ; 1129-30 ἰὼ ἰὼ ταλαίνας κακὸς ποτμοι τύχαι=1142-3 ἰὼ ἰὼ λιγείας μόνον ἀηδόνας (ἀηδόνας μόνον M which makes τύχαι and μόνον correspond: Dr. Verrall was once inclined to keep this, and I suggest as a faint possibility that the poet may have been satisfied with a correspondence of word for word

ἰὼ	ἰὼ	ταλαίνας	κακὸς ποτμοι	τύχαι
ἰὼ	ἰὼ	λιγείας	ἀηδόνας	μόρον

cf. *Suppl.* 791=799

κόνις	ἄτερθε	περὶ γων	ὀλοῖμαν
πρόπαρ	θανούσας δ'	Ἰδίδας	ἀνάσσοι

and numerous other instances, at least in Pindar and Aeschylus, where the corresponding words have the same number of syllables; here such correspondence combined with rhyme may have seemed to him justification enough to drop the strict syllabic responson); 1135 θεοφόρῃ=1148 θεοφόρους; 1155 ἰὼ γάμοι γάμοι Πάρδος ὀλέθριοι=1166 ἰὼ πόνιοι πόνιοι πόλεος ὀλομένας; 1156 ἰὼ Σκαμάνδρον πάτριον ποτόν=1167 ἰὼ πρόπυργοι θυσίαι πατρός; 1161=1172 ἐφημίσω; 1164

μυνρά=1175 γοερά; 1484 φεύ φεύ=1508 πῶ πῶ. *Choephoroi* (357: 1074 but numbers doubtful on account of 779-836, add 7 for ephymnia after 951 970 then 364: 1081) 23 κόποι!=33 κόντον; 25 ὄνυχος ἄλοκι.. τόμωι=35 μυχόθεν ἔλακε.. φόβωι; 27=37 I c; 28 ἐφλαδὸν ἵπ'=38 ἔλακον ἵπ-; 45=56 I b; 46 τὸδ' ἐκβαλεῖν=57 τὸ δ' εὐτρυχεῖν; 319=336 I a; 344=362 sense; 345=363 πάτερ; 346=364 sense continued and irregular response of *δορίτμητος* and *δουρικμήτι*; 380 βέλος=394 βάλοι; 381=395 I g; 382 -ποιον=396 -οιτο; 405=418 -μένων (Tucker's *φθοιρόμενον* 405 gives -ομένων=ομένων); 406=419 τὰ; 424=445 πολυ-; 430-1 ἀνευ.. ἀνευ=451-2 τὰ μὲν.. τὰ δ'; 591 αἰγίδων=600 κνωδάλων; 622 πόνων=630 λόγωι; 627 τίων=635 σέβει; 781 δόμον (Bothe, δέ μου M)=792 δρόμωι; 782 -ομένοις=793 -όμενον; 934=945 ἔμολε; 935=946 ποινά; 936 ἔμολε 8' ἐς=947 ἔριγε δ' ἐν; 937 διπλοῦς.. διπλοῦς 948=Διός.. Δίκαν. *Eumenides* (318: 1048) 157 -ολαβεῖ=164 -ολιβῇ; 158 ὑπὸ φρένας, ὑπὸ λοβόν=165 περὶ πόδα, περὶ κύρα; 161=168 ἔχειν; 385=393 τε καί; 391 δυσομμάτοις=399 δυσήλιον; 500 πάθεα=509 ἄκα; 519 δίκας=528 δίκαν; 566=569 τόν; 558 βαιῖως=566 δὲ αἰῶν-; 597 ἄω=977 κακῶν; 997 χαίρετε χαίρετ' ἐν.. -σι πλ.=1015 χαίρετε χαίρετε δ'.. διπλ-; 998 ἀστικὸς λεῶς=1016 οἱ κατὰ πτόλιν; 1000 παρθένου=1018 Παλλὰδος. *Prometheus* (165: 1127 add 557 a then 166: 1128) 130 φοβῆθ=150 Προμηθ-; 133 τόνδε=153 σὺν δέ; 138 δ' ἐπλη=158 δέ μή; 170 ἐπιχαρῇ=192 ἐπιχαλαῖς; 546=556 -ομένα; 569 ἁρμονίαν=579 Ἰστίαν; 596 -παστος=618 πατρός; 603 οἰστηγλάται=625 σκιρτηγλάτων; 613 παρθένου=635 παρθένωι; 913 ἡ σοφὸς ἡ σοφός=922 μήποτε μήποτε; 916-7=925-6 sense; 920 -ομένων=929 -ομένων; 921 -ήταν.. γάμων=930 Ἥρας.. πόνων. Ephymnia, that is to say, absolute rhymes, are common in Aeschylus: this fact must be taken into account when one calculates the amount of rhyme in his tragedies. The passages are *Supplices* 123-8=134-9, 147-9=157-9, 168-73=181 a-f, 901-3=911-3 *Persae* 667=675, 1044-6=1052-4 *Septem contra Thebas* 962-4=977-9 *Agamemnon* 124=145, 1055-6=1060-1, 1064-5=1069-70, perhaps 1455-62=1475 a-g, 1490-7=1514-21, perhaps 1539-49=1565 a-l. *Choephoroi* perhaps 785-9=795 a-e, perhaps 802-7=814 a-f, 941-4=951 a-d, 959-62=970-970 c. *Eumenides* 329-34=342-7 (Schneider's repetition of 356-60 after 368 seems quite impossible and carries with it that of 374-8 after 383), 781-96=811-26, 840-9=872-81, 1036=1040, 1044-1048. It may be that the ephymnium or refrain

was the most primitive form of rhyme. Anyhow the practice of Aeschylus seems to show a gradual decline both in frequency and complexity of rhyme.¹

SOPHOCLES *Antigone* (382: 1353) 101 ἐπαπύλου=118 ἐπάπυλον (irregular); 102 ἐφάνθ.. ποτ'=120 ἔβα.. ποθ'; 108 φυγάδα=125 πάταγος; 335=345 πόντον; 354 ἀνεμόεν=365 μηχανόεν; 360 παντοπόρος ἄπορος=370 ὑψίπολις ἄπολις; 585 γενεᾶς=596 γενεάν; 611 τό.. τὸ μέλλον=622 τό.. ποτ' ἐσθλόν; 614=625 ἐκτὸς ἄτας; 807=823 τάν; 816 νυμφεύσω=833 -ευνάξει; 840 -φαντον=859 -παντος; 843-4 πολυκτήμενος ἄνδρες ἢ Διρκαὶ καὶ κρήναι=861-2 κλεινοῖς Λαβδακίδαισιν. ἢ ματρίωι λέκτρον; 847 οἶα=866 οἶων; 848=867 πρὸς, and ἔρχομαι irreg.; 850 ἢ δύστατος=869 ἢ δυσπρότιμος; 855 προσέειπες=874 παραβατόν; 945 ἀλλάξει.. χαλκοδέτοις αὐλαῖς=956 Ἰδωνῶν.. κερτομοῖς ὄργαις; 946 τιμῆρηι θαλάμωι κατεζεύχθη=957 πετρῶδει κατάφαρκτος ἐν δεσμῶι; 949 Ζηνός=959 -θηρόν; 966 παρὰ δέ=977 κατὰ δέ; 1119 -ταλῖαν=1130 -ταλῖας; 1125 ἐπὶ σποράι=1136 ἐπισκοποῦντ; 1306 αἰαὶ αἰαὶ=1328 ἴτω ἴτω; 1307 φόβωι=1329 μόρον. *Aias* (314: 1420), 176 χάριν=187 φάτιν; 225 ἐπὶ κληζομέναν=248 ζυγὸν ἐξόμενον; 349=357 sense; 396 ἔλεσθ' ἔλεσθ=414 πολλὴν πολλὴν; 608 -πότρωπον=621 ἔπεισε; 622 -αἰαί=635 Ἀἰδαί; 626 -μόρως=638 -πόνων; 703 -αἶς Ἀπολλῶνων=715 ἔξ ἀέλλων; 704 εὔγνωστ=716 -εργνωστ-; 879 τίς ἂν.. τίς ἂν.. -πόνων=925 ἔμελλ.. ἔμελλ.. χρόνιοι; 885 ὁμόθυμον=931 ὁμόφρων (irreg.); 912 πᾶι πᾶι=958 φεύ φεύ; 1204 τίγων (already in 1201)=1216 τέφρις. *Oedipus rex* (320: 1530) 154=162 sense; 168 ἀνάρημα=178 ἀνάρηθμος; 469 ἔνοπλος=479 μέλεος; 483=497 μὲν οὖν; 660 πρόμον=689 μόνον; 661 ἄφελος=690 ἄπορον; 870 μή ποτε=880 μήποτε; 896=910 sense; 1207=1216 sense; 1314 ἐμὸν ἀπώτροπον ἐπιπτόμενον=1322 ἐμὸς ἐπίπολος ἐπὶ μόνιμος. *Electra* (330: 1510 add 1264 a 1428 a-c 1429 a then 335: 1515) 134 ὦ παντ=150 -ὦ παντ-; 155 οὔτοι σοὶ μούναί τέκνον=173 θάρσει μοι θάρσει τέκνον; 165 ἀνιμφευτος=186 ἀνέλπιστος; 170 -όμενον=190 ὦδε μὲν; 171 αἰ=191 αἰε; 194 αἰδᾶ=213 φωνεῖν; 211=231 ποτ'.. ἀπο-; 474=490 -ομένα; 476 Δῖκα δίκαια=492 ἄλεκτρ' αἰνυμφα; 823=837 (one might suspect a far-off response between

¹ Irregular response is most rare in Aeschylus. I add here one case cited by Frey (p. 42), whether through error or not I cannot tell: *Supplices* 350 τέκος κλυθί μου=364 Διὸς κλαρίου. Frey calls special attention to these rhymes 'durch ein Dutzend Verse von einander getrennt!'

κερανοὶ Διὸς ἦ and ἀνακτ' Ἀμφιάρεω, but-!); 1066 φάμα=1080 -μῆθς; 1084 νόνημος=1092 νῆν ὑπό; 1232-3 ἰὼ γοναί=1253-4 ὁ πᾶς ἔμοι ὁ πᾶς. *Trachiniae* (167: 1278) 96 Ἄλιον=105 ἄθλιον; 97 τοῦτο . . πόθι=105 οὐπτο' . . πόθον; 498=508 σθένος (irreg.); 500 -ονῖαν=510 -νιαδᾶν; 502 τινάκτορα=512 τινάσσω (irreg.); 505 πρὸ γάμων . . δέ 514 λεχών . . δέ; 637 κόρας=644 κόρος; 824 ὁ τ' ἔλακεν ὁπότε=834 ὅν τέκετο θάνατος; 842 προσορῶ=853 νόσος ὦ; 844 προσέβαλε=855 ἀπέμολε; 846 -οά=857 θοάν; 850 ἄχχαν=859 αἰχμᾶ; 851 α' δ' . . δολίαν καὶ μεγάλαν ἄταν=860 α' δ' . . φανερά τῶνδ' ἐφάνη πράκτωρ. *Oedipus Coloneus* (389: 1780 add 181 a-c 182 a then 393; 1783) 119-20 ὁ πάντων ὁ πάντων=149-50 δυσαίων μακράϊων; 122=152 προσ-; 123 πανάτας πανάτας=153 περᾶς γὰρ περᾶς ἀλλ'; 125 προσέβα=155=προπέσσης; 131 ἀφώνως ἀλόγως=163 μετᾶσταθ' ἀπόβαθ'; 134 λόγος . . λείσσω=166 λόγον . . λέσχων; 538 ἔπαθες ἔπαθον=545 ἔκανεσ ἔκανον; 539=546 τί γάρ; 678 ἀνήνεμον=690 ἀκράτηα; 679 χειμᾶνων=691 στερνούχου; 694 οἶον ἐγώ=707 αἶνον ἔχω; 695 μεγάλαι=709 μεγάλων; 696=710 -στον; 697 -ωτον=711 -ωλον; 833 ἰὼ πόλις=876 ἰὼ τάλως; 841-2 προβᾶθ' ὦδε, βάτε βᾶθ' ἔντοποι, πόλις ἐναίρεται πόλις=884-5 ἰὼ πᾶς λεώς, ἰὼ γῆς πρόμοι, μόλετε σὺν τάχει, μόλετ'; 1221 ἀνυμναίως=1236 ἀπροσμίμον; 1456=1471 αἰθῆρ, ὦ Ζεῦ; 1484 μετᾶσχοιμ=1497 παρασχεῖν; 1560 Αἰδωνεῦ Αἰδωνεῦ=1571 εὐνᾶσθαι κνηῖσθαι; 1563 μόρωι=1574 τόν, ὦ; 1674 ἐχοιμεν=1701 εἰμένους; 1677 τί δ' ἔστιν; ἔστιν μὲν=1704 ἔπραξεν; ἔπραξε; 1736 αἰῶν'=1750 δαίμων. *Philoctetes* (248: 1471) 138 ἐτέρας=153 ἐνδρος; 139=154 τό; 169 ὅπως=180 ἴσως; 171-2=182-3 sense; 201 εὔστομ' ἔχε παῖ=210 ἄλλ' ἔχε τέκνον 207 του . . κατ' ἀνάγκαν=215 που . . ὑπ' ἀνάγκας; 209 διάσχεμα γὰρ θροεῖ=218 προβοᾶι γὰρ τι δεινόν; 399 παρεδίδουσαν=515 ἐπιμέμονεν; 710 -βόλων=-πόρωι; 711 πανῶν=723 μῆνῶν (!); 714 ψυχά=725 νυμφᾶν; 837 πάντων γνῶμ' ἴσχω=853 τοῦτοι γνῶμ' ἴσχεις; 838 -ἂ πόδα=854 ἀπορα; 1085 καὶ θνήσκοντι συνοῖται=1105 ναίων ἐνθάδ' ὀλοῦμαι; 1088 ἀπ' ἐμοῦ=1109 ἀπ' ἐμῶν. *Fragments* (Nauack) 532, 2 ἡμᾶς=5 ἡμῶν; 535-6, 1=3 ἀνθρώπων.

ENRIPIDES *Cyclops* (65: 709 add 62 a-f 374 a-h then 79: 723) 45 βοτάνα=59 τεκῶν; 358-9 ἐφθά . . χναῦεν βρύκειν=373-372 (transp. Hermann) ἐφθά . . κόππων βρύκων. *Alcestis* (259: 1163 add 96 a 468 a then 261: 1165) 118 ἀπότομος=128 Διόβολον; 120 ἐπί=130 ἔτι; 218 φίλοι=231 φίλαν; 222 πόριζε δὴ πόριζε=234 βόασον ὡ στέναξον; 225=237 Ἄιδαν; 245 οἰράναι τε δίνει νεφέλας

δρομαίου=249 νυμφῖδοι τε κοῖται πατρίας Ἰωλκοῦ; 252 ὀρῶ . . ὀρῶ=259 ἄγει . . ἄγει (v.l.); 253=260 νεκῶν; 400 ὑπάκουσον ἄκουσ=412 ἀνόνατ' ἀνόνατ'; 439 κῶπαι=449 ὤρας (ὥρα ὥραι codd.); 444 ἐλάται δικῶπαι=454 μελέων δαιδοῖς; 456 πέμψαι=467 κρύψαι; 464 λέχος, ἡ μάλ' ἂν ἐμοῦ'=474 μέρος; ἡ γὰρ ἂν ἐμοῦγ'; 570 Ἀπόλλων=580 λεόντων; 590 ἀρτοῖς=599 ἀλόχου; 872 πρόβα πρόβα=889 τύχα τύχα; 875 ὠφέλεις=892 ὄλεσας; 907 ἔφερε=930 ἔθανε; 909=932 ἦδη; 910 βῖτον=933 θάνατος; 992=1003 sense. *Medea* (205: 1419) 150 νύμφα=175 ὁμφάν; 152 ματαῖα=177 μεθείη; 410 ἱερῶν χωροῦσ=421 -γενέων λήξουσ'; 412 βουλαί=423 γνῶμαι; 416 φάμαι=426 ἕμνον; 418 -κείω γένει=428 αἶον ἔχει; 436 λέκτρον=443 λέκτρον; 632 δέσποιν=640 δεινά (μ' αἰνά Verrall); 634 χρῖσασ'=642 κρίνοι; 647 οἰκτροτάτων ἄχων=658 δεινότατον παθῶν; 651 -εσθαι=662 ἔσται; 826 χώρας=837 χώραν; 828 αἰεὶ δια=840 αἰεὶ δ' ἔπι; 831 Πιερίδας=843 -αι παρέρδους; 846 -ῶν . . -ῶν=836 ἦ . . ἦ (!); 851 τεκῶν=861 ἀδακρυν; 852 σκέφας φόνον=862 σχήσεις φόνου; 853 γονάτων=863 ἱκετᾶν; 980 Ἄϊδα=988 ἄταν δ'; 993 ἀλόγως=999 λεχών; 1257 φόβος=1267 φόνος; 1258 διογενεῖς=1268 ὁμογενή; 1273 (transp. Schenkl) ἀκούεις . . ἀκούεις=1282 μίαν δὴ . . μίαν τῶν; 1275 φόνον=1286 φόνου; 1281 ὅν ἔτεκες=1292 πολῦπονον. *Heracleidae* (146: 1055 add 76 a 110 a-e then 152: 1061) 75 ἀμαλόν=95 πόλεος; 353 ἕτεροι=362 ἑτέραν; 608 βαρύποτμον=619 ὑπεράλγει; 614 ἀλέταν (Murray)=625 ἀρετά; 755-6 μέλλω . . μέλλω=766-7 Ζεὺς μοι . . Ζεὺς μοι; 774 ταῖδ' ἐπάγοντα=781 ἀνεμῶντι; 892 χορός . . λίγαια=901 ὁδόν . . δίκαιον; 897 τῶν=906 τῶνδ'. *Hippolytus* (218: 1466) 123 παγάν=133 ξάνθαν; 127 ποταμίαι=137 στόματος ἄ; 130 δέσποιναν (δεσποῖνας)=140 δύστανον; 146-7 ἀνίερος=156-7 λιμένα τόν; 149=159 ἵπερ; 362 αἶες ὦ ἐκλυες ὦ=669 τάλανες ὦ κακοτυχεῖς; 363 μέλεα=670 ἔχομεν; 365 ἰὼ μοι φεῦ φεῦ=672 ἰὼ γὰ καὶ φῶς; 525 Ἔρως Ἔρως=535 ἄλλως ἄλλως; 529, 532-4=539, 542-4 III b; 550-2 δρομάδα Ναῖδ' ὅτ . . Βάκχαν . . καπνῶι φονίους θ' ὕμνεναίους (ὑμνηαῖους Murray)=560-3 τοκάδα τᾶν διγόν (γρ. schol.) . . Βάκχων . . πότμου φονίω κατηνῶσαν; 732 ἱπό=742 ἐπί; 738 σταλάσσουσ=748 χέονται; 756 κακομφοστάταν . . ἀμφ=770 ἀπὸ νυμφιδίων . . ἀμφ; 818 κακῶν=837 θανόν; 830=848 the latter defective but a rhyme probable; 1105 λῦπας=1113 τύχαν; 1109-10=1118-9 III c; 1120=1131 οὐκέτι. *Andromache* (278: 1288 add 1219 a then 279: 1289) 119 Φθιάς . . Ἀσιγῖδα γένναν=128 Ἰλιάς . . Λακεδαιμόνους ἐγγενέτησιν (irreg.); 138 πόλεος=144 τὸ δὲ σόν; 274 Ἰδαίαν=284 οὔρεῖαν; 295 πρὶν

Ἰδαῖον κατοικίσαι λέπας=303 τυράνων ἔσχεσ
 ἂν δόμων ἔδρας (cf. 282=292); 299 ἐλίσσετο
 =307-ἐλείπετο; 299-300=307-8 contrasted
 sense; 467=475 sense; 482 φρενός=490
 -φρονος; 484 πόλις=492 πότις; 507 ὦ
 πάτερ=530 ὦ φίλος; 772 δωμάτων=784 δόμων
 (irreg.); 1009=1019 εἰ; 1011 πέλαιος=1021
 -στεφάνους; 1027 ἀλόχου=1037 ἀγούρους;
 1029 θανάτω=1039 ἀλοχοι; 1173 ὥμοι ἐγώ,
 κακόν=1186 ὦ γάμος, ὦ γάμος; (Hermann's
 conjecture in 1187 makes ἀμοῖς and ἀμάν
 answer each other); 1182 δαίμων=1195
 Φοῖβον; 1183 παρ' ἀκτάν=1196 ἀνάσαι; 1208
 θανέν θανέν σε=1221 μόνος μόνισιν. *Hecuba*
 (136: 1295) 445 ποντοπόρους=456 πεμπο-
 μένας; 471 πήναις=480 -κλημαί; 629-30 ἔμοι
 χρῆν συμφοράν, ἔμοι χρῆν=639-40 πόνοι γὰρ
 καὶ πόνων ἀνάγκαι; 635 ἐπὶ=643 ἔρις; 913
 ἐμβατεύσω=922 ἐμβεβώτα; 923 δὲ πλόκαμον
 ἀναδέιτος=933 δὲ φίλια μονόπεπτος; 927=
 937 *I h*; 931 Ἰλιάδα=941 Ἰλιάδος (irreg.).
Supplices (236: 1234) 46 νεκῶν (φθιμένων
 preceding)=52 φθιμένους; 61-2 ἐς χεῖρα θείναι
 νεκῶν=69-70 ἐν (ταλαίαι ἴν Wilamowitz)
 χερὶ θείναι νέκν ἀμφ; 71-2 ἔρχεται . . γῶν
 διαδόχος=79-80 ἐξάγει . . γῶν πολίππος;
 365 ἔμόν=369 ἔμῶν; 367 ἀνακτος σῶσα=371
 ἀγαλμα φόνον; 373 πόλεσιν=377 πόλις ἂ;
 374 αἰεὶ=378 -αίνειν; 375 φίλια=379 ἀδικί-;
 376 τεμεῖ=380 νέμεις; 602 διὰ δόρος=612
 διάφορα; 604 φόνου μάχαι=614 δίκαι δίκαν;
 606 τίν' ἂν τῶνδ'=616 -σι πάντων; 623 τίς
 ποτ' αἶσα, τίς ἄρα πόμος=631 τὸ σὸν ἀγαλμα,
 τὸ σὸν ἱδρυμα; 784-5 τὰν ἀεπτον ἀμέραν
 ἰδοῦσα=792-3 νῦν δ' ὀρῶ σαφέστατον κακόν;
 799 τῶν κατὰ χθονὸς νεκρῶν=812 σῶμαθ'
 αἰματοσταγῆ; 801 -ατων=814 ἀγών; 805 ἰὼ
 ἰώ=818 ἔχεις ἔχεις; 808 Ἀργεῖα=821 Καδ-
 μείων; 955-6 οὐκ' εὔτεκος οὐκ' εὔπαις=
 963-4 ἐπτά ματέρες ἐπτά κόουρος; 957 κouro-
 τόκοις ἐν Ἀργεῖαις=965 κλεινοτάτους ἐν
 Ἀργεῖοις; 958-9=966-7 sense; 999 Καπανέως
 =1022 θαλάμους; 1000 ἔμῶν=1023 ἔμαι;
 1002 φῶς τάφον τε=1025 φῶς γάμοι τε; 1007
 συννήσκειν=1029 συντηγθεῖς; 1123 φέρω
 φέρω=1132 ἄπαις ἄπαις; 1124=1133 πατρός;
 1144-5=1151-2 sense (1144 ἄρ' ἀσπιδούχος
 =1151 χαλκείος ἐν ὅπλοις). *Hercules* (252:
 1428) 351=ελαύνων=367 ἐναίρων; 360
 λόντος=376 -λόντων; 387 διεπέρασεν=401
 εἰσέβαινε; 410=427 πολν-; 410 ἔβα δι'=427
 ἐπλευσ' ἐς; 412 ἄγορον=429 βίοντον; 415
 ἄγρας=432 πλάτα; 420 πολν- =437 δόρυ;
 422 βέλσει τ' ἀμφ' =439 τέκεσιν ἂν π-; 647-8
 ἂ καλλίστα μὲν ἐν δαλῶι καλλίστα δ' ἐν πενίαι
 =665-6 καὶ τῶιδ' ἦν τοῦς τε κακοὺς ἂν γνῶναι
 καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς; 673 Μούσαις=688 ὕμνοισ';
 678-9=692-3 γέρονι αἰοδός; (and κελαδεῖ
 679 κελαδῆσιν 694 irreg.); 736 βίοντον=752
 θάνατος; 763 χοροὶ χοροὶ . . μέλουσι=773

θεοὶ θεοὶ . . μέλουσι (Canter, μέλουσι codd.);
 764 ἱερὸν=774 ὁσίον; 789 καλλίνικον ἀγῶνα
 (τὸν Ἡρακλέους preceding)=806 τὰν Ἡρακλέους
 ἄλλαν; 791 Μουσῶν=808 Πιλοῦτων; 794=
 811 ἔφανε; 795 χαλκασπιδων=812 ἐξιφηφόρων.
Ion (213: 1622) 112=128 ὦ; 113 προ-
 =129 πρό; 114 Φοῖβον θυμέλαν=130 μαντεῖον
 ἔδραν; 187-ραπέσαι=197 -ρὰ πήναις; 190 τάνδ'
 ἄθρησον=201 τόνδ' ἄθρησον; 1053 πόντια
 πότιν' ἐ=1066 πάθεισι πάθεα; 1056-60=
 1069-73 sense; 1058=1071 ποτ'; 1060 τῶν
 εὐγενετῶν=1073 τῶν εὐπατριδῶν; 1088 ἄλλων=
 1104 ἄλλαν. *Troïades* (298: 1332 add 604a
 then 299: 1333) 159 ὦ τέκν' =182 ὦ τέκν'
 (possibly τέκνον in 159 the latter part of
 which seems damaged); 308 (not anti-
 strophic in Dr. Murray's text and not counted
 above) ἰδοὺ ἰδοὺ=325 εἰάν εἰοῖ; 314=331
 refrain; 315=332 μάτερ; 323 λέκτροις=340
 εἰνῶι; 523 πέτρας=543 κνέφας; Meineke's
 conjecture would make πυρὸς πυρὸς 815=
 ἔβας ἔβας 804; 831-2 αἰ δὲ παῖδας αἰ δὲ (αἰ
 . . αἰ Wilamowitz, αἰ . . αἰ, αἰ . . αἰ codd.).
 =850-1 εἶδε γαῖαν εἶδε; 1066 Ἰδαίᾶ τ' Ἰδαῖα=
 1077 μέλει μέλει μοι τὰδ'; 1099 Πέλοπος=
 1117 μέλαι; 1310 ἀγόμεθα φερόμεθ'=1325
 ἐμάθετ' ἐκλύετε; 1316 θάνατος . . σφαγαῖσιν=
 1333 πρόφερε . . Ἀχαιῶν. *Electra* (272: 1359
 add 1154ab 1181a then 275=1362) 121
 στυγεράς=136 μέλαι; 147 ὄνυχι τεμονόμενα
 δέραν=164 ἔξιδεσι δ' ἀμφιτόμοις λυγρὰν (cf.
 also irregular responson of τιθέμενα 149
 θεμένα 165 as against Radermacher's denial
 of responson in 140-9 157-166); 169 ἔμολε
 τις ἔμολεν=193 χρύσεια τε χαρίσαι; (432-41
 =442-51 note the irregular echoes 434
 Νηρήιδων 438 Θέτιδος 442 Νηρηίδες 450
 Θέτιδος); 702 καλάμοις=716 κελάδει; 703
 μοῦσαν=717 Μουσῶν irreg.; 705 χρυσεῖαν
 ἄρνα=718 χρυσείας ἄρνός (both passages in
 trouble); 729 ἀελίου=739 ἄελιον; 865 χορῶι
 =879 χαρῶι; 1178 ἴδετε=1191 φανερά; 1179
 μυσσάρα, δίγωνα σώματ'=1191 ἄχα, φόνια δ'
 ὥπασ-; 1188 παθοῦσα=1204 φρονοῦσα; 1212
 =1220 ματρός. *Iphigenia Taurica* (179:
 1499) 395 διεπέρασ- =410 λινοπόροις; 425
 Ἀμφι- =442 ἀμφί; 1091 ἔλεγον=1108 ἔπεσον;
 1093 μολπαῖς=1110 λόχαις; 1096 -γόρους
 =1113 -κτόνου; 1249 ἐτι βρέφος=1274 ὅτι
 τέκος; 1254 θρόνωι=1279 βροτῶν. *Helena*
 (Pearson) 1248: 1692 add 1317a 1476a then
 250-1694) 173 πάθεισι πάθεα μέλει μέλαι=
 185 ἄλυρον ἔλεγον; 174 θρηνήμασι ξυνωιδά=
 186 αἰάγμασι στένωσιν; 176 δάκρυσι=188 γοε-
 ρόν; 177 ὑπὸ μέλαθρα νύχια παῖδας=189 ὑπὸ
 (irreg.) . . μύχια γάλα κλαγγαῖσιν; 178 ὁλομέ-

¹ From here on, as Dr. Murray's edition is not yet finished, I have taken Kirchhoff as a basis, with reference in each case to any other edition consulted. Wecklein I have not had.

νοῖς=190 ἀναβοῇ; 193 κόραι=212 γύναι; 194-5 -αῖων τις ἔμολεν ἔμολε δάκρυα δάκρυσι=213-4 -αῖων τις ἔλαχεν ἔλαχεν ὅτε σε τέκετο; 198-9 δι' ἐμέ . . δι' ἐμὸν ὄνομα=217-8 τί γὰρ ἀπ- . . τίνα δὲ βίοντο; 199, 203 πολυ=218, 222 οὐκ; 200 Ἀῖδα=219 μάτηρ; 203=222 sense; 204 οἴχεται=223 ἔρχεται; 207 λέλοιπε δάπεδα=226 λέλοιπε βίοντο; 1113 'Ἐλένας=1128 μονόκω-; 1117-8 ὅτ' ἔμολεν ἔμολε, πεδία βαρβάρωι πλάται δς ἔδραμε ῥόθια, μέλα=1132-3 ἀλίμενα δ' ὅρεα μέλα βαρβάρων στολᾶς ὅτ' ἔσντο πατρίδος ἀποπρό (corrupt); 1120 σέθεν, ὦ Ἐλένα (Seidler for ὡς εἶλε) . . αἰνόγαμος=1135 Δαναῶν νεφέλαν . . ναυτὸν ἄγων; 1121 'Ἀφροδίτας=1136 'Ηρας (irreg.); 1137 θεός . . μῆ . . ἡ τὸ μῆς=1151 -ες ὁσ- . . τὰς . . τὰς πολέμ-; 1140 τὰ θεῶν=1154 θνατῶν; 1301-2 ὀρέα ποτὲ δρομαδί κώλωι μάτηρ=1319-20 δρομαίων δ' ὅτε πολυπανητῶν μάτηρ; 1308 -μια=1326 δρία; 1313 -ενίων=1331 ἑλίκων; 1316 πάνοπλος=1334 πέλαινοι; 1340 =1356 ματρός; 1342 παρθένωι=1358 -ται νεβρῶν; 1349 θεά=1365 θεάς; 1454 -χόρων=1468 χοροῖς; 1464 ἐπ' ἀκτάς=1477 ἐλαμψαν. *Phoenissae* (203:1766 add 814a then 204:1767) 202 ἔβαν=214 ἑμᾶς; 203 ἀκροθίνα Λοξίαί=215 καλλιστεύματα Λοξίαί; 204 Φοινίσσας ἀπὸ νάσσου=216 Καδμείων ἔμολον γᾶν; 239-41=250-2 sense, and note 240-1 'Ἀρης αἶμα δάιον φλέγει=251-2 φλέγει ὀχῆμα φοινίου μάχης (253 'Ἀρης); 245 ἐπαπύργος ἄδε γὰ=256 'Ἀργος ὦ Πελαγονίον; 246 φεῦ φεῦ=257 ἄλκων; 249 ὦν μέτεστί μοι πόνων=260 ὃς μετέρχεται δόμον; 638 ἔμολε=657 φόνιος; 639 Τύριος ὦ=658 'Ἄρεος ὦ; 647 Δίρκας=666 δίας; 790 αἶμμα Θήσας (-αις) κῶμων ἀναιλότατον προχορεύεις=807 πένθεα γαῖας Σφίγγος ἀμουσοτάταισι σὺν οἰδαῖς; 793 ἄρμασι=809 τείχεσι; 795 γένναι (-αν)=812 παίδων; 796 -οπλον=813 πόλιν; 1019 ἔβας ἔβας=1043 χρόνῳ δ' ἔβα; 1021 Καδμείων ἀρπαγὰ=1045 Θηβαίαν τάνδε γᾶν; 1022 πολὺ=1046 πάλιν; 1023 τέρας=1047 τάλας; 1026 Διρκαί- . . ποτ'=1050 μαιν- . . πτό-; 1028 ἄλυρον=1052 μυσαρόν; 1029 Ἐρινύν=1053 ἀραίσι; 1030 ἔφερες ἔφερες ἄχρα πατρίδι=1054 τέκεια μέλεος ἀγάμεθ' ἰγάμεθ'; 1031 φόνιος=1055 θάνατον; 1035 ἐστῆναζον=1059 καλλίνικα; 1036-8 ἱήιον βοᾶν βοᾶν, ἱήιον μέλος μέλος, ἄλλος ἄλλ'=1060-2 γενοίμεθ' ὥδε ματρες, γενοίμεθ' εὐτεκνοι, φίλα Παλλάς, ᾶ; 1041 ὁπότε πόλεος=1065 ὅθεν ἐπέσντο; 1042 τιν=1066 τις; 1287 ἔλεος ἔλεος=1299 πέσσεα πέσσεα; 1290 ἰὼ Ζεῦ ἰὼ γὰ=1302 ἰαχὰν στενακτάν. *Orestes* (186:1693) 142 ἀποπρό *bāt'* ἐκεῖ ἀποπρό μοι κοίτας=155 ἔτι μὲν ἱμπνέει, βραχὺ δ' ἀναστῆναι; 149 κάταγε κάταγε . . ἀτρέμας ἀτρέμας=163 ἀδικος ἀδικα . . ἔλακεν ἔλακεν; 150 λόγον ἀπόδος ἐφ' ὅ τι=164 -φονον ὅτ' ἐπὶ τρίποδι; 171 ἀνὰ πόδα σὺν=

192 -ον ἀπόφονον; 174 πότνια πότνια=195 ἔκανες ἔθανες (ἔθανες ἔθανες); 175 -πόνων=196 -πὸ δ' ὦ-; 180 ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀλγέων ὑπὸ τε συμφόρας=201 σὺ τε γὰρ ἐν νεκροῖς τὸ τ' ἐμὸν οἴχεται; 185 στόματος ἀνακλάδων ἀπὸ λέχεος ἦ=206 ἄγαμος ἐπιδ' ἄτεκνος ἄτε βίοντο ᾶ; 318 θεαί=334 -εται; 320=336 δάκρυσι; 323 τινύμεναι κάκων, τινύμεναι φόνον (324 καθικε-τεῖομαι διαικτεῖομαι)=339 κατολοφύρομαι κατολοφύρομαι (the musical fragment is against this, but I know of no editor who has upset his text in order to agree with it); 329 τρίποδος=345 τίνα γάρ; 808 -ἄδα καί=820 παλάμαι; 810 -τρεῖδαις=822 δείξει; 814 -τα καί=826 τάλαι-; 818 -τρεῖδαις=830 αἰεί (αἰεῖ!); 973 Musgrave's οἴκος would rhyme with ἄταν 962, cf. Aesch. *Supp.* 539=546; 963 ᾶ=974 ᾶ; 965 ἰαχεῖτω=976 ἰὼ ἰὼ; 967 πῆματ'=978 μοῖρα; 968 ἔλεος ἔλεος δδ' ἔρχεται=979 ἔτερα δ' ἔτερος ἀμείβεται; 970 ποτ' ὄντων=981 -τος αἰών; 1253-4 -ι -ε -ε -ο -ε -εο- . . -ει -ε -ε- . . -α=1273-4 ᾶ -ο -ο -ε -ε -ο- . . -α -ι -ο -ο- . . -ε-; 1255 ἐπὶ=1275 ἔτι; 1353 κτύπον . . κτύπον=1537 ἔτερ- . . ἔτερ-; 1361-2 διὰ δίκας ἔβα θεῶν νέμεσις ἐς 'Ἐλέναν=1545-6 τέλος ἔχει δαίμων βροτοῖς τέλος ὅπαι θέλει. *Bacchae* (Tyrrell, 284:1392 strike out 537 then 283:1391) 67 -ιον εὐ=71 Διόνν-; 72 -δαίμων=88 -δίνων; 84 θεοῦ=100 θεόν; 105 ὦ Σεμέλ=120 ὦ θαλαμ-; 118-9 -ἰδων τ' οἰσ- . . Διονύσωι=133-4 -ἰδων οἰς . . Διόνυσος; 412 ἀγ' ἐμέ, Βρόμει Βρόμει=427 ἀπέχων πραπίδα φέρνα τε; 874 παραποτάμιον ἀδομίνα=894 ὃ τι ποτ' ἄρα τὸ δαιμόνιον; 978-9=998-9 sense; 987=1007 doubtful, but some responson evident, either ἐς ὅρος ἐς ὅρος=τέρα μεγάλη or ἔμολεν ἔμολεν=μεγάλα φανερά; 1176 Κιθαιρῶν τί Κιθαιρῶν; =1193 ἐπαινείς; τί δ'; ἐπαινώ; 1182 γένεθλα μετ' ἐμέ μετ' ἐμέ=1197-8 γέγηθα μεγάλα μεγάλα. *Iphigenia Aulidensis* (England, proportion not reckoned) 168 χαλκίδα=189 ἀσπίδος; 180 Πάρις=201 παρά; 182 κρηναί=203 νησαί-; 235 ἔχων=247 ἄγων; 255 ἐστολισμένας=267 ἡθροῖσμένους; 256=268 ἦν;(285 λόχευμα=300 πόρευμα; 287 νήσους=302-κλήτου—if the passages were not all 'to pot'); 547 -άμενοι=561 -όμεναι; 754 ὅπλοις=765 πλάταις; 756-7 Φοιβήιον δάπεδον τάν=767-8 Σιμωνντίους ὀχετοῖς τήν; 1039 ἰαχὰν=1061 τε Βάκχου; 1047 Πηλιάδα=1070 'Ιλιάδα (England for γαῖαν ἐκ-); 1056-7 κόραι Νηριῶς γάμονος ἐχόρευσαν=1078-9 Νηρηίδος (irreg.) . . ἰμεναῖους. *Rhesus* (230:996) 24=42 Ἐκτορ; 131 τάδε δοκεῖ, τάδε μεταθέμενος νόει=195 μέγας ἀγών μεγάλα δ' ἐπινοεῖς ἐλεῖν; 134 μολεῖν=198 πέλιν; 136 δαίεττα=200 φαίνεται; 230 ἀγεμών=239 δεσπότην; 232 δείμας=241 δαίμων; 347=356 ἦκει; 455 φίλα θροεῖς, φίλος=821 μέγας ἐμοὶ μέγας;

456 ἄμαχον=822 ἕμολον; 460 οὔτε . . οὔτε = 826 οὐτ' ἔ- . . οὐτ' ἔ-; 543-5=562-4 ephymnia with slight changes; 900 πορευθεῖς = 911 ε-πλαθείς'. *Fragments* (Nauck) 781, 17 Ἀφροδίταν=26 Ἀφροδίται; 19 θεῶν=27 θεάν.

Sophocles occupies, as always, a middle position: Euripides, in spite of an occasional ebb (*Heracleidae* *Ion* *Iphigenia Taurica* *Bacchae*), plainly advances, if not towards greater frequency, at least towards greater complexity of rhyme.

These are the facts from tragedy, and I imagine that it needs no words of mine to make clear that 'rhyme,' as defined at the outset of this paper, was used by the Greek tragedians, consciously and deliberately, as a more subtle mode of antistrophic response: that very ebb of which I have just spoken makes it, to my mind, quite impossible to interpret the phenomenon as altogether a play of the subconscious. The elements of this 'rhyme' are various and subtly interwoven: mere assonance, weak and full rhyme, kinship and contrast of sense play, across each other, occasionally reaching such a pinnacle of close union as we are quite unaccustomed to seek in our own poetry.¹

¹ It is a common requirement in modern French poetry. See, of course, Banville's *petit traité* and

My pet instance comes from the *Helena* where, in an enigmatical chorus, rhymed with exceptional subtlety and pervaded by a curious chime of ὦ Ἑλένα, the name Ἑλένα 1120 answers to νεφέλαν 1135: the whole fable of the play writ in brief. I suspect that more is concealed here, which will come to light when someone solves for us the riddle of this fascinating but most baffling play.²

cf. the following passage (L. Muhlfield, 'Chronique de la littérature,' *revue blanche*, 15 avril, 1893 =tom. iv p. 289) '... il faudrait essayer de surprendre respectueusement la "manière" de Heredia. J'en veux indiquer un seul trait: c'est le caractère supérieurement simple, précis et prépondérant des mots à la rime,

Seul, parfois, un bouvier menant ses buffles boire,
De sa conque où soupire un antique refrain
Emplissant le ciel calme et l'horizon marin,
Sur l'azur infini dresse sa forme noire.

Ces quatre mots boire, refrain, marin, noire résument chacun le vers qu'ils terminent.' The critic did not go far to pick his example, and I will not trouble about a better.

² Note the date of this paper.—Aristophanes has his trace of rhyme when he strikes a higher lyric note: *Clouds* 276-8 ἀνάσαι Νεφέλαι, ἀρθώμεν . . εὐδ(γητον)=298-300 παρθένοι ὀμβροφόροι, ἔλθωμεν . . εβα(νδρον γὰν) and 287 μαρμαρέαις ἐν αἰγῶνι=309 παντοδαπαῖς ἐν ὕραις.

C. J. BRENNAN.

(To be continued.)

XENOPHONTEA.

ANABASIS.

1. 2. 21. The third ὅτι should be omitted or changed. Perhaps ὅτε, parallel to ἐπεὶ.

1. 5. 9 συναγείρεσθαι should be συναγερεῖσθαι to match μαχεῖσθαι.

ibid. καὶ συνιδεῖν δ' ἦν τῷ προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν τῇ βασιλεύῳ ἀρχῇ πλῆθει μὲν . . ἰσχυρὰ οὔσα, τοῖς δὲ μήκεσι . . ἀσθενής.

Mr. Marchant says 'τῇ . . ἀρχῇ C₁ DV: τοῦ . . ἀρχὴν A: ἡ . . ἀρχή C₂ cet.', himself reading the dative. With the dative after προσέχοντι one might be content; but are the nominatives ἰσχυρὰ οὔσα and ἀσθενής right? As far as I know, such phrases as ἦν ιδεῖν, which are common enough, always take an accusative. If we have a nominative, ιδεῖν must be used in an absolute way, *was to see*, for which I do not know any exact

parallel. Such a use as Ar. *N.* 1172 νῦν μὲν γ' ιδεῖν εἰ πρῶτον ἐξαρηνητικός is different, (1) because it refers to actual sight, (2) because there is no participle like οὔσα here. Aristophanes could never have said ιδεῖν εἰ ἐξαρηνητικός ὢν. This suggests that ἰσχυρὰν οὔσαν and ἀσθενῆ are what Xenophon wrote, possibly τὴν . . ἀρχήν. The confusion of the MSS. points perhaps to something different from the reading of any of them.

1. 9 5 αἰδημονέστατος . . τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐδόκει εἶναι τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὑποδεεστέρων μᾶλλον πείθεσθαι.

To match αἰδημονέστατος we need μάλιστα. μᾶλλον could in any case hardly stand, and the mistake is common enough.

1. 10. 4. Read ὡς ἤδη πάντας νικῶντες and omit the ὡς πάντας νικῶντες preceding. They can never have been meant to stand together. Cf. on 3. 4. 45.

2. 4. 5 ἐγὼ ἐνθυμουμαι μὲν καὶ ταῦτα πάντα.

There seems little force in καί. Perhaps καὶ <αὐτός>.

2. 5. 25 ἐγὼ μὲν γε, ἔφη ὁ Τισσαφέρνης, . . ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ λέξω τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγοντας ὡς κ.τ.λ. ἐγὼ δέ, ἔφη ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἄξω πάντας καὶ σοὶ αὐτὸ δηλώσω κ.τ.λ.

For λέξω read δείξω, which is better suited to ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ and matches the δηλώσω following. Parts of λέγω and δείκνυμι are apt to get confused (Δ Λ).

3. 1. 7 ταῦτ', ἔφη, χρή ποιεῖν ὅσα ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσεν.

Perhaps πάντα for ταῦτα.

3. 4. 45. Omit διακελευομένων τοῖς ἐαυτῶν. Cf. on 1. 10. 4 above.

4. 3. 29 <λέγων> οὐτι οὗτος?

5. 6. 22. Read οὐδέν for οὐδέ before ὑμῖν.

6. 5. 25 παρήγγελο δὲ τὰ μὲν δόρατα ἐπὶ τὸν δεξιὸν ὦμον (τῶν δ. ὤμων Cobet) ἔχειν, ἕως σημαίνει τῇ σάλπιγγι.

ἕως until with present is so unusual that it may well be wrong. See *C.R.* xvi. 11. It would have to mean 'until the trumpeter was giving' or 'began to give the signal,' which seems pointless. σημαίνει (σημήνιει) would be natural, or ἕως ἂν σημῆνῃ.

7. 3. 21 οὗτοι δ' (οἱ τρίποδες) ἦσαν κρεῶν μεστὸν νενεμημένων.

Surely νενημένων, as in 5. 4. 27 θησαυρὸς . . ἄρτων νενημένων.

7. 7. 36 σοὶ δὲ νῦν ἡ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πρόσδοδος πλείων ἔσται ἢ ἐμπροσθεν τὰ πύρόντα πάντα ἃ ἐκέκτησο.

The antithesis of πρόσδοδος suggests ἐπάρχοντα rather than παρόντα.

RESPUBLICA LACEDAEMONIORUM.

2. 12 εἰςὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ παντάπασι τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι τοὺς ἐραστὰς εἰργουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν παίδων.

It is hardly possible that εἰργουσι should take both τοῦ δ. and ἀπὸ τ.π. In *Cyrop.* 5. 1. 25 (σοῦ ἀπελείφθη τοῦ μὴ σοὶ ἀκολουθεῖν) τό is now read for τοῦ. But that passage and some others quoted here by Haase suggest strongly, what had occurred to me otherwise, that we should insert a negative. If we read τοῦ <μὴ> διαλέγεσθαι, we can then take it as an instance of τοῦ or τοῦ μὴ in a final sense, that they might have no intercourse with them at all, though the words

come in a rather strange order. It is not a little curious that there are several other passages in this short treatise in which τό or τοῦ and an infinitive gives us trouble. See 4. 6 : 5. 7 : 8. 3 : each of which has its own peculiarities, not easy to deal with in any one way.

4. §§ 3, 4 seem quite inadequate after the marked introduction of the subject by ὡς οὖν κ.τ.λ., ἐξηγήσομαι, and, even if we ignore that, leave the whole thing quite imperfectly stated. What are the men chosen to do? Something must have been lost.

5. 8. It is clear that the words ὡς μήποτε αὐτοὶ ἐλάττους τῶν σιτίων γίνεσθαι must be altered in some such way as Hug suggests, so as to convey the meaning that the exercises (πόννοι) of the men, not the men themselves (which is meaningless), were to be μὴ ἐλάττους τῶν σιτίων. The φιλοπονή preceding proves this, and I had conjectured the same thing before seeing Hug's emendation. I should suggest ὡς μήποτε αὐτοῖς <πόνους> ἐλάττους κ.τ.λ. ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὡς (ὥστε) with infinitive would seem admissible, even if it does not actually occur.

7. 4 τοῦ γε εἰς τοὺς συσκήνους ἔνεκα ἔχειν δαπανᾶν.

As the construction is ἔνεκα τοῦ ἔχειν δαπανᾶν, the order is very remarkable, and I do not feel sure that it can be right.

ιβ. 5 καὶ γὰρ χώρας μεγάλης καὶ ἀμάξης ἀγωγῆς δέοιτ' ἂν.

From the parallel passage in Plutarch ἀποθήκης τε μεγάλης καὶ ζεύγους ἄγοντος Dindorf must read ἀγούσης for ἀγωγῆς. Perhaps it should be ἀξούσης here and ἀξοντος in Plutarch, for the future is much more idiomatic.

9. 5 γυναικὸς δὲ κενὴν ἐστὶν οὐ περιοπτεόν.

οὐ, which gives quite the wrong meaning, is wanting in one MS. of some value and is omitted by Dindorf. Perhaps we should read αὐ, a word which occurs many times in this book, and is used in 13. 10 and 15. 5 just as it would be here, to introduce a new, not a contrasted, point.

11. 2 ἀπάντων τὰ μὲν ἀμάξῃ προστέτακται παρέχειν, τὰ δὲ ὑποζυγίῳ.

Editors now read ἀπαντα, but the datives remain without proper construction. I thought first of μὲν <ἐν>, which would still leave ὑποζυγίῳ rather doubtful. Now I incline to change ἀπάντων or ἀπαντα to ἀγοντα.

ib. 10. Jebb's emendation of ἀποθοῦσιν to ἀποθεν (better ἀπωθεν ?) οὔσιν and omission of ἧ should certainly be received. When he writes ἀποθεν οὔσιν ἀντιπάλους etc. (Dakyns' *Xenophon*, ii. 317 n. 3), I take ἀντιπάλους to be a slip of the pen for ἐναντίους.

12. 7 παραλελειμμένα . . ὅσα δὲ ἐπιμελείας.

Surely δεῖται is as necessary as it is well

attested, though neither Dindorf nor Pierleoni adopts it. The genitive ἐπιμελείας cannot well depend upon ὅσα.

15. 6 μᾶλλον should perhaps be μάλιστα, a change that has to be made in other passages. In μᾶλλον the reference is not definite enough.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

MORE PROHIBITIONS IN GREEK.

I wish to thank Dr. Headlam for his courteous reply to my paper in vol. xix. p. 30, and to apologise for my delay, which is owing to an affection of the eyes.

I am still only half-convinced: that is, I feel that Dr. Headlam has a strong case only so far as the aorist, e.g. μὴ ποιήσης, is concerned. I am told that my instances must be regarded, at most, as exceptions to the rule. But these exceptions mount to considerable proportions when we neglect the vast majority of cases where it is impossible to decide whether, e.g. μὴ ποίει must of necessity mean 'cease doing.' One may fairly ask why, if the distinction was so universally observed, Greek found it necessary at all to say παῦσαι λέγουσα (*Eur. Hipp.* 706) and the like.

I append a few more instances of μὴ + pres. imperat. which certainly do not mean 'cease what you are doing.' My references are to Bekker's text.

Dem. 1005. 11 :

ἀν δὲ φῆ δεινὰ πάσχειν καὶ κλάη καὶ ὀδύρῃται καὶ κατηγορῇ μου, ἃ μὲν ἂν λέγῃ, μὴ πιστεύετε.

1017. 15 :

ἐὰν μὲν ἐπιχειρῇ ταῦτα λέγειν, μὴ ἐπιτρέπετε ἀναισχυντεῖν. Add 1021. 29, 1024. 7, 1026. 22,—all, μὴ ἐπιτρέπετε and all, as the context shows, referring to the future.

523. 17 :

μὴ δὴ τοῦτο λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔατε. The ἔρων in 522. 24 proves that ἔατε does not mean 'cease allowing.'

527. 10 :

μὴ τοῖνον ἔατε ταῦτ' αὐτὸν λέγειν, μηδ', ἂν βιάζῃται, πείθεσθ' ὡς δίκαιόν τι λέγοντι.

The future reference of ἔατε and πείθεσθε is shown by the sentence following and by μέλλειν 525. 25.

Aristoph. *Birds* 1532-1534 :

ἧξουσιν πρέσβεις δεῦρο περὶ διαλλαγῶν
παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς
ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ σπένδεσθε.

Frogs 618-622 :

Aeacus says : καὶ πῶς βασανίσω ; to which Xanthias replies :

δῆσας, κρεμάσας . . . πλην πράσῳ
μὴ τύπτε τοῦτον μηδὲ γητείῳ νέφ.

Plato *Rep.* 338 A is interesting :

μὴ οὖν ἄλλως ποίει, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ τε χαρίζου ἀποκρινόμενος καὶ μὴ φθονήσης καὶ Γλαῦκωνα τόνδε διδάξαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους.

It seems to me that μὴ ποίει is here used merely because μὴ ἄλλως ποίει is phraseological, i.e. an idiom of *polite* remonstrance (see *C.R.* xix. p. 27).

Is μὴ ἄλλως ποιήσης found?

I have kept Dem. 582. 15. to the last, as it might be made to prove anything. The text there runs :

μὴ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους δικάσῃτε· μὴ βοηθήσῃτε τῷ πεπονημένῳ δεινῷ· μὴ εὐορκείτε.

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TWO TACHYGRAPHICAL NOTES.

Schol. Aesch. *Pers.* 184.

πρόσεχε τῇ $\bar{\varsigma}$ τοῦ $\acute{\omicron}$
νείρου ἀναγνώσει

Since the sign which follows $\tau\eta$ is printed by Dähnhardt (Scholl. in Aesch. *Pers.* 1894) and Wecklein (in his edition) with a certain mystery, it may be worth while to notice that the facsimile clearly shews that it means $\alpha\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$. The writer of the scholia (all in one hand) added the word above the line, and to save space used this abbreviation. $\alpha\iota\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ is regularly abbreviated by the symbol for the case-ending with a stroke across to indicate omission: so

ἰ = αῦροῦ, Coislin 387 (Rhetorica), Paris
 grec 1678 (Plutarch), Vat. Pal.
 173 (Plato), Nonnus B. M. Add.
 MSS. 18231, Paris grec 2036
 (Aristotle, etc.), Vat. Reg. 181
 (a. 1364) in a table of signs.

$\bar{\alpha} = \alpha \upsilon \tau \acute{o} \nu$, Coislin 387, Nonnus.

$\bar{\upsilon}$ = αὐτός, Nonnus.

$\bar{\alpha} = \alpha \nu \tau \omicron \iota \varsigma$, Nonnus.

All these MSS. except Reg. 181 are of s. x or x-xi. Except in the Nonnus MS. the

system is not common in the *Scuola di san Nilo*. Zereteli has a case of $\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$ from the facsimile of the same MS.

Tachygraphy occasionally intrudes into literary texts for the same reason, to economise space. Barocci 50 (s. x-xi) the admirable MS. to which we owe the oldest text of the *Batrachomyomachia*, and of *Hero and Leander*, beside many grammarians, on f. 8 v. runs thus:

ἡ ὁ συλλαβὴ ἔχουσα μεθ' ἑαυτὴν ἐν τι τῶν
διπλῶν εἴτε κατὰ τὸ μέσον ἐν ἀπλῇ καὶ ἀκίνητῳ
λέξει κ.τ.λ. (Theognostus in Cramer, *An. Oz.*
ii. p. 14). The sentence though printed telle
quelle in the *An. Oz.* is defective, and the
scribe noticed the defect, for above the line,
from διπλῶν to κατὰ we have eight signs, of
which the following is an enlarged repre-
sentation :

8740 4194

i.e. syllabically εἰ τε καὶ τὰρ χὴν λεξέως, or εἴτε κατ' ἀρχὴν λεξέως. This should be restored in the text after διπλῶν.

T. W. ALLEN.

THE *CODEX LUSATICUS* OF PROPERTIUS.

In or about the year 1893 Herr Peper discovered a paper manuscript of Propertius and published an account and estimate of it in the *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin* together with a collation of Book I. As scholars are not habitual readers of the *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin*, it is hardly strange that Herr Peper's discovery attracted no attention, and so Herr P. Koehler chose it for his degree thesis at Marburg in the year 1899. The codex was again unfortunate; and (as Herr Koehler complains) no notice was taken of his dissertation save by the Professor who suggested and examined it. Now for a third time the codex woos public favour, in the pages of *Philologus* vol. xviii. pp. 414 *sqq.*, under the title 'Eine neue Properzhandschrift.'

Herr Peper named his codex *Lusaticus*, although it was found 'in bibliotheca Gorlitziana,' and Herr Koehler lettered it as

L, though he was aware¹ that this was already the denotation of Lord Leicester's manuscript at Holkham. To the capital which has now been employed for the latter MS in two editions of Propertius the 'Lusaticus' has no right; but it may be, and in this paper will be, abbreviated as l for a reason that will presently appear.

At the end of I stands a subscription *Finis. padue* 1469. The latter word and the figures Herr Peper naturally thought fixed the place and the date of writing. But Herr Koehler insists that they are not in the handwriting of the scribe but of the reviser. This they may be, and yet the date be correct, for the revision may well have been contemporary. The particulars of Herr

¹ From my pamphlet *On Certain Manuscripts of Propertius*, published as a part of vol. iv. of the *Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society*, 1894.

Koehler's description of the codex in his dissertation tend to support the view that it was written in Northern Italy and towards the close of the fifteenth century. Herr Koehler thinks that it is or, may be, as early as the beginning of the century; but this opinion is not that of an expert on MSS.¹ Accordingly I shall not reject Herr Peper's view that the subscription gives what apparently it purports to give, the date and place of writing of the MS.²

The four most ancient amongst the known MSS of Propertius are the Neapolitanus (N), 12th century, the Vossianus (A), which ends at II. 1. 63, end of 13th or beginning of 14th, the Laurentianus (F), latter part of 14th, and the 'Holkhamicus' (L), which begins at II. 21. 3, written in 1421. Of these L is the manuscript to which I is nearest in date, and with L it has some striking coincidences. On these Herr Koehler is silent in *Philologus*, but in the dissertation (p. 62) he observes that they prove that the MSS 'aliquam fontis communionem habere.'

As illustrations I quote III. 3. 11 *lacres* Ll (*lares* F, *lacies* N, *alacres* DV) 12. 34 *latreus* Ll (*latus* F, *lacus* NDV), IV. 2. 34 *Fauor* Ll (*Fauor* N, *Fauor* F with *n* written over the second *u*), *Faunus* DV. To Herr Koehler's examples might be added II. 24. 27 *Terra* Ll, *Tetra* the rest, IV. 4. 5 *Siluan* Ll, *Silvani* the rest, 7. 16 *trista* Ll, *trita* the rest, 10. 46 *circo* Ll, *certo* the rest. The first line of III. 22. 1 shows two curious similarities. L has *Circiter* for *Cyzicus*, but *citer* are over an erasure *a*, but

by an early corrector. In I *Circiter* is written over *Cyzicus*. It is probable that the source had *Cizzicus* with *Circiter* above. At the end in L the same corrector has altered *annus* to *annos*: I has *an* and the *os* written over the line.

The most singular coincidence between the two MSS Herr Koehler appears to have overlooked altogether. In IV. 8. 31 L has a blank space of some 5 letters between the words *inter* and *Teia*, and between the same words I has a dash which I learn from Prof. Schmidt extends over the space of three or four letters. ('Der strich ist ganz schwach und würde etwa 3-4 buchstaben ausfüllen.')

I have shown, *op. cit.* pp. 21 *sqq.*, that L cannot be separated from F, with which it stands in the closest connexion, and have given reasons for believing that L is a copy of the exemplar of F. Now *either* I owes its similarities to L to derivation, mediate or immediate, from L itself, in which case it will be of no value save as it may attest readings of L in places where L is now lost, that is from I. 1. 1 to II. 21. 3, or else to derivation from the source of L, that is the common exemplar of L and F. Our first task then is to examine the relations of the three MSS.

For this I will take their readings for II. xxvi. (compare my pamphlet, p. 26).

I neglect trifles of writing, omit readings which are common to the trio, and take account only of what the first hands have written.

F	L	I
3 fueris	fueris	<i>fueras</i> (NDV)
5 agitaui	agitaui	<i>agitatum</i> (NDV)
9 Que tum	Quem cum	Que tum
que tum	quantum	que tum
ferri	ferri	<i>fratri</i> (NDV)
10 leucothoe	leucothoe	leucothoe (u ex n corr.)
12 meum nomen	meum nomen	nomen meum
iam	iam	pe iam (<i>del. m. 1</i>)
14 Esses	Esses	Esse
15 prae inuidia (DV)	ob inuidiam (N)	ob inuidiam
18 Qui	Quod	Qui
19 summo me	om.	summo me
23 { cambise	{ cambise	{ cambise
croesi	chroesi	chroesi
25 audisse	odisse	odisse (NDV)
34 puppis	puppis	puppis (NDV)
36 Velaque	Vela quod	<i>Velaque in</i> (NDV)
hauster	auster	auster

¹ As Bachrens misdated every one of the Propterian MSS. that he used except F, whose first owners' names are written inside it (*Classical Review*, ix. p. 182), it is not extravagant to suggest that novices may be mistaken.

² The courtesy of Prof. Schmidt, the Librarian of G rlitz, now enables me to give the opinion of two

othereyewitnesses. He writes "padue 1469" is written in different and paler ink but by the same hand. Prof. Dr. Fecht, the Secretary of the Oberlausitzsche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, agrees with this opinion.' The word *finis* is of course by the scribe.

F	L	l
38 <i>ēboico</i> (u <i>inter e et b supr. lin.</i>)	eboyco	<i>euboico</i> (NDV)
39 mouistis	nouistis	mouistis
ergo	ergo	<i>argo</i> (NDV)
40 Duxerat	Duxerat	Dux erat
41 spectat	spectat	<i>desit</i> (NDV)
43 his'am	hys'am	<i>idem</i> (NDV)
44 quoque	quoque	<i>modo</i> (NV ²)
46 fratri	ferri	fratri
47 a minione	amimone	amimone (<i>expunxit m. 1</i>)
49 uocū percussit	uotum persoluit	uotum persoluit
51 orithia	orithia	orythia
53 mitescet	mutescet (DV)	mitescet
scilla	scylla	sylla

It requires no long scrutiny of this list to see that L is nearer than l to the common original which I have called Φ. This is shown even by its corruptions. In l. 36 *in* had been omitted before 'in certum' in the text of Φ and was therefore omitted by F: in L it is omitted, but the metrical gap has been filled by changing *que* to *quod*. On two other readings I may repeat what I wrote in 1894. "9 'ferri' FL: the source had 'fri' (= 'fratri') as also in 46, where L alone has misread it: 43 'his'am' F = 'hys'am' L: the source had 'his'd'm' *i.e.* 'hisdem' with a frequent compendium for *de*." Here what L gives us is of real help towards the ascertainment of the readings of the lost codex, not so those of l, in which the tradition has been altogether abandoned.

I have shown (*op. cit.* pp. 29 *sqq.*) that L is a 'conflated' codex or in other words that a number of its readings are derived from a source exterior to Φ. Such readings are 'ob inuidiam' 15, 'odisse,' 25, and perhaps 'uotum' persoluit' 49,¹ 'mutescet' 53 and the spellings 'puppis' 34 and 'auster' 36, though these might be regarded as due to the scribe of the manuscript himself. All these deviations, except 'mutescet,' are in l: and in addition further deviations in 3, 5, 9, 36, 38, 39, 41, 43, 44. It is not disputed that these changes are improvements. But that is not the point. The grounds on which we decide for one reading or another are partly intrinsic and partly extrinsic. Of the intrinsic merits of a reading we judge ourselves: we do not delegate our judgment to a medieval copyist. From this point of view all manuscripts are useless. If a manuscript however good presents a series of letters or words that is devoid of meaning, we do not say that the author was temporarily demented: we say that the manuscript is locally corrupt. Extrinsicly again we prefer the more faithful to the less faithful witness and *ceteris paribus* the more

ancient to the more recent one. For readings of Φ L is a much superior authority to l, and for what we may call extra-Φ readings N is a higher authority still.

I would not however assert that l is altogether worthless. On the contrary, it has a certain value in the part where both A and L fail us and F is the sole representative of its family. Further it is possible that a few vestiges of truth have come down to us in l which have been corrupted in F and L. The possibility that good readings have been introduced from some source hitherto unknown is too shadowy to be reckoned with.

From II. 21 onwards Herr Koehler cites the following passages 'ubi L solus rectam lectionem praebet.'

- II. 28. 16 ueniet *L V corr.*, ueniet *Ω*.²
ib. 35 rhombi *l F corr.*, rombi *Φ*, cf. III.
 26 rhombi *l V marg.*, rombi or rumbi *Φ*.
 31. 3 columis *l F corr. V mg.*, columbis *Ω*.
 III. 1. 22 reddet *l F corr. V corr.*, reddit *Ω*.
 32 rostra *l F corr. V corr.*, nostra *Ω*.
 5. 6 aera *l codd. dett.*, aere *N*, ire the rest.
 6. 3 Num *l codd. dett.* Non *N*, Dum the rest.
 [6. 41 Quod mihi si *l F corr. V corr.* omitted as the true reading is uncertain.]
 [9. 14 omitted as L and l have the same reading.]
 10. 17 polles *l F corr. Φ V corr.*, pelles *Ω*.
 11. 61 Curtius *l F mg. V corr.* Durius *Ω*.
 16. 13 ambulet *Inscr. Pomp. l V corr.*, ambulat *Ω*.
 [22. 1 annos, so L.]
 22. 23 Clitumnus *l F corr.*, the variants in other MSS point to licumnus or litumnus as the reading of *Ω*.
 IV. 1. 106 Vmbra ue que *l*, Vmbrae que *N*, Vmbrae que the rest.
ib. 117 oliade *l codd. dett.*, o iliade *Ω*.
 2. 35 eius *l codd. dett.*, elus *Ω*.
 3. 7 bactra *l V corr.*, blactra *Ω*.
 6. 25 nereus *l codd. dett.*, neruis *Ω*.
 7. 63 Andromedeque *l V corr.*, Andromedaeque *N*, Andromad(a)eque the rest.

Now in this list there seems to be nothing in which l can be said to have alone preserved

² I use this symbol for the whole of our MS authority AFDLNV as in the notes to the Corpus text of Propertius. Herr Koehler's use of it is similar.

¹ Baehrens' silence about F cannot be trusted; see *op. cit.* pp. 56 *sqq.*

the truth. It might perhaps be contended that *e.g.* 'polles' III. 10. 17 and 'eius' IV. 2. 35 are such cases. But it must be observed that there are two witnesses (and better witnesses) to one that 'pelles,' 'elus' stood in Φ and three to one that it stood in Ω . I have chosen these as examples, as the difference in writing is very slight and mistake easy: where the difference is greater, the theory is still more improbable. Our conclusion must be that these readings are either derived by Γ from some source at present untraced or that they are conjectures, in most instances easy conjectures, of the Renaissance.

[I have purposely omitted from the list 3 lections, included by Herr Koehler, from passages which were in the lost leaf of the Neapolitanus, IV. 11. 29 'trophea decori,' 43 'Non fuit,' 46 'insignes,' because, as they are attested by the Memmianus Par. 8233 (*op. cit.* pp. 42 *sqq.*), whose date is 1465, Γ 's right to them is not established.]

In matters of orthography the contention that Γ has preserved the truth where other witnesses have corrupted it is somewhat more probable. The following may be instances. I. 17. 2 *adloquor*, III. 6. 17 *Vmidaque*, IV.

11. 28 *umeros* (m. 1 altered by m. 2 to *humeros*).

It has been necessary to examine Γ 's pretensions at some length because of Herr Koehler's different estimate. This he promulgates, in blissful ignorance or naive disregard of the way to deal with manuscript testimony, as follows:—

'As Γ unites the merits of both classes of manuscripts it is best fitted to form with Γ the basis of the text of Propertius. For only rarely is it necessary, as for example in passages where Γ is wanting, to have recourse to the remaining manuscripts.'—*Philologus*, p. 417.

We may see from the remarks of Herr Th. Birt (*Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift*, 1898, p. 1291; *Archiv.* xv. p. 77 n.) and Signor P. Rasi (*Rivista di filologia*, 1906, p. 454)¹ that there is a danger of these views imposing upon those who are no experts in the textual criticism of Propertius.

J. P. POSTGATE.

¹ Signor Rasi goes so far as to say of this manuscript that it is 'omnium praestantissimus post codicem Neapolitanum quo socio optime ualeat ad textum Propertianum statuendum.'

REVIEWS.

RECENT EDITIONS OF ARISTOPHANES.

Aristophanis Ecclesiazusae. Cum prolegomenis et commentariis edidit J. VAN LEEUWEN J. F. Lugduni Batavorum apud A. W. Sijthoff. 1905. Pp. xxii+160. 5s.

Aristophanis Paz. (The same.) 1906. Pp. xi+201. 5s.

Vindiciae Aristophaneae. Scripsit H. VAN HERWERDEN. Sijthoff. 1906. Pp. 124. 3s. 6d.

Aristophanes' Acharnians. Edited by C. E. GRAVES, M.A. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1905. Pp. xvi+143. 3s.

THE two concluding parts of the excellent Dutch Aristophanes—for it is now complete, fragments excepted—do not call for any long notice. They have the same features as the earlier volumes. The editor is still perhaps too ready to introduce novelties into the text. But I am not quite the right person to complain, as he has adopted several suggestions of my own from this *Review*.

I may mention some of the changes he himself makes or suggests:

Eccles. 78 ὦπερ λέγων διερίδεται for τῶν σκυτάλων ὃν πέριδεται: 148 ἐργαστέον: 153 κατὰ γε δύναμιν τὴν ἐμὴν for κατὰ γε τὴν ἐμὴν μίαν: 495 μὴ καὶ τις ἡμῖν ἐντυχὼν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν κατείπη: 554 σηπία: 587 αὐτῆς for ἀλλης: 622 οὐ for καί: 627 δωματίοισιν for δημοσίοισιν: 672 διδάξον for ποιήσει: 1106 εἰσπεσών. He would put 22 after 1, reading ὡς with Bruck.

Peace 18 κάρδοπον for ἀντλίαν: 95 τλήμων for τί μάτην: 219 μεθῶμεν τήμερον for ἔχωμεν τὴν πόλιν: 337 χορεύετ': 605 πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ ἤγγεν αὐτὴν: 834 τίς λαμπρότατος νῦν ἐστὶ for τίς ἐστὶν ἀστίηρ νῦν: 989 οἱ σοῦ <χωρίς> τρυχόμεθ' ἤδη, omitting ἡμῖν: 1154 ἐξ παρ' Αἰσχίνου for ἐξ Αἰσχυράδου. In 754 he writes (from the *Wasps*) θρασέως ξυστάς εἰθὺς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς with Hamaker, plausibly makes some substantives exchange places in 758, and boldly turns two or three verbs in the context from first person to third. Still bolder

is his treatment of 503 foll. Lines 365, 417, 744, 831 he thinks should be omitted altogether.

Without discussing at any length the difficult question of the staging of the *Peace*, he takes the house of Zeus to be shown on a higher level than that of Trygaeus. The image of Peace is tall enough to allow of her whispering into Hermes' ear at 661, and it is from the higher level that Trygaeus and Hermes direct the operation of raising her from the pit, the chorus being on earth while they (Trygaeus and Hermes) are in heaven. In a lively Latin preface to the *Ecclesiazusae* he dwells on the small part played by women in the first six plays of Aristophanes and in early tragedy (Aeschylus' women are men and those of Sophocles are at least virile), and on the place of women at Athens generally, going on to speak of the subsequent change of spirit in the poet and the change of subject in the later plays. He accepts 392 as the date of the *E.* and thinks that Aristophanes had Plato little, if at all, in mind. As to the *Peace* he holds that there was no second edition.

In the *Vindiciae* van Herwerden has put together a very miscellaneous collection of notes bearing on the text of Aristophanes and on recent criticism. Naturally they refer most of all to the edition of van Leeuwen, which is highly praised and the excessive boldness of its conjectures (I have

given examples above) not sufficiently pointed out. But other commentators and critics are also taken into account, Mazon, Willems, Blaydes' *magnum opus*, Starkie's *Wasps*, my own articles in this *Review*, and from time to time all sorts of Aristophanic work. Sometimes the writer only gives a critic's proposal with just a word of acceptance; sometimes he challenges and controverts it. Many of the notes consist merely of a reference to the volume of *Mnemosyne* in which he previously discussed a passage, the object of the book being to bring together either explicitly or by these references all that he has or has had to say. There is a good deal that is new, perhaps not much of first-rate importance, for he has done so much before that we could not expect much still to come. The notices of other men's work are always courteous and kindly, but it is not always apparent why one thing is noticed, whether with praise or dissent, and another not. It is indeed a rather casual series of notes, but, like his *Collectanea* of 1903 on the *Comic Fragments* and in a greater degree, it has a good deal of interest for any one who is fond of Greek comedy.

Mr. Graves' *Acharnians* is a fair school-book, not aiming at anything more and not, I think, with any marked features. It has a few critical notes below the text and some eighty pages of commentary.

H. RICHARDS.

MARSHALL'S ARISTOTLE'S THEORY OF CONDUCT.

Aristotle's Theory of Conduct. By THOMAS MARSHALL. London: Fisher Unwin. 1906. 8vo. Pp. 600. 21s. net.

THIS book, in which 'an attempt is made to present Aristotle's *Ethics* in a readable shape' has considerable merits, and, if only its price were more moderate, it might be recommended to many students and that not only the weakest among them. After a general introduction of some thirty pages the author goes through the *Ethics* analysing, paraphrasing, commenting, and illustrating. He is clear and intelligible, sensible and often decidedly shrewd in his remarks, and he writes in an interesting way. The book gives a very fair account of the contents of the *Ethics*, sometimes a truer one than more ambitious writers, and

takes often a just view of its merits and defects. Apart from many unpardonable errors in the Greek quotations, for which he apologises in a note (and with which 'apothegm' in his preface may be ranked), I find things which I cannot quite agree with, a few such as the statement (p. 196) that 'the words *ἀμα τῇ φρονήσει πάσαι ὑπάρχουσιν* here mean that all the virtues will be found to stand to prudence in the relation of species to genus'; the explanation (p. 311) of *τὸ πρῶτον (δίκαιον)*; the account of the exact nature of distributive and 'regulative' (the author's word) justice; his difficulty (pp. 274, 296) in bringing justice under the theory of the mean; and his application of the illustration in 3. 3. 18 from the Homeric 'constitutions,' where Grant too went wrong. He seems not to know of the light thrown

on 7. 4. 2 by an Oxyrhynchus papyrus. Much more serious than any of these small details is his choice of certain words to express Aristotelian terms. No one can ever really understand the *Ethics* who is taught to think of *εὐδαιμονία* as 'happiness,' or even who has 'habit' given him as an equivalent of *ἔξις*. 'Intuition' is very questionable for *νοῦς*; 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' do not fairly represent *ἐκούσιον* and *ἀκούσιον*, unless we considerably alter their ordinary English

meaning. Whether in 10. 9 *οἱ σοφισταί* is well rendered by 'Professors,' I will not venture to say. The use of inverted commas is sometimes misleading and may give the idea of a much closer translation than the author really attempts. There is a useful index. I hope to see a second edition, revised in places and much cheaper.

H. RICHARDS.

HOSIUS' LUCAN.

M. Annaei Lucani de Bello Civili Libri decem. G. Steinhartii aliorumque copiis usus iterum editid CAROLUS HOSIUS. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1905. 8vo. Pp. lx + 374. Price M. 4.50.

IN the year 1892 appeared Dr. Hosius' first edition of *Lucan*, and all scholars interested in the poet rejoiced that a really scientific text was at last available. The great merits of Hosius' work were duly recognized in this *Review* (viii, pp. 34 ff.) as marking 'an important epoch in the critical study of *Lucan*.' After the lapse of thirteen years we have now the opportunity of welcoming a second edition. In the interval much study has been devoted to the *De Bello civili*, and if it is true that the new light shed on one of the most complicated of textual problems has often served merely to make the complication more evident, it is no less true that the elucidation of many obscure points by various scholars has materially advanced our prospects of a final solution of the great enigma.

In 1894 Lejay published at Paris a scholarly edition of Book I, with a long introduction containing, among other things, an account of the MSS and a discussion of their relationships. The chief importance of this book lies in the fact that it drew attention to several Paris codices of which Hosius had taken practically no account.¹ But Lejay's edition has been strangely overlooked by most scholars. Beck, in a work which will shortly be mentioned, says that it is hardly to be found in a single

state or university library in Germany. The year 1894 saw also the publication of Genthe's dissertation on the codex *Erlangensis* (E).

Even before Hosius' first edition was published, C. M. Francken had shown his interest in *Lucan* by several articles in *Mnemosyne*, and in 1896 and 1897 appeared the two volumes of his edition. Francken's opinions about the MSS do not, on the whole, differ very much from those which had been expressed by Hosius, but he uses a few codices which had, for the most part, been neglected by former editors. Of these, the ninth-century *Ashburnhamensis* (A), which Lejay had used for Book I, is in some respects the most notable. Full use was made of this MS by Mr. Heitland in editing *Lucan* for the new *Corpus Poetarum* (1900). The same scholar has also made in this journal several valuable contributions to the study of *Lucan*'s text.

In the same year in which Mr. Heitland's text appeared there was published at Munich a doctoral dissertation entitled *Untersuchungen zu den Handschriften Lucans*, by Friedrich Beck. This is probably the most important treatise that has ever been published on the subject. Beck availed himself of previous labours in the same field, and he had also examined some MSS previously ignored. He aimed at comprehensiveness, and therein lies his chief fault. The problem of *Lucan*'s text is a tangle of broken threads which are not likely to be unravelled and sorted out for many a long day to come. Beck's 'scharfe Scheidung und Ableitung'² was rash in itself; it was doubly rash, because he had a very defective

¹ Lejay's discussion of the relationships of the MSS shows much industry and acumen, but it is vitiated by some very serious oversights, which will be mentioned later.

² The words are those of Hosius in his review of Beck's work, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* Feb. 23, 1901.

knowledge of some of the chief MSS; but his treatise is a model of industry and exceedingly useful to all students of the subject. With his revolutionary judgment concerning A, which will soon be mentioned, all must agree.

The foregoing is a very brief summary of the research which made a revision of Hosius' edition necessary. 'Ne mea quidem omnia,' he says, 'quae antehac praedicavi,

recto etiam talo stare concedo, neque me piget aliqua ex parte palinodiam cantare atque delere, quae falsa esse aut alii evicerunt aut ipse repetitis curis perspexi' (*Praef.* p. xxx). After this frank statement one is prepared to find considerable alterations in the second edition. How great these alterations are may be judged by a comparison of the following small extracts from the *apparatus criticus* of both editions (p. 115, Bk. IV. 620-639).

ED. I.

620 Mirantur (antur *in ras.*) M Miraturque B₁ U yg | neque G₁ || 623 gelide C fesso gel. V || 624 Tum Um | tum MUG || 625 Vrgere (M₁ ?) B₁ || 630 vena M₁ || 632 lax. robore V | nudos B₁ || 634 undis *in ras.* M arvis (C)m^{er}b || 636 Confixere M₁ | partes B₁ || 637 separare B₁ | noverca M₁ || 639 exsuccam Bothe | conferre B₁.

ED. II.

620 (Mir)antur(que) *in ras.* M Miraturque ZUvg | neque G₁ || 623 gelide C fesso gel. V || 624 Tum Ump | tum MPZ,UG || 625 Vrguere Z₁ (M₁ ?) || 627 & ad Z(M₁ ?) | complet ilibus ss. Z || 628 descendit P || 630 vena M₁Z₁ || 632 lax. robore V || 634 duris P | undis *in ras.* M arvis Z₁ (C)m^{er}v || 636 Confixere M₁ || noverca M₁Z₁ || 639 exsuccam Bothe.

These examples are enough to show that the *apparatus* has been largely re-written. B has practically disappeared, and two new symbols, Z and P, are prominent. The alterations are of such interest and importance to the student of Lucan, that it may not be out of place to explain them here at some length, and I am indebted to the kindness of the editor for permission to do so.

Briefly stated, the view taken in Hosius' first edition as to the relationships of the MSS and their respective value is as follows. There are three classes. The first consists of codices which go back to the recension of 'Paulus Constantinopolitanus,' the mysterious individual mentioned at the end of some of the books in a few extant codices (*Paulus Constantinopolitanus emendavit manu mea solus*). The MSS belonging to this first class are M (*Montepessulanus* H 113) and two Berne codices, B and C, which, though they have not the *scriptio Paulina*, show kinship with M. The second class is represented by V (*Vossianus I*), which seems to be the only pure representative of its family. U (*Vossianus II*) and some other MSS come midway between the first two classes, being a mixture of both. The third class consists of three fragments of palimpsests, perhaps of the fourth century, which contain parts of Books V, VI, and VII. One of these fragments preserved at Naples seems to be part of the same codex to which a palimpsest at Vienna belongs, and both portions are denoted by the symbol N in Hosius' edition. The other palimpsest is the 'Palatine' or 'Roman' fragment (II). According to Hosius Class I and U are

most valuable, but the other codices must not be neglected.

The most important addition which subsequent criticism has made to our knowledge of the subject is derived from the MS denoted by the symbol Z, a ninth-century codex, Bibl. nat. lat. 10,314. It hails from the abbey of Epternach, as M. Omont believes. It is written by various scribes, and is much 'corrected,' though I venture to doubt if the 'correctors' are as numerous as Lejay supposes. The 'vulgar' errors in the codex are very numerous. Lejay mentions the following: i 129 *coquiere*, 166 *fuitur* (for *fugitur*), 195 and 225 *agit* (for *ait*) and several others. Even a cursory examination is sufficient to show that the readings of Z and of M present a very marked similarity, and M, instead of being *paene gemellus* of B, as Hosius formerly thought, stands in some such relation to Z. It is satisfactory to note that in his second edition Hosius is careful to point out that the resemblance just mentioned subsists between the first hands of the two MSS. Both Z and M have been very plentifully 'corrected,' and writers on the present subject have not always distinguished between the original text and subsequent insertions, though the distinction is of prime importance. As M is generally rated high by scholars, an earlier MS which is closely allied to it must possess great interest. The resemblance between the two codices will be evident if we compare their readings in any passage chosen at random. Let us take a few examples from the latter half of Book IV.

412	campus Z ₁ M ₁	campum O
417	fuga Z ₁ M ₁	fugae
477	consulit Z ₁ M ₁	consulite
483	reddere Z reddere M ₁	prodere s. perdere
491	obrupta Z ₁ M ₁	obruta
509	quod Z M ₁	quid
523	pauerunt Z M ₁	pauement
525	mergere Z ₁ M ₁	uergere
531	temptare Z ₁ M ₁	temptauere (tent.)
578	O ferrum Z ₁ M ₁	ob f.
590	quas Z ₁ *M	quae
604	Adsuerant Z ₁ M ₁	adsuerunt
630	uena Z ₁ M ₁	uenae
637	nouerca Z ₁ M ₁	nouercae
645	tandemque Z ₁ M ₁	tandem
658	potiti Z† M ₁	potito
695	caesaries Z ₁ M ₁	caesareis
710	odore Z ₁ M ₁	odere
761	illi Z ₁ M ₁	ulli
786	uidit Z ₁ † M ₁	uidet
788	inuisos Z ₁ M ₁	inuiskas

From this list it will be seen that Z and M frequently agree in readings which are obviously false; and it is an elementary principle of textual criticism that concurrence in errors is one of the strongest proofs of kinship between two MSS. At this point, a question naturally suggests itself,—

can Z throw any light on the original reading of M in the many cases in which, owing to erasure or other cause, that reading is very doubtful. We shall find our answer in the part of Book IV with which we have just been concerned.

411	proserit s in rasura duo litt. M (Francken)	prosterit Z ₁
438	odoratae (d in ras.) M‡	ororatae Z ₁ §
459	tectum (<i>tec</i> in ras. 6 litt.) M (Francken)	effectum Z ₁
465	sensit (<i>sit</i> in ras.) M	sentis Z ₁
563	incurrunt (<i>u</i> in ras.) M	incurrant Z ₁
571	conspicitur (<i>sp.</i> in ras.) M	conficitur Z ₁
612	cleonei (<i>cle</i> in ras.) M	cifonaei Z ₁
	proiecit (<i>iecit</i> in ras.) M	prolegit Z ₁
645	tactae (<i>t</i> in ras.) M	factae Z ₁
688	concitus (<i>tu</i> in ras.) M	concilus Z ₁
739	ciuile suum (<i>e suum</i> in ras.) M	ciuilis suum Z§
782	pressis stipataque (<i>sis stipataque</i> in ras.) M	pressistipataque Z §
805	urbi (<i>bi</i> in ras.) M (Francken)	urbes Z ₁
821	fecerit (<i>it</i> in ras.) M	feceret Z ₁

In some cases (*e.g.* iii 350, 718; iv 741; v 322, 779; vi 405) M can be used to restore the original reading of Z. Again, if we apply to the two MSS the criterion of omitted lines, we shall find one more bond of union between them, for several lines were originally omitted in these codices but in no other. Such are ii 463–4; iii 146, 608; v 810; vii 607, 725.

But in spite of these striking resemblances, neither of the two MSS is copied from the

other. The evidence on this head is quite convincing, but cannot be set down within the limits of this review. They must, then, be derived from a common original, which Hosius denotes by the symbol ϕ . They cannot, however, both be direct copies of ϕ , as Hosius considers possible. It seems certain that Z, at least, comes from ϕ through an intermediate codex.¹

¹ The proofs of this are, briefly stated, as follows:—

(1) Many differences of reading throughout. (2) Especial divergence in Bks. IX and X. (3) A few striking readings in Z which are not found in any other MSS, or, at any rate, not in any of those usually cited: *e.g.* ii 27 *rec tam* (*sed iam* O).

* Z, according to Hosius.

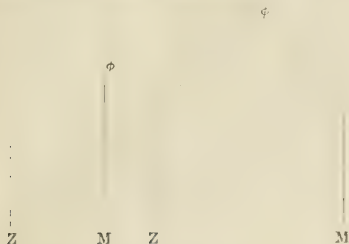
† Or Z, according to my collation.

‡ According to Hosius' first ed.

§ Not mentioned in Hosius' *apparatus*.

|| Francken's ϕ should therefore be ϕ .

Thus we may with confidence construct the following alternative stemmata.¹



The striking similarity between M and Z forbids us to separate them farther than is done in the second stemma.

An interesting but extremely difficult question, which is not discussed by Hosius, is whether Z or M is the better representative of ϕ 's readings. The problem can hardly be discussed here. My own investigations have led me to give the place of honour to Z.

We have, then, in Z a MS which is closely allied to M, which often supplies the original reading of M where that reading is illegible, and which perhaps represents better than M the text of the common original of the two codices. This was a discovery worth making, but there is a greater to follow. *Z is the source of Ashburnhamensis (A), Bernensis (B), and Erlangensis (E).*² The credit of this discovery is due to Lejay and Beck. Hosius sets forth the evidence in his preface (pp. xxxvi, xxxvii). Lejay had noticed that iii 211 was originally omitted in Z, but subsequently added in a ninth-century hand at the top of the page, i.e. before v. 194. In B line 211 is found in the text immediately after 193. From this fact, as well as a like occurrence in the same book (v. 244), Lejay came to the natural conclusion that B is copied from Z.³ He did not notice that A, which he declared to be *plus vieux d'un bon demi-siècle que*

¹ Hosius gives



in his stemma (p. xlix), but he does not mean to affirm positively that Z and M are derived immediately from the same codex (see p. xxxv of his ed.).

² Also of a ninth-century Montpellier codex (F, according to Beck's notation).

³ In spite of this Lejay, by a curious oversight, assigns Z and B to different families!

tous les autres, exhibits similar signs of being derived from Z. It was reserved for Beck to supplement Lejay, and to show that a great mistake had been made in assigning A to so early a date, and that not only B, but A and E must be referred to the same original Z.⁴ They are not direct copies: each has been 'contaminated' from other sources; but that they are copies there can be no doubt. To the evidence already mentioned Hosius adds some other proofs.⁵

It must be carefully noted that A, B, and E were derived from Z in its corrected form (*quod cum fugisset Beckium, magnas sibi peperit turbas*, Hos. p. xxxvii.).

Some years ago Mr. Heitland remarked that M is probably our best MS, but that the original of B must have been a codex of no mean value. It is now clear that the original, though not the direct original, of B has been found.

Thus A, B, and E must disappear almost wholly from the *apparatus criticus*. As Hosius says,

Iam sequitur ABE, ubi cum Z aut z increpant, abiciendos esse; nam ubi ex fonte haurire possumus, non rivulis longe derivatis utemur; paucis locis ubi discrepant, si cum ceteris codicibus concinunt, sua auctoritate carentes nihil proficiunt, si singularia praebent, suspicionem aut corruptelae aut interpolationis plerumque movent (p. xlii).

Besides Z there is another Paris MS which is of considerable importance for the textual criticism of Lucan, viz. P, no. 7502 in the Bibliothèque Nationale. This MS seems to be of the tenth century. It contains the prose arguments and, at the end of every book except the ninth, the *subscriptio Paulina*. An excellent facsimile of a page of P in Chatelain's collection is enough to show that the MS was written by a very ignorant scribe. Like Z it alters its complexion very much in the last two books. There it has a marked resemblance to M; in the others it presents a wonderful mixture,

⁴ Students of Latin palaeography know only too well 'the difficulty of accurately assigning MSS of the period of the ninth and tenth century to their true positions' (Sir E. Maunde Thompson's *Manual*, p. 262). In the present case the evidence afforded by the handwriting is actually misleading, and it is to be regretted that Beck made an attempt to support his conclusion—the only possible one—on palaeographical grounds.

⁵ One small piece of evidence, which Hosius does not mention, is rather interesting. In iv 352, for *aperimus* B reads *asprimus*. This reading is easily accounted for by Z, which reads *asprimus* (= *asprimus*).

but very often agrees with Vossianus I (V).¹ The V-tradition is found to a considerable extent in M, but still more in P. As to the origin of P it is impossible to speak with any confidence. Hosius' theory—which does not seem to be adequately represented by his *stemma*—does not carry conviction; indeed it is tolerably clear that Hosius himself does not put very much trust in it, so it need not be fully explained here. There are, alas! in the MSS of Lucan too many problems whose investigation merely leads on from one difficulty to another and ends in no more tangible result than a violent headache. One forms a theory which seems to account fairly well for the facts; then another fact is observed which, if it does not upset the whole theory, necessitates the addition of a corollary to it, and so there is gradually built on a foundation of sand a tottering structure which the lightest breath of a critic may perchance upset. But whatever may be its origin, P is certainly a MS to be reckoned with.

Hosius mentions other MSS, but the only ones which he adds in his new *stemma* are P, Z, and Q (a fragmentary Paris MS akin to M); the outcome of Beck's too courageous effort has deterred him from attempting to frame an elaborate scheme amid so much uncertainty. He divides the codices into two groups, (1) the 'Pauline' group, going back to the *recensio Paulina*, though with more or less 'contagion' from the V-class, (2) the recension represented by V. (1) includes M, Z, P, U, A, B, E, Q, C, and many others, while V is the truest representative of the second group. Paulus, he thinks, in spite of his somewhat boastful language—*emendavi manu mea solus*—concerns himself more with punctuation and annotation than with emendation. On the other hand V represents an edition by a man of taste and knowledge, who for that very reason was 'elegantiae sermonis et perspicuitatis magis studiosus quam veritatis et sinceritatis.' Whether it is right to talk of a 'Pauline group' is open to grave doubt; the question cannot, however, be discussed here. Most scholars who have investigated the merits of the case will probably agree with Hosius that the text represented by M and Z is nearer to what Lucan wrote than is the V-tradition.

Thus Hosius' view of the comparative value of the MSS has not changed very materially. M, to which Z must now be

added, is, he still thinks, the best authority. P and U approach these codices in value. V is distinctly less important, 'non tamen abiciendus.' The other codices, he says, either confirm the readings of those just mentioned or exhibit evident traces of corruption. He is confident that we now know, from the original text or the correctors of the codices already examined, all the readings current in the Carolingian age, and he does not see any necessity for the examination of other codices.² With the last remark I find it hard to agree. Surely another discovery like that of Z would not be useless.

But in his second edition Hosius has not merely used MSS not employed in his first; he has tried to obtain accurate information about the readings of MSS which have long been known to fame. The student of Lucan's text cannot but be struck with the variations in the reports of readings as given by different collators. In iv 563, according to Hosius,¹ V and U read *incurrant*; according to Francken they read *incurrunt*. In v. 662 of the same book these editors are again at variance, thus:—

Hosius³: regat UG gerat MVB(C)

Francken: regat EMU gerat ABVG.

Examples might be multiplied¹; indeed Mr. Heitland in editing the *Corpus* text was compelled to invent symbols (Ms and Mf) for Steinhart's and Francken's records of the readings of the great Montpellier codex. By personal inspection and the assistance of others (notably of M. Bonnet) Hosius has very considerably improved our knowledge of the readings of M, V, U, and other MSS. We must be particularly grateful for the trouble taken to ascertain the text of M, both because of the intrinsic importance of the codex, and because it seems to have deteriorated even within the last forty years,⁴ and the sooner a minute collation was made, the better.

Having said enough to indicate that Hosius' *apparatus criticus* is in advance of all others, I venture to make a few criticisms. On this side of the North Sea we cannot help being grateful for the appreciation of

² Praef. p. liv; also *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 23rd Feb. 1901.

³ Since writing the above I have noticed that Mr. Heitland gives in vol. ix of this *Review*, p. 37, a few examples of such differences.

⁴ 'Qui [i.e. Steinhartus] quod saepius quam mihi contigit deletam lectionem invenit, explicandum esse puto e meliore condicione libri, quo tempore Steinhartus multis ante me annis eum contulit.' Francken's ed., vol. i, *Praef.* p. xii.

¹ Often also with Voss. II (U); e.g. P and U agree in reversing the order of viii 25 and 26.

Bentley's work which almost every page of the edition shows; but in spite of our national pride we must admit that in his treatment of Lucan's text Bentley allowed his magnificent scholarship to run riot, and only a small proportion of his conjectures deserved mention in an *apparatus* so condensed as that of an edition in the Teubner *Bibliotheca* necessarily is. Indeed, despite the statement on p. lvi of the preface, Hosius displays misleading capriciousness and inconsistency in the recording and omitting of variants. In ii 125, and 157, as my collation informs me, Z reads *robura*. Hosius gives the variant in the second instance, but not in the first. In the same book impossible readings, which may or may not show the character of the MS, are cited in v. 58 (*deccdat* for *decidat*) and v. 224 (*igitur* for *ibitur*), but *sequemur* for *sequimur* (320), *set* for *et* (642), and others of a similar kind are not mentioned. In 299 *iuuet*, for *iubet*, is recorded, but nothing is said of the opposite error, *ubet* for *iuuat*, in 282. The following are a few other points open to objection in the *app. crit.* to Book II:—

27 *nec tam* Z₁ not mentioned; 31 'om. Z₁', but 'lumine Z₁'! 90 *Iugurtae* Z not mentioned, though in 92 *Kartago* is recorded; 93 'dies Z' should be 'diis Z' ? ib. *lybica sibi* for Z read Z₁; 164 Z₁ has *libiae*; 276 for Z read Z₁; 352 *inaque* Z not mentioned; 392 for Z read Z₁; 444 for Z₁ read z; 672 by an oversight the readings *xersem* and *sersen* are both attributed to Z, which, if my collation is correct, reads *xersen* (s in rasura).

The points just mentioned are perhaps of no great importance, but they certainly impair the value of the *apparatus*. In v 62 the real fact about the reading of the Vienna palimpsest seems, oddly enough, to have escaped all the editors. According to both Hosius and Francken N reads DONATA or DONATE *ex corr.*, where formerly was a word 'dessen Züge Aehnlichkeit hatten mit PYIRACC' (Detlefsen *ap.* Francken; so Hosius, 'DONATA *ex* PYIRACC' (?) N). But the half-deciphered letters represent PVERACC, i.e. the scribe of N had begun to write *puer accipit* (or *accipis*), which occurs in the previous line, then, noticing his mistake, he corrected it as shown in the *apparatus*.

On iii 128 a reference should have been given to *Praef.* p. xlviii.

The new text does not differ very widely from that of the first edition. There are, however, several changes. Sometimes the editor returns to a MS reading where a conjecture had formerly been adopted. In i 74

mixtim (Usener) gives place to *mixtis*; 101 for *male* (Kortte) *mare* is now read; 295 Hosius' conj. *pedibus* is no longer read in the text, though it is mentioned in the *app. crit.* All these changes are for the better; the same may reasonably be said of ii 26, *minaces*, with the MSS (*micantes*, ed. I). *Micantes* is retained, perhaps rightly, in i 320, where it now has the support of P and Z. In v. 107 (*totas* for *notas*), vi 25 (*colli* for Vossius' *collo*), and ix 288 (*increpat* for *inrepet*) we have further instances of a recantation which was amply justified. *Mentimur dominos* in v 386 now appears to be a conjecture by Burmann (it was formerly thought to have the authority of V), and Hosius takes the safest course in reverting to the reading of the MSS, *m. dominis*.

There are very many cases where the MSS vary between two words, each of which gives a suitable meaning. The diversity of reading may be due in nearly all cases to a gloss, but in some it may be derived from Lucan himself, who left his work in an unfinished state. In deciding between two such alternatives it is dangerous to follow one group of MSS exclusively, for glosses may be as numerous in the best class as in the worst. *Praestat lectio difficilior* is often the safest rule. Hosius wisely refuses to allow his preference for the 'Paulines' to determine his choice in every case.

A few typical examples may be given.

- i 381 { *signa* Z } Hosius prefers *castra*,
 { *castra* O } but *signa*, as the more difficult reading, ought perhaps to be adopted (as it is by Lejay) in spite of the preponderance of MS authority for *castra*. In v 349, where the same variation occurs, *signa* is rightly preferred. The reading in ix 379 (*signa* Hos.) is not quite so certain.
- ii 293 { *signa* } *signa* Hos.¹ *bella* Hos.²,
 { *bella* } rightly, in all probability.
- i 588 *errantis* VPUGC Hos. *uolitantis* MZ. A very difficult case, but it seems, on the whole, more probable that *uol.* is a gloss on *err.* than *vice versa*.
- iv 147 } *mortis* > < *Martis*. *Mortis* has
viii 364 } the MSS on its side in each case and gives a forcible meaning. Hosius is doubtless right in preferring it.
- viii 575 *sociosque* G, Hos. *classemque* O. *Sociosque* is *prima facie* more probable, but the authority of G against all other reputable MSS is so slight that Hosius

is decidedly bold in accepting its reading.

Hosius is not so prone as some are to suspect the genuineness of lines. He is probably right in bracketing ix 83. In the same book v. 86 was bracketed by him in his first edition (as later by Francken); in ed. II he removes the brackets to the following line. It is true that v. 87 is absent from most of the MSS, but the similar endings (*cura, hora*) of 86 and 87 are sufficient to account for the omission,¹ and 87 (*pace* Francken) seems otherwise unexceptionable.

v 53 *Massiliaeque suae donatur libera Phocis*, ought perhaps to be bracketed. It is omitted not only by P but by the very ancient Vienna palimpsest. It comes at the end of a list of allied states on which rewards and distinctions were conferred by the senate, meeting in Epirus. The meaning is, 'and the freedom of Phocis is granted as a favour to her (colony) Massilia.' [The confusion of Phocis and Phocaea occurs also in iii 340.] The line may well have been inserted by some native of Massilia who wished to have some mention of his birth-place in the list of honoured states. We may compare the well-known 'Athenian interpolation' in the *Iliad*.

Considerations of time and space allow only a few more notes on a text which may justly be said to be not only founded on a rational view of the manuscript evidence, but constructed with skill and sound sense.

ii 425 *sq. radensque Salerni* | *Culta Siler*.

Culta B Hosius *Tecta* O *Tesqua* Heinsius.

¹ Omission of lines through this cause is not uncommon in the MSS of Lucan. Cf. ii 466, vi 562.

Hosius boldly flies in the teeth of all the MSS that count. I venture to support his seeming rashness by suggesting that the origin of the impossible *Tecta* is a gloss on a false reading *occulta* for *culta*.

v 191 (of the prophetess) *anhelo clara meatu* | *Murmura*.

Clara murmura seems a very unnatural combination. As it is read in N, the corruption, if there is one, must belong to the age of capitals. Many conjectures (*crebra, clausa, caeca*, etc.) have been made. Perhaps ANHELOLARGA would be more easily corrupted to ANHELOCLARA than any of the other emendations proposed. *Largus* occurs several times in Lucan, and is appropriate enough to the volumes of sound issuing from the cavern.

vii 462 One of the most desperate *cruces* in Lucan, as a reference to Hosius' or any other reputable *app. crit.* will show. Without going into details or attempting a solution of the problem it may be suggested that the variants *uultus* and *tempus* could be explained by supposing a gloss (*h*)*ora*. Or did the original text contain the word *ora* (e.g. . . . *spectant atque ora agnoscere quaerunt*)?

ix 805 *om. MP*. Perhaps the line should be bracketed. It reminds us of x 419 as given by MU, which, as Lejay says, 'paraît être la versification d'un titre.'

In reviewing a work of such excellence it may seem trivial to take exception to small points of orthography, but it is owing to that very excellence that such spellings as *littus* offend one's sense of the fitness of things.

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BILLSON'S *AENEID*.

The Aeneid of Virgil with a Translation.

By CHARLES J. BILLSON, M.A., Corpus Christi College, Oxford. 10½" × 7½". Pp. v + 309, iii + 335. London: Edward Arnold. 1906. 30s. net.

It is the age of the translation. In verse and in prose alike we have supply and demand. So Mr. Justice Ridley's *Pharsalia*, noticed in this *Review* 1897, pp. 270 sqq., has found its way into a second edition; and a bare decade of years sees the completion of three English *Aeneids* in verse and the inception

of another. The first and the fourth of these it will be most natural here to compare.

The first half of Mr. Rhoades' version was favourably judged by Mr. T. E. Page in the *Classical Review* of 1893, pp. 415 sqq.: it was completed in 1896: Mr. Billson's appeared in 1905. Both translators spare us the disquisition upon the canons of translation so apt only to set in a clearer light the incongruous aim or the inadequate performance. Three pages sufficed Mr. Rhoades for his prefatory apology. Mr. Billson is more parsimonious still. No word

of preface introduces his stately tomes, nor, save the dedication 'To my daughter Camilla,' two lists of errata, and two spare paper labels providently furnished to repair the ravages of dust or use, is there anything between the covers of the volumes but Virgil and his translator. Fidelity to the original seems to have been the steadfast aim of both the versions. Mr. Rhoades professes it: 'the prime virtue of a translator, namely absolute fidelity to the original—eschewing paraphrase where possible and resisting all temptation to be brilliant on his own account.'

Divers conceptions of this duty of a translator, varying estimates of the higher and the lower fidelity divide our renderers of foreign poetry into three opposing camps. Their differences are accentuated by the fact that they would combine two distinct and not easily united principles. A version may be regarded as a reproduction of an otherwise inaccessible original or as an aid to its better understanding and interpretation. From the first point of view it will be unfaithful in essentials if it strip the metre with all that metre involves and implies from a metrical original. Surrender this, and all that can be claimed for a translation is that it is an aid to understanding, a brief commentary, in fact, a 'crib.' The pretence that such versions can in any way take the place of their originals might be dismissed as an absurdity, but for an

error into which it has unconsciously inveigled more than one living scholar of note. Possessed with the idea that poetry is 'poetry' and prose is 'prose,' and that poetical or rhythmical prose has no place in literature, such translators refuse to avail themselves of the resources of poetical diction and semi-poetical rhythm and vend their versions of poetry as prose, not for literature which they may be, but for translations which they are not. As though an artist when asked to pourtray an eagle should reply 'I have no skill to limn the flying fowl; but here is the nearest match in quadrupeds.'

From translation proper fidelity demands metre but it does not demand rhyme; and this, Mr. Billson, like most recent translators of Virgil, prudently eschews. A minor fidelity is the lineal uniformity advocated by Lord Bowen in the preface to his 'Virgil in English Verse,' but deprecated by Mr. Rhoades. This Mr. Billson has made a feature of his rendering, wherein with notable courage and candour he prints Virgil's text and his translation side by side, line for line, and even half-line for half-line. The effect of this discrepancy of treatment and the general character of the two versions may be best illustrated by quotation. Here is the beginning of the second *Aeneid*.

Conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant.
inde toro pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alto.

Infandum, regina, iubes renouare dolorem
Troianas ut opes et lamentabile regnum
eruerint Danaï quaeque ipse miserrima uidi
et quorum pars magna fui. quis talia fando
Myrmidonum Dolopumue aut duri miles Vlixī
temperet a lacrimis? et iam nox umida caelo
praecipitat suadentque cadentia sidera somnos.
sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros
et breuiter Troiae supremum audire laborem,
quamquam animus meminisse horret luctuque
refugit,
incipiam.—VIRGIL.

Hushed was each voice and every face intent
When from his lofty couch the Prince began:
'Unutterable, O Queen, the pain thy words
Bid me revive; how Troy's unhappy realm
Fell to the Greek; what piteous scenes I saw
And was great part of. Who, in such a tale,
From hard Ulysses' ranks, what Myrmidon
Would keep from tears? And dewy Night e'en
now

Is riding down the sky, the sinking stars
Persuade to sleep. Yet, if so strong thy wish
'To learn in brief our woes and Troy's last hour,
Although my memory shudders and recoils,
I will assay.'—BILLSON.

All lips were hushed, all eyes attentive fixed:
Then Sire Aeneas from his lofty couch
Addressed him thus to speak:

'Unutterable,
O queen, the grief thou bidst me to revive,
How Troy's magnificence and royal power,
Woe worth the day! the Danaï overthrew,
Thrice piteous scenes which I myself beheld
And was a mighty part of. Such a tale
Who or of Myrmidons or Dolopes
Or stern Ulysses' soldiery could tell,
And hold from weeping? Now too dewy night
Adown the sky falls headlong, and the stars
Sinking invite to sleep. But if to learn
Our woes such longing take thee, and to hear
Brief-told Troy's dying anguish, though my mind
At the remembrance shudders, from the grief
Recoils, I will attempt it.'—RHOADES.

Mr. Billson's theory of line for line translating has at first sight much to recommend it. It preserves proportion and it checks diffuseness, perhaps the most dangerous weakness to which the translator is exposed. But before applying it we must be sure that the metrical units have what we may call the same cubical capacity. English expression is amongst the most concise that the world has seen and those who doubt its superiority in this respect to Latin may amuse themselves by endeavouring to render Scott's

For talents mourn untimely lost
When best employed and wanted most

into an elegiac couplet or, failing that, into the equivalent number of syllables. So long then as transmutation is possible, the English ten-syllabled heroic can give a wary translator of the Latin hexameter as much or nearly as much room as he desires. But if the form of the Latin (as with proper names) has to be taken over, the case stands otherwise. Here compression is impossible and if the lineal correspondence is preserved, something has to go.

Thus in the passage quoted Mr. Billson's translation of *quaque ipse miserrima vidi | et quorum pars magna fui* is superior to Mr. Rhoades': for the *ipse* which Latin usage requires is no necessity in English. But in English *Danai* and *Dolopes* will take nearer a third than a sixth of a line and so in Mr. Billson's translation the first becomes 'the Greek' and the second disappears. Probably also Mr. Billson would have preferred 'sire Aeneas' to 'the Prince' as an equivalent of *pater Aeneas*, if he could have found the room. How much is lost in such cases varies with the context; but that there is net loss cannot be gainsaid.

I pass to another class of cases. Everyone will feel that Mr. Billson's rendering of lines 4-5 is inadequate. The metrical effect of the close of v. 4 with its infinite suggestion of overpowering calamity is as much beyond reproduction as the great wizard's soporific cadences five lines below. But the spirit of *lamentabile regnum* can be caught and Mr. Rhoades has caught it. 'Unhappy realm' shows no trace of it.

The lines that follow lend themselves more easily to Mr. Billson's method. His version runs.

War-shattered, foiled by Fate,
As the long years roll on, the Danaan chiefs,
By Pallas' sacred art, build mountain-high,
Ribb'd with sawn fir, a Horse; a votive gift
For safe return, they feign; so rumour spreads.
Men chosen by lot in its blind flanks are hid

In secret, and with armed soldiery
The monstrous cavern of its belly filled.

I will now take a passage of a different kind from the famous description in the 6th Aeneid 268 sqq. *ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram*.

Darkling they fared, in desolate dim night,
Through ghostly homes and shadowy realms of Dis;

Like men in forests, when the inconstant moon
Throws peevish rays, and God has darkened heaven,

And sombre Night despoiled the hues of Earth.

Before the Porchway, in Hell's very throat,
Lay Grief, and pale Diseases, and Remorse,
And sad old Age, and Want, that counsels ill,
Fear and gaunt Famine—dreadful shapes to see!—
And Death, and Pain, and Death's twin-brother Sleep,

And sinful Lusts of Soul. And full in face
Right in the gateway lay the slaughterer, War,
The Furies' iron cells, and Discord wild
With blood-stained fillets round her snaky hair.

And in their midst an immemorial elm
Spreads shadowing arms, where idle Dreams are lodged,

That cling beneath each leaf. And many forms
Of monstrous Beasts are there: within the gate
There stable Centaurs, Scyllas double-shaped,
Briareus, the hundred-fold, and Lerna's Worm,
Dire-hissing, and Chimaera, armed with flame,
Gorgons, and Harpies, and the tri-form Ghost.

As a translator's work is most fairly judged by specimens, I will give two more of Mr. Billson's. *Aen.* v. 632-640 Iris in guise of Beroe urges the Trojan matrons to burn the ships:

O Fatherland! O Housegods saved in vain!
Shall not a Troy be told of? Shall I see
Simois no more and Xanthus, Hector's streams?
Nay, up! and burn with me the accursed ships!
For while I slept, Cassandra's boding shape
Gave me these brands. 'Here seek your Troy,'
said she,
'Here is your Home.' The hour is come: delay
Such portents brook not. Lo, yon altars four
To Neptune! God himself lends heart and fire.

Aen. x. 259-276 the return of Aeneas with his fleet:

No more he spoke: and when the darkness fled,
And light returning orb'd to perfect day,
He taught obedience, bidding all prepare
For battle, and dispose their hearts for war.
Then, standing on the stern, now full in ken
The leagu'd Trojans scanned. His flaming Shield
He lifted high. The Dardans, with new hope
Fanning their wrath, fling missiles, and to heaven
Upraise their cries; as when Strymonian cranes
Fly, shrilling signals, from the roaring South,
And trail harsh music through the storm-black sky.

But on Ausonia's captains and the Prince
Fell wonder; till they turned and saw the ships
Steered shoreward, and the whole sea sailing in.
The helmet blazed, and from its crest a flame
Stream'd, and the golden targe was spouting fire;

As blood-red comets on the lucent night
 Cast baleful gleams, or as the Syrian¹ Star
 Springs, when his angry glare brings thirst and
 pain
 For woeful men, and saddens all the sky.

These extracts will probably convey to the reader a truer and more real notion of Mr. Billson's work than any words of mine. But I will add the sum of my own impressions. It is a version of more than average merit, highest in the most elevated passages but not sufficiently sustained throughout. Its author is seen to have a competency of knowledge, insight and poetical feeling. The

metrical handling has strength but hardly enough variety. The verbal execution is somewhat unequal: a searching revision of details would much enhance its effectiveness. For example in *Aen.* ii. the somewhat prosaic translations of *tantus amor* l. 10 and of l. 11 might easily be improved.

It should be added that the print and get up of the book are fine and even sumptuous. The price however I fear will limit the number of purchasers. If a new edition is demanded, Mr. Billson will be well advised to print in a cheaper form and to leave out the Latin original.

¹ A lapsus calami for *Sirian*.

J. P. POSTGATE.

JAMES' CATALOGUES OF MSS. IN CHRIST'S AND QUEENS' COLLEGES.

- (1) *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Library of Christ's College Cambridge*. By MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES, Litt.D., F.B.A., Provost of King's College, Cambridge: Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Cambridge: University Press. 1905. 8vo. Pp. vi. + 36. 5s.
- (2) *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Library of Queens' College, Cambridge*. By MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES, Litt.D., F.B.A., Provost of King's College Cambridge: Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Cambridge: University Press. 1905. 8vo. Pp. vi. + 29. 3s. 6d. net.

Of the two libraries which the Provost of King's here adds to his admirable collection neither contains any manuscript of direct importance for the study of classical texts. Queens' has a sixteenth century copy of Ptolemy's *Almagest* and a fifteenth-sixteenth century text of certain Greek rhetorical *répés*, copied from a MS. extant at Paris; Christ's an eleventh century Greek evangelistarium and a twelfth century Acts and Epistles, which have both been collated by Scrivener. Nevertheless the reader of this *Review* will have been insufficiently humanised by the classics if he finds nothing in either library to interest him. Christ's is however decidedly the more important and the very large proportion of space which Dr. James devotes to two out of its twelve MSS. is fairly justified. One of these is liturgical, a book of Hours written probably for one of the children of Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and Alice de Sanford his wife (d. 1371) and interesting

for the historical matter in the calendar as well as for the prayers themselves and the ornament. The other has more claim to notice here in connexion with the subject, still curiously obscure to us, of the history of scholarship in the middle ages. It is only a commentary on the psalter, but it differs *toto caelo et animo* from the generality of its kind in that the author busies himself mainly with the *sensus literalis* of the text, and strives to elucidate it mainly by the aid of two Hebrew MSS. equipped (according to the form of such works of that time as still survive) with an interlinear Latin gloss or 'superscriptio.' There can be no reasonable doubt that Dr. James is right in identifying their author, the Franciscan Henry of Costessey (or Cossey, near Norwich) with the teacher who died in 1336, and not with the Master of Gonville Hall of the same name who died in 1483, although the MS. is of the middle of the fifteenth century or later. Hence we must regard him as a product of that fitful interest in scholarship which was possibly inspired by Roger Bacon, and at any rate showed itself in the well-known decree of the council of Vienne in 1312 for establishing Greek, Hebrew, and other teaching at the four principal universities. He specifies the two Hebrew books which he uses by their owners, viz. *domini Lincoln*. (perhaps a contemporary bishop or earl, not Robert Grosteste) and *magistri Johannis dudum conversi*. Readers of M. Berger's tract on Hebrew in the Middle Ages will readily identify the latter as *Johannes Salvati de Nova Villa Regis, clericus Belvacensis*

diocesis, a Jewish convert who was actually installed at Paris in accordance with the Vienne decree in 1319, and the light thrown upon the achievements of his school is of the highest value.

It is of course possible to pick up a few errors here and there. Dr. James' catalogues are as full of facts as a table of logarithms and perhaps nothing short of a Babbage machine would succeed in eliminating all mistakes of detail. On p. 10 of the Christ's catalogue *Dies Aegyptiaca* has been mistaken for *Duplex*; on p. 11 'Edwardi fratris regis' is a slip for 'Edmundi'; on the following pages the double notation (by pages and folios) of the MS. seems to be confused; on p. 26 last line for 'fol. 18' read

'Feb. 18.' In this MS. Dr. James has not noticed a curious account by the illuminator (f. 72 b) specifying the number of initial letters he had put in. On p. 34 is a more serious misprint 'Jesse' for 'esse,' and on p. 35 the description of psalterium Romanum as Jerome's correction of the Gallican is obscure. At p. 30 (note) Miss Bateson is robbed of the last two letters of her name. If some person with a small fraction of Dr. James' learning and the qualities of a first-rate printer's reader could revise the description with the MSS. he might find many such details to correct, but perhaps this is too much to ask.

J. P. GILSON.

REPORT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—HILARY TERM, 1906.

ON May 4th, at Wadham College, Mr. WELLS read a paper on 'a Persian friend of Herodotus.' The object of the paper was to shew that many of the peculiarities of Herodotus's versions of Persian history could best be explained by supposing that one of his main informants was Zopyrus the son of Megabazus, whose desertion to Athens is mentioned in iii. 160. The date of this desertion was discussed, and 441-440 was suggested as suiting at once the statements of Ctesias and the general course of events; it was also shewn that the desertion was an event of great political importance, not improbably connected with the anti-Persian intrigues at Samos in 440. Incidentally it was argued that Herodotus probably left for Thurii in 440. At the end of the paper the accuracy of Herodotus's story of the Siege of Babylon by Darius (Hdt. iii. 150 *seq.*) was briefly discussed. The paper will shortly be published in full.

ON May 11th, at Queen's College, Mr. T. W. ALLEN read a paper on the characteristics of Theognis.

ON June 8th, at Balliol College, Mr. LOUIS DYER read a paper on the *Olympic Council and Council House*. First came a defence of Dr. Dörpfeld's identification of the latter in connexion with Paus. V. xxi. 2-xxiv. 11, Xen. *Hell.* vii. 4, the meaning attached to θέατρον before stone theatres were erected, and the growth of trees on the Altis since 1886, which confirms the conclusion that the triangular area around the great Ash Altar was the only open space available for the fighting of Ol. 104. Next the date of the Elean Synoikismos was fixed in the two concluding years of Ol. 75, that of the Triphylian devastation was determined to be Ol. 75-77, both dates being brought into relation with those of the two wings of the Council House. The Curse of Moline shewed that the Lepreatae were originally of more consequence than the Aetolo-Eleans at Olympia. Skillus was in the same case, Skilluntines having built the Heraeum. Heraea also certainly belonged

to the league of eight Pisatan cities so confusedly described by Strabo. These three with the five which Strabo names: Heracleia, Harpina, Kikysion, Dyspontium, and Salmone make up the tale, and Pisa must be added as a ninth. The ἀρχαία γράμματα of the Eleans, not accepted by the Greeks at large (Paus. V. iv. 6 *ad fin.*), falsified history and expunged Pisa, while claiming unhistorical prominence at Olympia for Elis (Xen. *Hell.* iii. ii. 31). This Pisatan Amphictyony of Olympia is an historical residuum of fact left behind by the long political experience of the pre-Dorians dimly apparent in the four leagues (of nine tribe-centres each) witnessed to by *Il.* ii. and *Od.* iii. Its poetical prototype is the Pylian league of nine centred at Pylos the Netherworld Gate and dedicated to Hades, Poseidon, and the ancient Olympian Earth-Oracle. Last came an examination of the Olympic Council taken first in connexion with the Eleusinian Hiera Gerousia, the Delphian Amphictyonic Council, the Delian Amphictyony,—the Eleusinian and Delphian analogy being the closest. Scrutiny of inscriptions followed, from which it appeared that the Hellanodicae were the executive arm and the presiding officers of the Olympic Council, never confused with the Elean Synedroi. A very minute examination of Paus. V. ix. 4—end then shewed that his statement that Iphitus instituted the Olympia αὐτὸς μόνος was an Elean fiction due to the ἀρχαία γράμματα. The contradictory traditions of the Pisatan Iamidae were nearer historical fact. Iphitus and Cleosthenes the Pisatan conjointly organized an old country-side festival, both being of kingly status and wearing the royal purple. There was no change at the 50th Olympiad. Two Hellanodicae ruled until Ol. 75, a date fixed upon quite unmistakably by Pausanias as the great turning point in the history of the games. Emendations of the text are gratuitous if only it be recognized (1) that an epoch-making change alike in the constitution of Elis and the organization of the Olympia dates from the morrow of Plataea, when the Elean contingent

turned upon their dilatory and incompetent leaders (Hdt. ix. 77 *ad fin.*), (2) that this led to the belated Synoikismos of Elis, (3) that the efficiency of the new board of Hellanodicae entirely sprang from the new arrangements made for them in the newly concentrated City-State of Elis, (4) that traces of the more efficient reorganization of the Olympia shew not only in the feeble management of Ol. 75 but also in the record of the great patriotic festival of Ol. 76, (5) that the one decisive conflict, by which the sole presidency at Olympia was won for Elis, took place before Ol. 77, resulting in the building of Libon's great temple, and an extensive alteration in the facilities open to the festival concourse, as well as in new and independent business quarters for the Hellanodicae. The Elean fiasco on the field of Plateaea marks a tremendous change; but this change has been minimized and skilfully represented as of older date by Elean tradition, and has therefore been imperfectly understood.

The Olympic Council, possibly taking its origin from a knot of *γέροντες* advising the pre-Dorian king and connected with a Homeric popular concourse, who would be the mass of tribesmen gathered at the country-side games,—funeral or other,—was always more definitely representative than that oligarchy within an oligarchy, the Elean Synedroi. This fact is plain from the attested increase and decrease in the number of the Hellanodicae after Ol. 75. When Elis took in new districts, new Hellanodicae, one for each district, came in. Again, when Elis was reduced in Ol. 104 to eight districts, the Hellanodicae were reduced to eight. They came from all corners of the Olympian 'Home Counties' and would have been a hindrance to efficiency but for the ten months of instruction in the duties of their office given at Elis by the *νομοφύλακες*, who doubtless

were Elean grandees. For this period of probation quarters at Elis were provided, built as Dr. Wernicke seems to imply, in the closest imitation of the quarters existing in Ol. 75 at Olympia. Whether Dr. Wernicke would endorse this last statement or not is uncertain, but his account of the Elean Market-Place, and his conclusions (published in the *Jahrbücher* for 1894 vol. ix) from the uses of the business quarters at Elis as to the uses to which the north and south wings of the Olympian Council House were successively put, harmonize in a remarkable degree with the results of the present investigation. In support of his identification of the Olympian *προεδρία* (Paus. V. xv. 4) with the south wing of the Council House, Mr. Dyer urged (1) that the title of *πρόεδροι* (implied by the name *προεδρία* for their business quarters) could not officially attach to the Hellanodicae as magistrates occupying front seats at the festival concourse, but must derive from their presidential relation to the Olympic Council, which was vouched for by the fact of an appeal lying to the Council from their executive decisions or *προβολαί*. (2) That until Ol. 75, there being but the two royal Hellanodicae, the north wing would suffice for their business quarters as well as for the meetings of the Council. When however the board of nine came in, divided into three clearly defined sub-committees, all and each qualified for efficiency by ten months' training at Elis, separate business quarters were obviously indispensable. These were supplied by the building of the south wing, dated congruously to this argument a little before the building of the great Temple of Olympian Zeus.

F. W. HALL,
Hon. Secretary.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

WHO WAS THE WIFE OF ZEUS?

THE marriage of Zeus and Hera, though described by prudent worshippers as *εὐδαίμων γάμος*,¹ was not a happy one as we count happiness. So long as Zeus was courting his bride, that is to say for some three hundred years,² all went well.³ They met, it is true, 'without the knowledge of their dear

parents';⁴ but such clandestine intercourse was in various parts of the Greek world the recognised beginning of married life.⁵ In due time the engagement was, so to speak, made public, wedding-invitations were issued to all gods and men and beasts,⁶ and wedding-presents received.⁷ Alas, from that moment we hear of no more love-passages. Formal matrimony appears to have chilled all warmth of affection. There is of course the famous scene of dalliance on Mt. Ida.⁸ But this, it will be remembered, was got up

¹ Dio Chrys. or. 36 p. 453, cp. Ar. av. 1741 f. See Loebek *Aglaophamus* p. 610, Abel *Orphica* p. 243.

² Callim. frag. 20 Schneider, Nonn. *Dion.* 41. 322 ff.

³ Cp. the pretty picture drawn by Stat. *Theb.* 10. 61 ff., and perhaps the bronzes figured by Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 17, 6 f. The Selinus metope in Farnell *Cults of the Gk. States* i. pl. ix a, the fresco from Pompeii in *Class. Rev.* xvii. 414 fig. 9, the Etruscan mirror in Gerhard *Etruskische Spiegel* iv. 10 f., pl. 282, and a remarkable coin of Bruzus in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins Phrygia* p. 113, pl. 14, 4, refer rather to the actual wedlock Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 174).

⁴ *Il.* 14. 296. For their secrecy see Euseb. *prep. ev.* 3. 1. 3, schol. vet. Theoc. 15. 64, schol. *Il.* 14. 296, Eustath. 987, 9, schol. *Il.* 1. 609, cp. Ptolem. *nov. hist.* 6 p. 196, 11 ff. Westermann.

⁵ In Samos schol. *Il.* 14. 296, Eustath. 987, 9 ff.: at Sparta Plut. v. *Lyc.* 15, Xen. de rep. *Lac.* 1. 5, Hermippus ap. Athen. 555 c.

⁶ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 1. 503, Myth. Vat. 1. 101, 2. 67, pp. 37 f., 109 Mai.

⁷ Eratosth. *cat.* 3, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 3, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 4. 484, Apollod. 2. 5. 11.

⁸ *Il.* 14. 153 ff.

by Hera for the purpose of hoodwinking Zeus: the account of it is prefaced by the remark that 'he was hateful to her heart'¹ and followed by his ungallant threat to thrash her soundly for her deceit.² Apart from this scene of simulated desire there is nothing to report but bickering, backbiting, and mutual intrigue.³ Polytechnos and Aëdon were perhaps impious when they claimed to love each other more fondly than Zeus and Hera,⁴ but it is probable that they spoke the truth.

Again, the union between Zeus and Hera was unsatisfactory because it produced no offspring. This naturally increased the jealousy with which Hera viewed the occasional infidelities of Zeus: 'she persecuted her rivals,' says Lactantius,⁵ 'with the utmost bitterness because she herself could have no children by her brother.' Such manifest inferiority to other goddesses, heroines, and even mortals was intolerable. And Hesiod, with an eye to harmony and decorum, announces that Zeus took to himself in succession Metis, Themis, Eurynome, Demeter, Mnemosyne, Leto, and lastly Hera, 'who bare Hebe, Ares, and Eileithyia, when mixed in love with the king of gods and men.'⁶ This semi-official declaration, being decent if not dignified, was accepted by sundry later mythographers, and so passed into the canon of Graeco-Roman tradition. Nevertheless the claims of Hebe, Ares, and Eileithyia to be considered as legitimate children of Zeus by Hera are not above suspicion and must be separately investigated.

The line in the *Theogony* that describes Hebe as 'daughter of mighty Zeus and of golden-sandaled Hera'⁷ appears in the *Odyssey*⁸ also: but here it was foisted into the text by Onomacritus⁹ and has been rightly bracketed by recent editors. Apollodorus, when he states that 'Zeus married Hera and begat Hebe, Eileithyia, Ares,'¹⁰ is obviously founding upon Hesiod. The first Vatican mythographer may have derived his assertion that 'Juno bare Hebe to Jupiter'¹¹

mediately or immediately from the same source. And Hesychius¹² has no fresh evidence to cite. Since these are the only¹³ writers that expressly mention Zeus and Hera as the two parents of Hebe, it follows that her claim rests primarily on the authority of Hesiod. As against it, there is a widely-attested belief that Hebe was the daughter of Hera, and of Hera only. Olen in his hymn to Hera made her the mother of Ares and of Hebe,¹⁴ but, so far as is known, did not allude to any father. Pindar twice calls Hebe the daughter of Hera,¹⁵ but never the daughter of Zeus. And later writers both Greek¹⁶ and Latin¹⁷ follow suit. It is noteworthy also that in sculpture¹⁸ and in vase-painting¹⁹ Hebe was closely associated with Hera. To account for this singular relationship, it was said Hera became the mother of Hebe when impregnated by a lettuce.²⁰ These inadequate notions of paternity belong to a very remote past and go far towards proving that Hebe, the daughter of Hera, was not originally conceived as the daughter of Zeus. The same result is reached by a consideration of her cults. At Phlius she had a cypress-grove, which was sanctuary for slaves, a yearly festival called Ivy-cutters, and a *hieron* of immemorial fame: the oldest Phliasian authorities called her not Hebe, but Ganymeda²¹—a name suggesting the consort, rather than the daughter, of Zeus.

¹² Hesych. s.v. Ἥβη.

¹³ It must, however, be added that Eur. *Heraclid.* 917 f. speaks of Herakles and Hebe as *ἑταῖροι* | παῖδες Διός, that Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 466 makes Hebe the daughter of Jupiter, and that Myth. Vat. 1. 184 p. 63 Mai has 'Hebe filia Minois, filii Iovis.'

¹⁴ Paus. 2. 13. 3.

¹⁵ Pind. *Nem.* 7. 1-5 (Eileithyia and Hebe as daughters of Hera), 10. 30 f. (Hebe in Olympus τελέει παρὰ μητέρι).

¹⁶ Apollod. 2. 7. 7, Ael. *hist. an.* 17. 46, Tzetz. in Lyc. 1349 f., schol. *Il.* 4. 2, cp. schol. *Il.* 1. 609.

¹⁷ Ov. *met.* 9. 400 and Val. Flacc. 8. 231 have the matronymic 'Iunonia . . . Hebe.' Other authors say 'Hebe Iunonis filia' or the like: see Myth. Vat. 2. 198 p. 153 Mai, 3. 15. 11 p. 378 Mai, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 1. 28, 5. 134, Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 1. 548, *id. fab. Ov.* 9. 4.

¹⁸ Paus. 2. 17. 5 (Argos), 8. 9. 3 (Mantineia), cp. Kekulé *Hebe* pp. 43 ff.

¹⁹ *Compte rendu Atlas* 1861 pl. 3 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* 1. 7 b, Roscher *Lex.* i. 2130, cp. Kekulé *Hebe* pp. 18 ff.

²⁰ Myth. Vat. 1. 204 p. 72 Mai Heben genuit Iuno de love; secundum quosdam, de lactuca. Will any reader of the *Classical Review* kindly refer me to the fuller source of the myth utilised by Montfaucon *Antiq. Expl.* i. 184, De-Vit *Onomasticon* s.v. 'Hebe' § 2, Myth. Vat. ed. Bode ii. 65, E. Jacobi *Handwörterb. d. gr. u. röm. Mythol.* p. 389 n. 1?

²¹ Paus. 2. 13. 3.

¹ *Ib.* 158. ² *Il.* 15. 16 f.

³ Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 328 ff., Preller-Robert *Gr. Myth.* pp. 166 ff. The nearest approach to lover-like behaviour was their quarrel about love (Hesiod *ap.* Apollod. 3. 6. 7, Fulgent. *myth.* 2. 8, Hyg. *fab.* 75, Myth. Vat. 3. 4. 8 p. 180 Mai); cp. also Eustath. 345, 35 "Ἥρα διαλλαγεῖσα τῷ Διί.

⁴ Ant. Lib. 11.

⁵ Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 17, cp. Myth. Vat. 3. 4. 2 p. 177 Mai.

⁶ Hes. *theog.* 922 f. ⁷ *Id.* *ib.* 952.

⁸ *Od.* 11. 604, cp. Eustath. 1702, 47, 58, 1703, 19.

⁹ Schol. *Od.* 11. 604 = Onomacr. *frag.* 8 Kinkel.

¹⁰ Apollod. 1. 3. 1.

¹¹ Myth. Vat. 1. 204 p. 72 Mai.

That the name Hebe, a mere personification of perpetual youth, was comparatively late, we can readily believe. Even the name Ganymeda may have been modelled on Ganymedes.¹ It is not, therefore, surprising to find that the same goddess bore a more primitive title. Both at Phlius and at Sicyon she was worshipped as Dia.² But Δία, as Usener has shown,³ is simply the feminine counterpart of Ζεύς. Once more, then, we arrive at the conclusion that Hebe was a late name for an early partner of Zeus, not his daughter, but his wife. This explains the tradition that Zeus gave Hebe two doves with human voice, one of which founded the oracle of Dodona, the other, that of the Ammonium.⁴ Hebe, *alias* Dia, was in fact identical with Dione.⁵ The great goddesses of Dodona were Dione and Aphrodite:⁶ Hebe appears between them even in Hesiod's *Theogony*.⁷ And, if Dione at Dodona succeeded to the cult of an Earth-mother,⁸ Hebe was by some said to have sprung from mother Earth.⁹

Let us next see whether Ares' claim to be the son of Zeus and Hera is stronger than that of Hebe. In a well-known passage of the *Iliad*¹⁰ Zeus declares that Ares is indeed his son by Hera, adding that had so hateful a god been sprung from any other he would

long since have been cast out of heaven. This passage might at first sight seem to settle the question. What better guarantee could we wish than the word of Zeus himself? But, the fact is, Zeus protests too much. The couplet

εἰ δέ τευ ἔξ ἄλλου γε θεῶν γένευ ὦδ' αἰδῆλος,
καὶ κεν δὴ πάλαι ἦσθα ἐνέρετος Οὐρανίωνων

reads suspiciously like a vindication of Ares' claim by one who knew that it was impugned. It is supported, though not till the second century A.D., by Ampelius¹¹ and Hyginus.¹² But again there is a variant tradition that Hera gave birth to Ares without the help of Zeus after touching a certain flower, which the nymph Chloris had received from the fields of Ölenos.¹³ We sink here to the same primitive stratum of ideas as that which ascribed the birth of Hebe to a lettuce. Such notions must be long anterior to the literary tradition authorised by Homer and Hesiod.

The third child of Zeus and Hera, according to 'those who made a theogony for the Hellenes',¹⁴ was Eileithyia. Hesiod's genealogy is echoed by Apollodorus¹⁵ and Diodorus.¹⁶ But it is significant that Pindar,¹⁷ Plutarch,¹⁸ and Pausanias¹⁹ speak of Eileithyia, Homer,²⁰ Crinagoras,²¹ and Aelian,²² of the Eileithyiaí, as the daughters of Hera without a mention of Zeus. The fact is, as Dr. L. R. Farnell points out,²³ 'The name—whatever its exact original sense may have been—has an adjectival form, and was primarily, we may believe, an epithet of Hera, and then detached from her and treated as the name of a separate divinity.' Hera Εἰλείθνια was worshipped in Attica and Argolis; for near Thorikos has been found a stone inscribed ὄρος τεμίνους

¹ See *Encycl. Brit.* ed. 9 xi. 593 s.v. 'Hebe.' This is the more likely since a genuine feminine of Γανυμήδης would presumably have been Γανυμήδεια: yet cp. Μήδην for Μήδεια (Roscher *Lex.* ii. 2482, 47 ff.).

² Strab. 382.

³ Usener *Götternamen* pp. 35 f., 62, 70 f., also in *Rhein. Mus.* N.F. liii. 346 and in *Strena Helbigiana* p. 322. See Escher in Pauly-Wissowa *Realencycl.* v. 299 f.

⁴ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 466.

⁵ *Class. Rev.* xvii. 177 f. See also Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 352 f.

⁶ *Class. Rev.* xvii. 177 f., 183, 186, Carapanos i. 23, 156, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 466 Iovi et Veneri templum.

⁷ Hes. *theog.* 16 f. Plut. *mor.* 747 F cites the passage with Ἥρην for Ἡβην; but Flach and Rzsch retain Ἡβην with all the MSS. Paley accepted Schömann's cj. Φοίβην.

In Ael. *hist. an.* 17. 46 λέγει Μνασείας ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Διὸς Ἡρακλείους ἱερὸν εἶναι καὶ τῆς τούτου γαμετῆς, ἣν ἄδουσιν οἱ ποιηταὶ τῆς Ἥρας θυγατέρα C. Müller *F.H.G.* iii. 151 brackets Διὸς and Hercher omits it from the text. But, if anything is to be bracketed, of which I am not convinced (see *infra*), it should perhaps be Ἡρακλείους. We should then have Zeus paired with Hebe, and with the sacred cocks of the god mentioned in the sequel might cp. the youthful Zeus Φελαγῶς and his cock on coins of Phaestus (*Class. Rev.* xvii. 413 fig. 8). But?

⁸ *Class. Rev.* xvii. 179 f.

⁹ Rufin. Aquileiens. *Clem. Rom. recognit.* 10. 17 ed. Gersdorf pp. 229 f.

¹⁰ *Il.* 5, 888 ff.

¹¹ Amp. 9. 2.

¹² Hyg. *fab. praef.* p. 12, 2 Schmidt.

¹³ Ov. *fast.* 5. 229 ff. Paul. *exc. Fest.* s.v.

'Gravidus' p. 72 Lindemann 'vel, ut alii dicunt, quia gramine sit ortus.' Plut. *ap. Euseb. prep. ev.* 3. 1. 5 names Hera, not Zeus, as the parent of Ares.

¹⁴ Hdt. 2. 53.

¹⁵ Apollod. 1. 3. 1.

¹⁶ Diod. 5. 72. But *ib.* 4. 9 Eileithyia appears to be the daughter of Hera only.

¹⁷ Pind. *Nem.* 7. 2, with schol. vet. p. 203, 3 f. Abel.

¹⁸ Plut. *ap. Euseb. prep. ev.* 3. 1. 5.

¹⁹ Paus. 1. 18. 5.

²⁰ *Il.* 11. 270 f. Schol. A *ad loc.* says Εἰλείθνια δὲ Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας θυγατέρες, cp. *etym. mag.* 298, 38 f.; but Homer knew better, and schol. B on *Il.* 20. 70 has Εἰλείθνια ἡ μήτηρ ἡ Ἥρα.

²¹ Anth. Pal. 6. 244. 1 f.

²² Ael. *de nat. an.* 7. 15.

²³ Farnell *Cults of the Gk. States* ii. 608.

"Ἡρ[ας] Εἰλειθ[ύας],¹ and Hesychius glosses *Εἰληθύας* by . . . "Ἡρα ἐν Ἀργεῖ.² As an epithet, however, *Εἰλειθνα* is also connected with other goddesses, most commonly with Artemis,³ occasionally with Hekate,⁴ Selene,⁵ Themis,⁶ or Hebe.⁷ But for our purpose it matters little whether Eileithya be identified with Hera or with another. In any case we are driven to conclude that her claim to be a child of Zeus by Hera was no better than the claims of Hebe and of Ares.

Sundry other attempts were made to provide a family for Zeus and Hera. But they are all late in date and half-hearted in intention. Thus Cornutus⁸ records that the Charites were 'according to most authorities the daughters of Zeus, some say by Eurydome . . . others by Eurynome . . . others by Eurymedusa . . . while others again give them Hera for a mother in order that they may be the noblest-born of the gods to suit the nobility of their actions.' Cornutus' interpolator adds: 'some declare that Euanthe was their mother, others that she was Aigle.' The scholiast on the *Odyssey*⁹ writes in the same strain: 'there are two accounts of the parentage of the Charites, who were either children of Eurynome and Zeus, or virgin daughters of Hera and Zeus.' Obviously no reliance can be placed on this flimsy variant, which may have arisen from the fact that the Charites appeared above the head of Zeus at Olympia¹⁰ and on the crown of the Argive Hera.¹¹ Certainly the oldest tradition made them the daughters of Zeus and Eurynome.¹²

Equally unsubstantial is the statement of Hyginus that Zeus and Hera were the parents of Juventas Libertas. For *Juventus Libertas* appears to be an incorrectly Latinised form of a Ἡβη Ἐλευθερία¹³; and of Hebe we have already disposed.

¹ W. Vischer *Epigr. und archäol. Beitr. aus Griechenland* 1855 p. 58 no. 69 pl. vii. 2, *id. Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland* 1857 p. 68, K. Keil in *Philologus* xxiii. 619 f.

² See further Roscher *Lex.* i. 2076, 7 ff., 2091, 31 ff.

³ Jessen in Pauly-Wissowa *Realencycl.* v. 2105, 46 ff.

⁴ Porphyrius *ap. Euseb. prep. ev.* 4. 23. 7.

⁵ Nonn. *Dion.* 38. 150. ⁶ *Id. ib.* 41. 162.

⁷ Orph. *hymn. praef.* 13.

⁸ Cornut. *theol.* 15.

⁹ Schol. *Od.* 8. 364, cp. *Myth. Vat.* 1. 132 p. 48

Mai, Nonn. *Dion.* 31. 186.

¹⁰ Paus. 5. 11. 7. ¹¹ *Id.* 2. 17. 4.

¹² Escher in Pauly-Wissowa *Realencycl.* iii. 2150, 45 ff.

¹³ Jupiter Libertas, who is commonly supposed to represent a Zeus Ἐλευθερίος (*De-Vit Onomasticon s.v.* 'Iuppiter' §§ 181 ff., but see Aust in Roscher *Lex.* ii. 663, 7 ff., Wissowa *Rel. u. Kult. d. Römer* p. 106), probably hangs together with this Juventas

In a Theban hymn to Herakles cited by Ptolemy Chennos,¹⁴ who flourished under Trajan and Hadrian, Herakles was described as the son of Zeus and Hera. But Ptolemy, according to Photius, was *συναγωγὴς ὑπό- κενος καὶ πρὸς ἀλαζονείαν ἐπτοημένος*,¹⁵ and this may have been one of his many *τετραπύδη καὶ κακόπλαστα*.¹⁶ The received tradition was too firmly established to be upset by the first puff of a wind-bag.

Lastly, Hephaistos was the son of Zeus by Hera, if we believe the scholiast on the *Iliad*,¹⁷ or Cicero, who informs us that 'the third Vulcanus was sprung from the third Jupiter and Juno,'¹⁸ or Cornutus, who says: 'The upper air with its pure transparent fire is Zeus, but fire in actual use and mixed with lower air is Hephaistos; whence he was affirmed to be the son of Zeus and Hera, though others said that he was the son of Hera alone,' etc.¹⁹ This latter view, as we shall see, was undoubtedly the original conception, and as compared with its weight of evidence the authority of scholiasts, harmonists, and allegorists must kick the beam.

It appears, therefore, that not one of the children attributed to Zeus and Hera by classical writers had any real claim to such parentage. The union of these powerful deities remained sterile.²⁰ Now this would be remarkable enough in the case of any definitely recognised pair in a polytheistic system. But it becomes doubly remarkable, when we remember that Zeus and Hera were in historic times the marriage deities *par excellence* of the Greek world.²¹ Zeus

Libertas. Is it mere accident that the only parallel to the abstract form of his appellation is Jupiter Juventas (Roscher *Lex.* ii. 667, 17 ff.)?

¹⁴ Ptol. *nov. hist.* 3 p. 186, 23 ff. Westermann.

¹⁵ Phot. *bibl. cod.* 190 p. 146b 8 f. Bekker.

¹⁶ *Id. ib.* p. 146b 5 f. Bekker. See, however, the Etruscan inscription *infra* p. 28.

¹⁷ Schol. *Il.* 1. 609, 14. 296 = Eustath. 987, 9 f.

¹⁸ Cic. *de nat. deor.* 22. 55.

¹⁹ Cornut. *theol.* 19. In *Od.* 8. 312 Hephaistos speaks of his *τοκτῆ δύναι*: but these need not be Zeus and Hera (as schol. Hes. *theog.* 927 Flach supposed, cp. Rapp in Roscher *Lex.* i. 2048, 22), for *Lyd. de mens.* 86 p. 135, 10 f. Wünsch makes the third Hephaistos the son of Kronos and Hera; nor are we bound to infer from *Il.* 14. 333 f. that the Homeric Hephaistos was the son of Zeus.

²⁰ That the *ἱερὸς γάμος* resulted in no offspring, was pointed out by K. Schwenck *Die Mythol. der Griechen* 1843 p. 46, who inferred that we must regard the unpersonified Spring as the child born of this union. Schwenck was followed by E. Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* 1854 p. 204.

²¹ See e.g. Preller-Robert *Griech. Mythol.* p. 147, Gruppe *Griech. Mythol. u. Religionsgesch.* pp. 1110 n. 1, 1134 n. 5, Farnell *Cults of the Gk. States* i. 53, 195.

Τέλειος and Hera Τελέια were in fact singularly ἀτελείς.

The anomalous nature of the situation is still further accentuated by the grotesque belief that Zeus produced children of himself apart from Hera, Hera produced children of herself apart from Zeus. 'There can be,' says Apollo in the *Eumenides*,¹ 'a father without a mother — witness the daughter of Olympian Zeus.' Athena, as the old myth had it, was sprung from his head²; later writers specify his brain³ or his beard.⁴ So too the author of the early Homeric hymn to Dionysos declares: 'Thee the father of men and gods bare, afar from mankind, hiding thee from white-armed Hera.'⁵ And, thanks to later poets and mythographers, we know how Dionysos, 'Son of Zeus,'⁶ was born from his father's thigh.⁷ Well might Lucian make Poseidon exclaim εὖ γε ὁ γενναῖος, ὡς ὅλος ἥμιν κυφορεῖ καὶ πανταχόθεν τοῦ σώματος!⁸ Note that the verb τίκτω is repeatedly used of Zeus in relation to Athena and Dionysos;⁹ indeed a sarcophagus at Venice shows the birth of Dionysos from Zeus, who is veiled like a bride and assisted by Eileithyia,¹⁰ while Ctesilochus, a pupil of Apelles, made his name as a painter *Iove Liberum parturiente depicto mitrato et muliebriter ingemiscente inter obstetricia deorum*.¹¹ Again, Adonis—according to Philostephanus of Cyrene—reigned as a king in Cyprus, having sprung from Zeus *sine ullius feminae accubitu*.¹²

It was in Cyprus too that the horned Centaurs were begotten on the ground from the seed of Zeus.¹³ *En revanche* Hera was the husbandless mother, not only of Hebe¹⁴ and Ares,¹⁵ but also of Eileithyia¹⁶ and Hephaistos.¹⁷ Of the last-named even Hesiod says: "Ἥρη δ' Ἐφαιστον κλυτὸν οὐ φιλόττη μίγαισα | γέναιτο."¹⁸ And later writers, both Greek¹⁹ and Latin,²⁰ harp on the theme. Hera likewise gave birth to the fatherless monster Typhaon²¹ or Typhoeus,²² according to an epic and lyric tradition of respectable antiquity. Finally, the mythographers speak of Echo as a daughter of Hera—a meaning matronymic.²³

The only adequate explanation of these marital eccentricities is to be found in the view that Zeus and Hera were not originally connected as husband and wife, but that Zeus once belonged to a married couple of which the husband was all-important, Hera to a married couple dominated by the wife.²⁴

¹³ Nonn. *Dion.* 5. 609 ff., 14. 193 ff., 32. 71 f. Cp. the birth of Erichthonios as described by Callim. *Ἑκδήλ. ap. schol. Il.* 2. 547 (=frag. 61 Schneider), Apollod. 3. 14. 6, Eratosth. *cat.* 13 (=Eur. *frag.* 925 Nauck²), Westermann *mythogr. append.* p. 360, 1 ff., *alib.*

¹⁴ *Supra* p. 366. ¹⁵ *Supra* p. 367.

¹⁶ *Supra* p. 367. ¹⁷ *Supra* p. 368.

¹⁸ Hes. *theog.* 927 f.

¹⁹ Hom. *hymn. Ap.* 317, *hymn. ap. Galen de Hipp. et Plat. dogm.* 3. 8 (v. 351 Kühn), Apollod. 1. 3. 5, Cornut. *theol.* 19 p. 33, 16 Lang, Luc. *de sacrif.* 6, Iambl. *vit. Pyth.* 39, Nonn. *Dion.* 9. 228 f., cp. Pind. *ap. Plut. anat.* 5, Ap. Rhod. 1. 859.

²⁰ Hyg. *fab. praef.* p. 12, 3 Schmidt, *Myth. Vat.* 1. 176 p. 61 Mai Iuno de suo femore Vulcanum progenit, 1. 204 p. 72 Mai Vulcanus de semine seu femore Iunonis, 2. 40 p. 99 Mai Vulcanus de femore Iunonis fingitur natus.

²¹ Hom. *hymn. Ap.* 331 ff.

²² Stesich. *frag.* 60 Bergk *ap. et. mag.* 772, 49 ff. = Eudoc. *viol.* 932.

²³ Lact. *Plac. narr. fab.* 3. 5 = *Myth. Vat.* 1. 185 p. 63 f. Mai, 2. 180 p. 148 Mai.

²⁴ This is a view, which has slowly developed and forced its way towards recognition during the last eighty years. P. Buttmann *Mythologus* 1828 i. 22 ff. first showed that Dione was the wife of the Dodonaean Zeus, citing schol. *Od.* 3. 91 ἢ "Ἡρα Διώνη παρὰ Δωδωναίους, ὡς Ἀπολλόδαμος. Then in 1846 L. Georgii in Pauly's *Real-Encycl.* iv. 540 ff. maintained that Dione, not Hera, was the original wife of Zeus; Hera was but a later form of Dione, though all three deities were of Pelasgian extraction. In 1854 E. Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* pp. 152 ff., 186 ff., contended that Zeus and Hera were originally independent deities of the Pelasgian stock, and that Hera was only gradually united with and subordinated to Zeus. In 1857 F. G. Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 382 f. proposed a racial cleavage: Hera, though called Pelasgian, was really Achaeans, the genuine Pelasgian goddesses being Gaia and Dione. In 1857 also H. D. Müller *Mythol. d. gr. Stämme* pp. 247 ff. argued that Zeus and Dione the deities of the Northern or Hellenic Achaeans were combined

¹ Aesch. *Eum.* 663 f., cp. 736 ff.

² Hes. *theog.* 924, Hom. *hymn. Ap.* 309, *hymn. Min.* 28. 5, Musaeus *ap. schol. Pind. Ol.* 7. 66 and *ap. Philodem.* περὶ εἰσεβ. 59 (=frag. 8 Kinkel), Stesich. *ap. schol. Ap. Rhod.* 4. 1310, Pind. *Ol.* 7. 67, Eur. *Ion* 455 f., *alib.*

³ Luc. *dial. deor.* 8, *de sacrif.* 5, Westermann *mythogr. append.* p. 359, 24 f.

⁴ *Myth. Vat.* 1. 176 p. 61 Mai Iuppiter de sua barba Minervam.

⁵ Hom. *hymn. Bacch.* 1. 6 f.

⁶ Διόνυσος = Διὸς υἱός (Kretschmer, *Eindeit. in d. Gesch. d. gr. Spr.* p. 241).

⁷ Pind. *frag.* 85 Christ, Eur. *Bacch.* 94 ff., 286 f., 523 ff., Nonn. *Dion.* 9. 1 ff., Apollod. 3. 4. 3, *Myth. Vat.* 1. 120 p. 44 Mai, 2. 79 p. 114 Mai, Luc. *dial. deor.* 9, *de sacrif.* 5, cp. Strab. 687, Orph. *hymn.* 48. 3, 52. 3, Eustath. in *Il.* 310, 6 f., *emend.* in *Dion. per.* 1153, *alib.* See further Voigt in Roscher *Lex.* i. 1044 ff., Kern in Pauly-Wissowa *Realencycl.* v. 1015 f., 1034 f.

⁸ Luc. *dial. deor.* 9. 1.

⁹ See the passages referred to in nn. 2, 3, 5, 7; and cp. Aesch. *Eum.* 660 τίκτει δ' ὁ θρώσκαν.

¹⁰ Monumenti inediti dall' *Inst.* i. pl. 45 a = Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 602 fig. 679.

¹¹ Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 140. On the significance of this 'Männerkindbett' see Voigt in Roscher *Lex.* i. 1046.

¹² Philosteph. *ap. Prob. in Verg. ecl.* 10. 18 Lion = F. H. G. iii. 31 no. 14.

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In the case of Zeus this is not hard to prove. One of his oldest cult-centres was Dodona, where, at least in historic times,¹ the sky-father took precedence of the earth-mother—

Ζεὺς ὦν, Ζεὺς ἔστι, Ζεὺς ἔσσεται· ὦ μεγάλη
Ζεῦ.

Γὰ καρπὸν ἀνίει, διὸ κληῖσθε μάτέρα Γαίαν.²

Ge, the primaeval earth-mother was supplanted by Dione,³ the female counterpart of Zeus. Thenceforward we hear only of Zeus and Dione, never of Zeus and Hera. And Zeus is always named before Dione, the formulae being τῷ Διὶ Νάω καὶ τῇ Διώνῃ, Δία Νᾶον καὶ Διώναν, τῷ Διὶ τῷ Νάω καὶ τῇ Διώνῃ, τὸν Δία καὶ τὴν Διώναν, κ.τ.λ.⁴ Indeed Dione, though she is the legitimate partner of Zeus, is a comparatively obscure figure, largely eclipsed by her husband. The inference is that Zeus and Dione were the god and goddess of a patriarchal tribe. The same two deities reappear on the acropolis at Athens. A small marble altar with a circular hearth on its upper surface was found there, bearing a dedication in letters of Roman date Διὶ Νάω [κ]αὶ τῇ συνόδῳ.⁵ An altar to Dione stood just to the south of

in Thessaly with Hera the deity of the Aeolians, the result being the marriage of Zeus and Hera. In 1893 Miss J. Harrison *Class. Rev.* vii. 74 ff., accepting H. D. Müller's contention, and combining it with K. Tümpel's suggestion (*Philologus* 1891 i. 617) that Hera was the gynaeccratic partner of Herakles, urged that Zeus and Dione were Achaean divinities, Hera and her 'prince-consort' Herakles the moon-goddess and sun-god of a pre-Achaean gynaeccratic race, i.e. of the Aeolian Pelagians. In 1903 Miss Harrison *Proleg. to the Study of Gk. Rel.* pp. 316 f. still believed that Zeus and Dione were Achaean, and that Hera was a matriarchal Pelasgian goddess, but no longer insisted on Tümpel's idea that Herakles was the husband of Hera. Latterly (Preller-Robert 1894, Farnell 1896, Gruppe 1897-1906) there has been a return to the view that we cannot get behind the union of Zeus and Hera to any more primitive arrangement.

¹ It is very possible that the earth-mother was worshipped at Dodona before the sky-father. Indeed, she may have given her name to the place (*Class. Rev.* xvii. 179). Such a cult must have been originally matriarchal, not patriarchal; and there are not wanting indications that this was so (Ephorus *ap. Strab.* 402). My point, however, is that Zeus, so soon as he appears on the scene, takes precedence of his female *πάρεδρος*.

² Paus. 10. 12. 10.

³ Strab. 329: see *Class. Rev.* xvii. 179 f.

⁴ Michel *Recueil d'inscr. grecques* 843-851. See, however, *infra* p. 371 n. 4.

⁵ A. Lolling in the *Δελτιόν ἀρχαιολογικόν* 1890 p. 145 no. 2, S. N. Dragoumes in the *Mitteil. d. deutsch. arch. Inst. zu Athen* 1897, xxii. 381. Dragoumes makes συνόδω = συντρόφω, ὁμοζύγῳ, sc. Διώνῃ.

the east porch of the Erechtheum in the fifth century B.C.⁶ Her priest had a special seat in the theatre in imperial times.⁷ And a couch was dedicated to her as late as the fourth century A.D.⁸ This cult of Zeus and Dione may of course have been a late importation from Dodona; but, considering the ancient connexion of Zeus Ἐρκείος⁹ and Zeus Ὑπατος¹⁰ with the Erechtheum, we are justified in regarding the Athenian cult of Zeus Νάιος and Dione as one dating back to a remote past. Hera was never worshipped on the acropolis, and the partner of Zeus from early days was not improbably the self-effacing Dione. Here too, as at Dodona, Dione may have replaced a still earlier Ge; for between the Parthenon and the Erechtheum is a rock-cut inscription in (?accidental) anapaestic verse Γῆς Καρποφόρου | κατὰ μαρτεῖαν,¹¹ which has been rightly connected with Pausanias' statement that on the acropolis was 'an image of Ge praying Zeus to rain upon her.'¹² The cult of Zeus and Ge belongs to the oldest traditions of the Erechtheum; for Pandion, the father of Erechtheus,¹³ bears a name which probably stands in some relation to Zeus,¹⁴ while Kekrops, who was buried at the south-west corner of the building,¹⁵ is said to have been the first to worship Zen¹⁶ or Zeus Ὑπατος, on whose altar he offered cakes called *pelanoi*.¹⁷ With Zeus was coupled Ge, the mother of Kekrops,¹⁸ their joint cult being that of a patriarchal community: a

⁶ *C. I. A. i.* 174 no. 324, cp. *ib.* iv. 2, 261 no. 1550 c. See W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* 1905 p. 253.

⁷ *C. I. A. iii.* 1. 87 no. 333.

⁸ A. Lolling in the *Δελτ.* ἀρχ. 1890 p. 145 no. 3.

⁹ Philochorus *ap. Dionys. de Dinarch.* 3 = *F.H.G. i.* 408 f. no. 146.

¹⁰ Paus. 1. 26. 5, 8. 2. 3, cp. Euseb. *prep. ev.* 10. 9. 22.

¹¹ *C. I. A. iii.* 1. 65 no. 166.

¹² Paus. 1. 24. 3. See H. Heydemann in *Hermes* 1870 iv. 381 ff.

¹³ Paus. 1. 5. 3, Hyg. *fab.* 48, *alib.*

¹⁴ Usener *Götternamen* p. 61 ff. *Strena Helbig.* p. 322. It seems probable that Pandion, like Periphas (*Ant. Lib. 6: Folk-Lore* xv. 385 f.), was a human Zeus. This would accord well with the evidence collected in *Class. Rev.* xvii. 84 ff., where a parallel might have been drawn between Dion king of Laconia with his daughter Carya (*Serv. in Verg. ecl.* 8. 30) and Pandion king of Athens with the Caryatids of his palace, not to mention Prognaus (*Serv. ib.*) and Progne, Lyco daughter of Dion (*Serv. ib.*), and Lykos son of Pandion II.

¹⁵ E. A. Gardner *Ancient Athens* pp. 360 f., W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* pp. 252 f.

¹⁶ Euseb. *prep. ev.* 10. 9. 22.

¹⁷ Paus. 8. 2. 3.

¹⁸ Hyg. *fab.* 48, cp. his epithet *γενετής* (Roscher *Lex.* ii. 1018, 50 ff.).

valuable fragment of Philochorus¹ informs us that Kekrops was the first to erect an altar to Zeus and Ge in Attica and to ordain that the *patres familiarum* should celebrate harvest-home by feasting with their slaves. Again, we are told that Kekrops was the first to regulate primitive promiscuity, so that the old system under which children knew only their mothers, not their fathers, was superseded by marriage as we have it.² According to Varro,³ it was in the days of Kekrops that the women of Athens ceased to have a vote in the public assembly and the children to be called by their mother's name. It may reasonably be concluded that both at Dodona and at Athens Zeus and Dione were the god and goddess of a patriarchal population. Moreover, the union of Zeus and Dione was not, like that of Zeus and Hera, barren. On the contrary, from it sprang the very goddess of love, Aphrodite herself.⁴ At Dodona she was worshipped along with her parents;⁵ and at Athens the popular Aphrodite Πάνδημος was known as the daughter Διὸς καὶ Διώνης.⁶ Others reckoned Dionysos⁷ and Eros⁸ as the children of Dione.

Dione was named after Zeus. Is it possible to discover the etymological partner of Hera? Miss J. Harrison, following K. Tümpel,⁹ has suggested that it was Herakles.¹⁰ To be sure, the traditional relations of Hera to Herakles are not at first sight those of a wife to her husband. Hera was in fact notoriously hostile to Herakles. She

hindered his very birth.¹¹ She sent snakes to kill him in his cradle.¹² She drove him by a storm at sea to Cos.¹³ She fought him at Pylos.¹⁴ She reared the Nemean lion and the Lernaean hydra to destroy him.¹⁵ She made it hard for him to get the oxen of Geryones¹⁶ and the girdle of Hippolyte.¹⁷ She set the snake to guard the apples of the Hesperides and attack him.¹⁸ She laid one labour after another upon him, till he was constrained to cry: 'Zeus, whoe'er Zeus is, hath begotten me as a foe to Hera.'¹⁹ She brought his madness upon him.²⁰ Perhaps she even had a hand in his death.²¹ Nevertheless all this, as Miss Harrison saw, is explicable on the assumption that Herakles was the partner of a gynaeocratic wife, the hen-pecked husband who must go here there and everywhere at Hera's bidding. And that this was so, an attentive reading of the texts themselves will show. If Hera hindered his birth, it was in order that the prophecy of Zeus πάντεσσι περικτιόνεσσιν ἀνάξῃ might not be fulfilled by Herakles at Argos,²² i.e. that a patriarchal régime might not be imposed on a matriarchal town. And all the other persecutions of Hera are summed up by Herakles in the pregnant phrase Ἡρα κραιῖ,²³ an obvious echo of the gynaeocracy, to which he owed his very name.²⁴

The conception of Hera and Herakles as a gynaeocratic couple will gain greatly in force, if it can be proved (a) that female government has left traces of itself in the chief centres of Hera-worship, and (b) that local tradition there connects Herakles with the goddess.

Hera in the *Iliad*²⁵ declares: 'Verily three towns are far dearer to me than any others, Argos and Sparta and Mycene of the broad roads.' Argos is in fact called by

¹ Philochorus *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 10. 22 = *F. H. G.* i. 386 no. 13.

² Tzetz. *chil.* 5. 19. 650 ff.

³ Varro *ap.* Aug. *de civ. Dei* 18. 9.

⁴ Apollod. 1. 3. 1, *Ael. de nat. an.* 10. 1, Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 59. Hyg. *fab. praef.* p. 12, 2 Schmidt

by an inversion of the usual order says ex Dione et Iove Venus. Note too that Dione is mother of Aphrodite without a mention of Zeus in *Il.* 5. 370 f., 381, Cornut. *theol.* 24 p. 45, 2 Lang; cp. *Διωνεία* of Aphrodite, and her Hellenistic identification with Dione (Escher in Pauly-Wissowa *Realencycl.* v. 879, 61 ff.). Arn. *adv. nat.* 2. 70 makes Venus daughter of Dione and Diespiter.

⁵ *Supra* p. 367. n. 6.

⁶ Plat. *symp.* 180 p.

⁷ Eur. *Antigone frag.* 177 Dindorf *ap.* schol. *Pind. Pyth.* 3. 177.

⁸ *Carm. Lat. epigr.* ii. 733 Bücheler no. 1535. 6.

⁹ *Philologus* 1891 l. 617, coupled with the erroneous suggestion that Hera-Herakles are etymologically connected with Helios.

¹⁰ *Class. Rev.* vii. 74. The same suggestion had occurred to me—indeed I had worked out the idea in some detail (including most of the points made in this paper)—before I came across Miss Harrison's article. I was glad to find myself in substantial agreement with her on a matter that must be regarded as cardinal by all students of Greek mythology.

¹¹ *Il.* 19. 95 ff.

¹² Eur. *H. F.* 1266 ff., Diod. 4. 10.

¹³ *Il.* 14. 250 ff., 15. 18 ff., schol. *Il.* 1. 590, 14. 255.

¹⁴ Eudoc. *viol.* 435, *alib.*

¹⁵ Hes. *theog.* 327 f., 313 ff.

¹⁶ Apollod. 2. 5. 10.

¹⁷ Tzetz. in Lyc. *Al.* 1327.

¹⁸ Eratosth. *cat.* 1. 3, 1. 4, schol. Germ. Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 3 p. 424 van Staveren, cp. Sen. *Herc. Oct.* 74 ff.

¹⁹ Eur. *H. F.* 1263 f., cp. *ib.* 20 f., 829, 831 f., 840, 855, 1191, 1392 f., Lyc. *Al.* 1350 with Tzetz. *ad loc.*

²⁰ Diod. 4. 11. ²¹ *Il.* 18. 119.

²² *Il.* 19. 95 ff.

²³ Eur. *H. F.* 1253.

²⁴ Prob. in Verg. *ec.* 7. 61 p. 355 Lion Pindarus (= *frag.* 291 Christ) initio Alcidem nominatum, postea Herculeum dicit, ab Hera, quam Iunonem dicimus; quod eius imperiis opinionem famamque virtutis sit consecutus, cp. Diod. 1. 24, 4. 10.

²⁵ *Il.* 4. 51 f.

Pindar¹ 'the house of Hera.' It worshipped its great goddess under various titles, among them that of *Βασιλῆς*, 'the Queen.'² The divine Queen had a human representative. Ever since 'Kallithoe the key-bearer of the Olympian Queen, Argive Hera, first decked the high pillar of her mistress'³ there had been at Argos an eponymous priestess.⁴ Now one well-marked cycle of myths connected with Herakles represents him as the chief hero of Argos and the founder of the Argive dynasty.⁵ Gruppe distinguishes an earlier from a later form of these myths. According to him, Hera in the earlier myths is comparatively well disposed towards Herakles: 'she originally patronised Eurystheus, whose daughter Admeta is called her priestess. Herakles in serving Eurystheus advances the fame of mighty Hera, who at last, moved by his heroism, bestows glory upon him, gives him her daughter Hebe to wife and promises to his descendants not only the presidency of the Heraion but also lordship over the mainland and many of the islands.'⁶ It is only in later times that she persecutes him with inexorable spite.⁷ A last relic of their joint cult may be found in the lion-skin on which her statue stood.⁸

When Homer made Mycenae as well as Argos a favourite seat of Hera, he must have been thinking of the great Heraion, which lay between them, nearer to the former than to the latter. What we have said of Argos is therefore applicable to Mycenae also. Its rulers, the house of Atreus, derived from Tantalos, king of Lydia, and the Lydians were certainly gynaeocratic.⁹ Consequently the story of Agamemnon furnishes sundry indications of an ancient gynaeocracy estab-

lished at Mycenae.¹⁰ That the Aeschylean *Oresteia* turns on the conflict between motherdom and fatherdom is notorious. But it is worth while to add that expressions such as ὦδε γὰρ κρατεῖ | γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον ἐπιζὼν κέαρ¹¹ or θηλυκρατῆς ἀπέρωτος ἔρως¹² find their full explanation only in the poet's consciousness that Klytaimestra stood for the gynaeocracy. When Agamemnon says to her καὶ τὰλλα μὴ γυναικὸς ἐν τρόποις ἐμὲ | ἄβρυνε¹³ and she replies πιθοῦ· κράτος μὲν τοι πάρες γ' ἐκὼν ἐμοί,¹⁴ we get the same conception of the womanly man and the manly woman. Aigisthos too is described as a γυνή,¹⁵ while Klytaimestra is δομάτων τελεσφόρος | γυνὴ τόπαρχος¹⁶—a phrase coined for a gynaeocratic ruler. In this connexion I would recall a striking passage in the *Electra* of Euripides.¹⁷ Electra addresses the dead Aigisthos as follows: 'And throughout Argos they speak thus of thee—"the woman's husband," instead of saying—"the man's wife." And yet this is unseemly, that a woman rule the house, not the man: I hate those children, who bear not the name of their manly sire, but that of their mother in the town.'¹⁸

At Sparta too there were traces of the gynaeocracy. Plutarch¹⁹ relates that a stranger once said to Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas: 'You Laconians are the only women that rule men.' The stories of Spartan mothers who slew their own sons for cowardice²⁰ may or may not imply a primitive jurisdiction. But Lycurgus inability to control the women of Sparta²¹ is certainly best explained as due to respect for the rights of motherdom.²² Aristotle, after telling us that most warlike peoples are γυναικοκρατούμενοι, continues: διὸ παρὰ τοῖς Λάκωσι τοῦθ' ὑπῆρχεν, καὶ πολλὰ διωκέτο ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν.²³ Polybius' remarkable statements about Spartan polyandry,²⁴ Ephorus' account of the Partheniai,²⁵ and Plutarch's assertion that an ancient law forbade a Herakleid to beget

¹ Pind. *Nem.* 10. 2.

² *C. I. A.* iii. 1. 68 no. 172. 7 = Kaibel *op.* 822. 7, 9 f. See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* p. 1082 n.

³ *Phoronis frag.* 4 Kinkel, *op.* Hyg. *fab.* 145 Callirhoe (Knaack *cj.* Callithoe). She was also known as Kallithyia (Plut. *ap.* Euseb. *prep. ev.* 3. 8, Syncell. p. 149 d, Hieronym. *chron.* ann. Abr. 376), or Kallithyia (Aristid. ii. 3, 8 with schol. *ad loc.*) or Kallitheia (schol. Arat. 161) and appears to have been originally an epithet of Io (Hesych. s. v. Ἰὸ ΚΑΛΙΘΥΣΣΑ): *cp.* Aesch. *suppl.* 291 f., Apollod. 2. 1. 3, anon. *de incred.* p. 324, 22 f. Westermann.

⁴ Busolt *Gr. Gesch.* i². 152. Possibly another indication of the gynaeocracy may be found in the warlike action of the Argive women under Telesilla (Plut. *de mil. virt.* 4, Paus. 2. 20. 8 ff., Polyæn. *strat.* 8. 33, *alib.*, *cp.* Hdt. 6. 77). This must be set beside the action of the Tegeate women under Chora (Paus. 8. 48. 4 f.).

⁵ Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* p. 460 ff.

⁶ *Id. ib.* p. 461 f. ⁷ *Id. ib.* p. 480.

⁸ Tert. *de cor. mil.* 7.

⁹ Athen. 515 F f.: see Töpffer in Pauly-Wissowa *Realencycl.* i. 1769, 21 ff.

¹⁰ Bachofen *Das Mutterrecht* p. 45 ff.

¹¹ Aesch. *Ag.* 10 f. ¹² *Id. cho.* 600.

¹³ *Id. Ag.* 918 f. ¹⁴ *Id. ib.* 943.

¹⁵ *Id. cho.* 304 ¹⁶ *Id. ib.* 663 f.

¹⁷ Eur. *El.* 930 ff. ¹⁸ *Cp.* Soph. *El.* 365 ff.

¹⁹ Plut. *v. Lyc.* 14.

²⁰ *Id. Lacaen. apophth.* 240 F, 241 A.

²¹ Aristot. *pol.* 2. 9. 1269 b 19 ff., 1270 a 4 ff.

²² *Cp.* Bachofen *Das Mutterrecht* p. 382.

²³ Aristot. *pol.* 2. 9. 1269 b 31 f. Aristotle *ap.* Plut. *v. Lyc.* 14 states that Lycurgus failed to master the luxury and γυναικοκρατία of the Spartan women, who were left in charge by the men owing to their frequent campaigns and were consequently treated with undue respect and called *δέσποινα*.

²⁴ Polyb. 12. 6 b. 8.

²⁵ Ephorus *ap.* Strab. 279 f.

children of a foreigner,¹ probably hang together with the same institution. However that may be, the Spartans had a very old cult of Hera Αἰγοφάγος, about which there was a local tradition. 'They say,' writes Pausanias,² 'that Herakles founded the sanctuary and was the first to sacrifice goats, because in the fight with Hippokoön and his sons he had not been hampered by Hera, who had thwarted him, as he fancied, in all his other adventures.' So Sparta, like Argos, had a tradition of better relations between Hera and Herakles. And Spartan, like Argive, kings were Herakleids.

The same *rapprochement* appears here and there in Greek literature and art. True, the *Iliad*³ told how Herakles had shot an arrow into the right breast of Hera, and Panyassis⁴ worked the incident into his *Heraclea*. But even epic authority could not obscure certain ancient tales about the Gigantomachy. 'Porphyryon,' says Apollodorus,⁵ 'attacked Herakles and Hera in the fight. Howbeit Zeus struck him with desire for Hera, who, when he dared to rend her robes and was minded to offer her violence, cried for helpers. And Zeus hurled a bolt against him, and Herakles shot him dead with his bow.' Other versions say nothing of Zeus, but emphasise the part that Herakles played in defending Hera. According to the *Etymologicum Magnum*,⁶ Herakles 'was called *Neilos* from his birth, but in the war with the Giants slew a nameless Giant, who with his fiery breath was assailing Hera, and so won for himself the name of *Herakles*.' Sotas the Byzantine mythographer⁷ stated that Herakles became a god because he had slain the Giant Pronomos, who was attempting to force Hera. A *kylix* in the British Museum,⁸ signed by Brygos, and probably based on some Satyric drama, shows Hera similarly assaulted by four Satyrs named Styon, Hydris, Babakkhos, and Terpon: Hermes with *petasos*, *kerykeion*, etc., warns them off, while Hera turns in terror towards her lawful protector Herakles, who, wearing beneath his lion-skin and *chiton* the tricot costume of a Scythian bowman, comes hastily to the rescue with club and bow.

¹ Plut. v. *Agis* 11.

² Paus. 3. 15. 9, Hesych. s.v. Αἰγοφάγος.

³ *Il.* 5. 392 ff., Lyc. *Al.* 39 f. with Tzetz. *ad loc.*

⁴ Panyassis (=frag. 20 Kinkel) *ap.* Clem. Alex. *prot.* 36. 2 p. 31 Potter, *Arn. adv. nat.* 4. 25.

⁵ Apollod. 1. 6. 2, Eust. 989, 46 f.

⁶ *Et. mag.* p. 435, 10 ff., cp. Phot. *bibl.* p. 147 b, 16 ff.

⁷ Cp. Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 42.

⁸ Sotas (? Sotades) *ap.* Tzetz. in Lyc. *Al.* 1350.

⁹ Furtwängler-Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 238 ff., pl. 47, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 193.

Furtwängler¹⁰ points out that another *kylix* in the Berlin collection,¹¹ again probably from the hand of Brygos, gives Herakles the same singular garb in a representation of the Gigantomachy. Again, on other vases Hera extends her right hand to Herakles supporting the heavens,¹² or meets him in the garden of the Hesperides,¹³ or receives him on his return to Eurystheus with the golden apple.¹⁴

It would seem, then, that a *Verbindung*, if not actually a *Kultverbindung*, between Hera and Herakles can very well be made out on Greek soil. Nevertheless we nowhere get direct and indisputable evidence that the two were conceived by the Greeks as a pair of related deities. If now we ask ourselves where we are most likely to meet with such evidence, supposing it to exist, we shall naturally turn to that part of the Greek world in which Zeus was coupled with Dione, and *in primis* to Dodona. For here the old association of Hera with Herakles would less probably have been disturbed by the new association of Zeus with Hera. At Dodona itself there was no cult of Hera or Herakles. We must look further afield. Zeus and Dione reappear in Italy as Jupiter and Juno. Is there reason to think that in Italy Hera was linked with Herakles? The principal Hera-cult of the Italian peninsula was that of Hera Λακινία on the headland Lacinium some six miles south of Crotona. With regard to its origin different opinions were expressed. Some spoke of a king Lakinos or Lakinios, who gave his name to the promontory and founded the temple.¹⁵ Others said that Herakles on his way home from Erytheia had encountered and slain a robber Lakinos or Lakinios, and after purifying the place had founded there a temple to Hera.¹⁶ The latter version was probably current at Crotona; for coins of that town circ. 400–350 B.C. exhibit the head of Hera Λακινία on the obverse, Herakles seated on a rock with club and

¹⁰ Furtwängler *ib.* i. 240.

¹¹ Furtwängler *Beschreib. d. Vasensamml. zu Berlin* no. 2293, *id.* in Roscher *Lex.* i. 1659, 13 ff.

¹² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 71 no. F 148.

¹³ Heydemann *Die Vasensamml. des Mus. Nazion. zu Neapel* Berlin 1872 no. 2873 = Millin *Peintures de vases antiques* ed. S. Reinach Paris 1891 i. 3. Cp. Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 141 no. BB = Millingen *Ancient Uned. Monuments* i. pl. 3.

¹⁴ *Annali dell' Inst.* 1859 p. 297, pl. G = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 301.

¹⁵ Schol. vet. Theocr. 4. 33, Tzetz. in Lyc. *Al.* 856, 1006, Steph. Byz. s.v. Λακινίον, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 552, *et. mag.* p. 555, 17 ff.

¹⁶ Iambl. v. *Pyth.* 50, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 552, Diod. 4. 24.

bow on the reverse.¹ Near Crotona, then, as at Sparta, Herakles founds an ancient temple to Hera. This does not indeed amount to a *Kultverbindung*, but it points in that direction.

The interpolator of Servius' commentary on the *eclogues* of Vergil enables us to go one step further. 'When boys were born in noble families,' he says,² 'a bed was set in the

passages must be taken in connexion with a statement of the first Vatican mythographer,⁴ that 'there was a temple of Juno, in which Hercules had a table and Diana a bed: boys were brought there that they might eat off the table itself and so receive strength, and that they might sleep in the bed of Diana and thereby become more lovable in the sight of all and better able to beget children.'

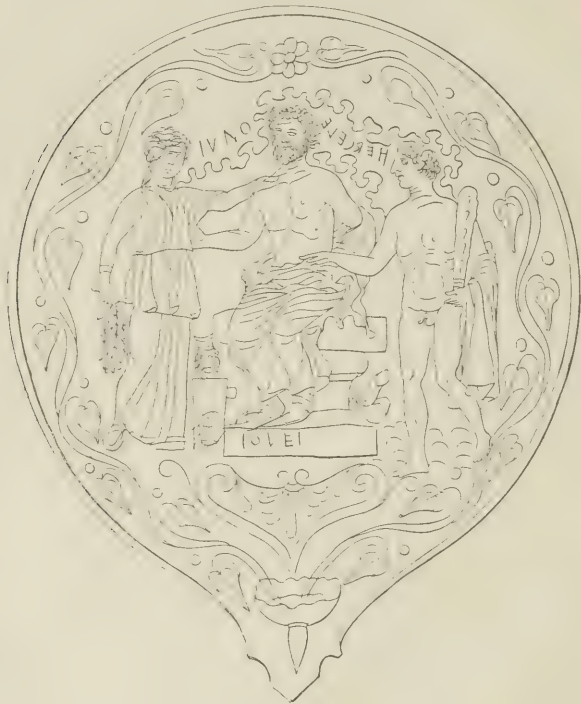


FIG. 1.

atrium of the house for Juno, and a table for Hercules.' Philargyrius³ likewise states that 'when boys were born in noble families, a bed was set in the *atrium* for Juno Lucina, and a table for Hercules.' These

Here we have Hercules coupled with Juno Lucina or Diana,⁵ the Italian equivalents of Hera, as god and goddess of wedlock. Similarly at the first Roman *lectisternium* in 397 B.C. Hercules and Diana reclined on

¹ P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* pl. 5. 43+29, pl. 6. 39+36, *Head Hist. num.* p. 82, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins Italy* pp. 353 f.

² Serv. in Verg. *eccl.* 4. 62.

³ Philarg. in Verg. *eccl.* 4. 63, p. 326 Lion.

⁴ Myth. Vat. 1. 177 p. 61 Mai.

⁵ On Juno Lucina=Diana see Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2. 68. Both Juno and Diana bore the name Lucina (J.B. Carter *epith. deor.* pp. 30, 49).

the same couch.¹ Again, an inscription from the territory of the Benacenses records a dedication *d(is) s(anctis) Herculi et*

infer that when, at a very early date,⁷ the cult of Herakles spread from Greece to Italy, the acknowledged partner of Herakles

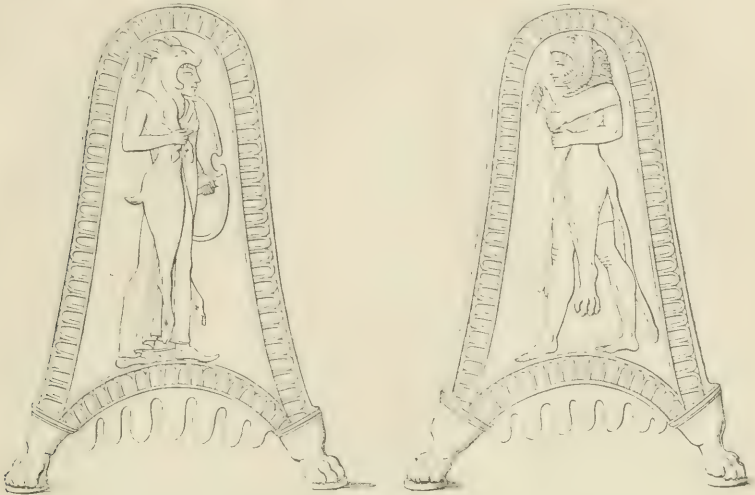


FIG. 2.

Iunonibus.² The common oath by Hercules was reserved for men only:³ women swore by their Junos.⁴ The bride's girdle was

was Hera; the former was transliterated as Hercules, the latter was translated as Juno; the two were husband and wife, and



FIG. 3.

sacred to Juno Cinxia:⁵ the knot upon it, unfastened by the bridegroom on the *lectus genialis*, was known as the *nodus Herculanus*.⁶ From these ritual practices I should

their union was typical of all human marriages.

This contention is further supported by a series of archaic bronzes, etc., to which attention was first called by Reifferscheid⁸ and subsequently by R. Peter.⁹ A mirror (fig. 1) in the museum of the Collegio Romano¹⁰ shows Jupiter (IOVEI), seated on an altar, presenting Juno (IVNO) to Hercu-

¹ Liv. 5. 13. 6, cp. Warde Fowler *Roman Festivals* pp. 180 f.; Dionys. ant. Rom. 12. 9 (=Piso frag. 25 Peter) says 'Ηρακλεί και Ἀρτέμιδι. In the *lectisternium* of 217 B.C. Juno was paired with Jupiter, Diana with Apollo (Liv. 22. 10. 9).

² C.I.L. v. 1. 507 no. 4854.

³ Gell. 11. 6. 1 ff.

⁴ Tib. 3. 6. 48, cp. 3. 19. 15, Juv. 2. 98 with schol. ad loc., Petr. 25. For the relations of Juno, Genius, and Jupiter see *Folklore* xvi. pp. 296. ff.

⁵ Paul. exc. Fest. p. 48 Lindemann, Mart. Cap. 2. 149, Myth. Vat. 3. 4. 3 p. 177 Mai.

⁶ Paul. exc. Fest. p. 48 Lindemann.

⁷ See Wissowa *Rel. und Kult. der Römer* pp. 219 f.

⁸ *Annali dell' Inst.* 1867 xxxix. 352 ff.

⁹ Roscher *Lex.* i. 2259 ff.

¹⁰ The figure in the text is reduced from Gerhard *Etruskische Spiegel* pl. 147.

les (HERCELE): the adjuncts leave no doubt that an actual marriage of Hercules with Juno is intended. The olive-branch in Juno's hand may have reference to the idea of fertility,¹ or purification,² or again would be appropriate to Hera,³ or to Herakles.⁴ A Praenestine *cista*⁵ has a somewhat similar scene: in the centre of a group of gods and heroes stands Diespiter (ΔΙΕΣΠΤΗΡ); to the left of him is Hercules (ΉΡΚΛΗΣ), to the right Juno (ΙΥΝΟ). A bronze candelabrum from Perugia⁶ (fig. 2) represents on its three-sided base Hercules, Juno Sispita, and Venus. A gold engagement- or wedding-ring (fig. 3) in the Waterton collection⁷ shows Juno Sispita holding up a lance-head (? *hasta caelibaris*) with one hand while she clasps the club of Hercules with the other, and Hercules holding up his club with one hand while he clasps Juno's lance-head with the other. The same two deities are opposed in less friendly attitudes on the handles of Etruscan mixing-bowls. One such handle⁸ has the upper part of a Satyr supporting Hercules on his right hand, Juno Sispita on his left: they are attacking one another with club and spear-head respectively. Three others show Hercules and Juno, armed in the same manner, contending for the possession of a boar,⁹ a stag,¹⁰ and a hydra.¹¹ Similarly an early Ionic vase in the British Museum depicts Hera with a goat-skin head-dress contending with Herakles in the presence of Athena and Poseidon.¹² Such representations are not adequately explained by Reifferscheid's remark 'virginem . . . suapte natura viro repugnare.' Rather they imply, as we have already seen, the hostility of the gynaeocratic wife towards her husband.

Another reason for connecting Hera with Herakles is that the singular custom of men dressing as women and women as men¹³ is, in the Greek area, confined to the cult-

centres of these two divinities.¹⁴ At Argos during the feast of τὰ Ὑβριστακά women wore the masculine *chiton* and *chlamys*, men the feminine *peplos* and veil.¹⁵ Plutarch, after mentioning the festival and recounting an aetiological tale,¹⁶ adds immediately that the Argives, in order to increase the numbers of their male population, gave the citizenship to the noblest of their neighbours and united them with the women, who, however, seemed to dishonour and despise their husbands as inferior to themselves. Hence arose the law that bade married women wear a beard when they slept with their husbands.¹⁷ Similarly Spartan brides on the wedding night were dressed in men's *himatia* and sandals.¹⁸ Argos and Sparta are the only two towns in the Peloponnese at which such an exchange of costume is known to have been practised; and they were the principal sites of Hera-worship. Again, the Samians at their festival of Hera (τὰ Ἡραία) used to comb their hair till it hung over their back and shoulders: they wore snow-white *chitons* reaching to the ground, golden grass-hoppers in their hair, and chased jewellery of the sort called *chlidones* on their arms.¹⁹ Hesychius defines *χλιδωνες* as 'an adornment that women are wont to wear about their arms and their necks.' It would seem, then, that the Samians were dressed not only as old-fashioned men, but as women, in the service of Hera. This is the more credible, since the sanctuary of the Samian Hera was sometimes said to have been founded by the Argonauts, who brought the image of the goddess from Argos.²⁰

At Cos too the Argive Hera was

position of women in ancient religion') in the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 1904 vii. 70 ff. See also Lobeck *Aglaophamus* pp. 173 ff., Creuzer *Symbolik* ii. 361 ff.

¹⁴ The only exception appears to be that of the Athenian *δσχοφόροι* or *δσχοφόροι*, whose ritual stood in some relation to the worship of Dionysus and Ariadne (Plut. *v. Thes.* 23, Bekker *anecd. Gr.* p. 318, 22 ff.). The cult of the bearded Cyprine Ἀφροδίτη or rather Ἀφρόδιτος (Macrobi. *Sat.* 3. 8. 2 f., Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 2. 632, cp. Firm. *Mat. de error. prof. rel.* 4. 1 ff.) is more Oriental than Greek. The same may be said of the costume of the *galli* (Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1456).

¹⁵ Plut. *de mul. virt.* 4, Polyaeus, *strat.* 8. 33, cp. Plut. *de mus.* 9 ἐν Ἀργεὶ τὰ Ἐνδυμάντια καλοῦμενα.

¹⁶ The story of Telesilla (*supra* p. 372 n. 4), which reminds us that Hera at Argos was decidedly warlike, a bronze shield being the prize at her festival τὰ Ἡραία (Pind. *Nem.* 10. 22 f., schol. vet. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 152, Aeneas *tact.* 1. 17, Zenob. 2. 3, 6. 52, *C.I.G.* 234, 1068, *alib.*).

¹⁷ Plut. *de mul. virt.* 4.

¹⁸ *Id.* v. *Lyc.* 15.

¹⁹ Asius (=frag. 13 Kinkel) *ap.* Athen. 525i f.

²⁰ Paus. 7. 4.

¹ Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 165 s.v. 'olea,' cp. Pauly-Wissowa *Realencycl.* i. 62, 59 ff., Gruppe *Griech. Mythol. u. Religionsgesch.* p. 880.

² Verg. *Aen.* 6. 229 ff.

³ Paus. 5. 16. 2 f.

⁴ Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 51, Paus. 2. 31. 10.

⁵ *Monumenti inediti dall' Inst.* 1861 vi. pl. 54.

⁶ *Micali Antichi Monumenti* ed. 2 pl. 29, nos. 7, 8, 9. The figure in the text is rearranged and reduced from Micali, *ib.* ed. 1 pl. 16, nos. 7, 8.

⁷ The illustration is from *Annali dell' Inst.* 1867 xxxix. pl. H no. 1.

⁸ *Micali Monumenti inediti* pl. 21 no. 5.

⁹ *Monumenti inediti dall' Inst.* v. pl. 52.

¹⁰ *Id.* ¹¹ *Mus. Gregor.* i. pl. 61, no. 8.

¹² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Vases* no. B 57.

¹³ The best collection of evidence bearing on the point occurs in a valuable paper by Dr. L. R. Farnell ('Sociological hypotheses concerning the

worshipped as 'Queen' (*Βασίλεια*)¹ and there was an important cult of Herakles, in whose temple marriages were celebrated, different buildings being set apart for the use of the two sexes.² At Halasarna in Cos none might take part in the festival of Herakles (*τὰ Ἡράκλεια*) unless they were enrolled along with the names of their father, their mother, and their mother's father;³ and a list of worshippers drawn up in accordance with this matrilineal rule is extant.⁴ At the neighbouring town of Antimacheia the priest of Herakles was dressed as a woman and wore a *mitra* on his head, when he sacrificed.⁵ The explanatory myth told how Herakles made a raid on Cos and tried to steal a ram from a stalwart shepherd Antagoras. Thereupon the Hellenes and the Meropes came to blows. Herakles wearied with the fight fled to a certain Thracian⁶ woman and concealed himself in feminine costume. Afterwards he vanquished the Meropes, married the daughter of Alkiopos, and wore a flowered robe (*στολὴν ἀνθινήν*). Hence the priest sacrifices on the site of the battle, and bridegrooms are clothed in women's robes when they receive their brides.⁷ The name of Alkiopos' daughter is not given; but the mention of her *στολή ἀνθή* is suggestive of Hera herself, who was worshipped at Argos as Hera 'Ἀρθεία⁸ with a festival of Spring Flowers ('Ἡροσάνθεια').⁹ Lilies in particular were said to have sprung from Hera's milk, when she suckled the infant Herakles;¹⁰ and it is noteworthy that the lily called *ambrosia* sprang from the head of a statue of Alexander (? in his character of Herakles) in Cos.¹¹

¹ Dittenberger² ii. 407 no. 617, 6.

² *Id.*² ii. 577 ff. no. 734.

³ *Id.*² ii. 397 no. 614, 29 ff.

⁴ Paton and Hicks *Inscr. of Cos* p. 236, no. 368.

⁵ Imperial coins of Cos show a veiled female figure resting on a sceptre and holding a *patera* over a lighted altar (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 219 pl. 33, 11): this was interpreted by Eckhel as the priest of Herakles (Head *hist. num.* p. 537).

⁶ The temple of Herakles at Erythrae possessed an ancient image of Herakles, which had floated from Tyre on a raft and had been towed ashore by a rope made of the hair of the Thracian women at Erythrae: hence they were the only women allowed to enter the temple (Paus. 7. 5. 5 ff.).

⁷ Plut. *quaestl. Gr.* 58.

⁸ Paus. 2. 22. 1, *et. mag.* p. 108, 47, Suid. *s.v.* 'Ἀρθεία, *et. Gud.* p. 57, 47, Schöll-Studemund *anecd. rariora* i. 269, ep. 278, 283.

⁹ Hesych. *s.v.*, cp. Phot. *s.v.* 'Ἡροσάνθεια, Poll. 4. 78 *ταῖς Ἀρθεσφόροις ἐν Ἡρᾷ*, *et. mag.* 409, 32 f. where the Argive king calls the crops *ἄρθεα Ἡρας*.

¹⁰ Geopon. 11. 19.

¹¹ Nicander *ap. Athen.* 684E, cp. Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 128 n. b.

It looks as though the Coan Herakles and Hera had been king and queen of the May,¹² united in a *ἱερὸς γάμος* comparable with that of Zeus and Hera elsewhere. In Lydia too Herakles exchanged clothes with Omphale, the gynaeocratic¹³ queen in whose service he performed a series of labours like those that he achieved for Eurystheus.¹⁴ He took upon him her purple robe,¹⁵ her *mitra*,¹⁶ necklace,¹⁷ bracelet,¹⁸ girdle,¹⁹ and distaff,²⁰ being, as Propertius²¹ says, an *apta puella*: she wore his lion-skin and carried his club and arrows²²—in fact, as Ovid puts it, *vir illa fuit*.²³ K. Tümpel contends that 'Hebe und Omphale in Süd und Nord sind Parallel Figuren, Hera-Heroinen'²⁴ and that 'Herakles neben Omphale nur eine Erscheinungsform des Helios neben der Hera ist.'²⁵ But this identification of Omphale with Hera, though possible, is far from certain. Joannes Lydus informs us that at the mysteries of Herakles, which were held in the spring, men wore women's clothing, and that the custom had a sexual significance.²⁶

The real meaning of the widespread practice of men and women exchanging clothes is not known. It is, however, a legitimate conjecture that it arose at the transition from the matriarchal to the patriarchal stage of society, and was intended to mark the transference of the woman's rights to the man, of the man's to the woman. Be that as it may, the connexion of the practice on Greek soil with the cult-centres of Hera and Herakles is a further proof that the former stood to the latter as wife to husband.

We arrive, then, at the following conclusion. Hera and Herakles were a matriarchal pair of deities corresponding to the patriarchal pair Zeus and Dia or Dione. Their relative importance may be thus expressed:

¹² Cp. Frazer on Paus. 2. 22. 1.

¹³ *Symra* p. 372 n.9.

¹⁴ Apollod. 2. 6. 3.

¹⁵ Lucian *dial. deor.* 13, Ov. *fast.* 2. 319, *her.* 9. 101, Lact. *Plac.* in *Stat. Theb.* 10. 648, Prop. 4. 9. 47, cp. *Anth. Pal.* 6. 358 Diotimos *εἰς κύπασσιν τὸν Ὀμφάλῃς*.

¹⁶ Ov. *her.* 9. 63, ¹⁷ *ib.* 57.

¹⁸ *ib.* 59, ¹⁹ *ib.* 65 f., Prop. 4. 9. 49.

²⁰ Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 375 f., Prop. 4. 9. 48, Lact. *Plac.* in *Stat. Theb.* 10. 648, Myth. *Vat.* 2. 155 p. 141 Mai, cp. 3. 13. 1 p. 269 Mai.

²¹ Prop. 4. 9. 50.

²² Ov. *fast.* 2. 325, *her.* 9. 103 ff.

²³ Ov. *her.* 9. 106. For the evidence of painting, sculpture, pottery, gems, and coins, see Sieveking in Roscher *Lex.* iii. 888 ff.

²⁴ *Philologus* 1891 I. 616.

²⁵ *ib.* 619, also in Roscher *Lex.* iii. 885 ff.

²⁶ Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 67 p. 120, 10 ff. Wünsch.

Herakles ~ Hera

Zeus ~ Dia or Dione.

I conceive that a patriarchal tribe worshipping Zeus and Dia or Dione was, by invasion or otherwise, amalgamated with a matriarchal tribe worshipping Hera and Herakles. This fusion of population entailed a consequent fusion of cults. Zeus the principal deity of the patriarchal people was united to Hera the principal deity of the matriarchal people, their union being ever afterwards celebrated as the *ἱερός γάμος* of Zeus and Hera. Euripides in his *Hercules Furens*¹ makes Amphitryon exclaim:—

ὦ Ζεῦ, παρ' Ἡρας ἄρ' ὁρᾷς θρόνων τάδε;—

as though Zeus reigned in virtue of his union with Hera. Indeed, bowing to matriarchal custom, Zeus dressed as a bride for the occasion. A terra-cotta group from Samos shows Zeus and Hera seated side by side: the god, like the goddess, wears a veil.² R. Förster's identification of the scene as that of the *ἱερός γάμος*³ has been widely and rightly accepted.⁴ Beyond all doubt is the picture of the *ἱερός γάμος* found at Pompeii, in which again Zeus, like Hera, wears the veil.⁵ And other representations of Zeus with a veil⁶ may be interpreted in the same way. Martianus Capella describes the veil of Jupiter as *velamen rutilans*.⁷ Is not this the *flammeum* appropriate to the bridegroom of gynaeocratic Hera? If, however, we maintain that the Jupiter of Martianus Capella is purely Etruscan,⁸ we have yet to reckon with the fact that the Etruscans were, if not matriarchal, at least matrilineal.⁹

Not only did Zeus forsake Dia or Dione to marry Hera, while Hera forsook Herakles to marry Zeus, but the two jilted deities made a match of it. Herakles married Dia; for it will be remembered that Dia was the earlier name of Hebe,¹⁰ the consort

of Herakles in historical times. In other words, Zeus and Herakles exchanged wives, so that, instead of Zeus ~ Dia and Hera ~ Herakles, succeeding generations recognised Zeus ~ Hera and Herakles ~ Dia. Never, surely, was there a more amicable arrangement! Perhaps the nearest approach to it in the realm of Greek mythology was the love of Zeus for Ixion's wife Dia,¹¹ and of Ixion for Zeus's wife Hera.¹²

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

(To be continued.)

RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN ROME.

(SEE C.R. 1906, P. 132.)

SINCE my last note was written there has been comparatively little excavation done in the Forum: but the removal of the Director's offices to the new museum in the monastery of S. Francesca Romana has now rendered possible the continuation of the exploration of the Basilica Aemilia, and this will shortly be undertaken.

With regard to the inscription

L·NAEVIVS·L·F· NVS·I

it belongs without doubt to the same personage who set up the slab bearing the inscription *L·Naevius L·F·Surdinus pr(aetor) inter civis et peregrinos*, on the back of which is carved the relief of Curtius (C.I.L. vi. 1468; C.R. 1904, 330), and the vertical stroke may be the beginning of a P. We have the inscription (C.I.L. vi. 1278 *M. Cispus L·F·Pr(aetor)*), of another man who gives himself the title of praetor only, which belongs to about the same date, and was found on the steps of the column of Phocas (under which lay the greater part of the new inscription of Naevius Surdinus) in 1811.

A comparison of Cicero's and Pliny's versions of the same story (*De Oratore*, ii. 266, *ut meum*—Caesar Strabo is speaking—*illud in Helvium Manciam 'iam ostendam cuius modi sis' cum ille 'ostende, quaeso'; demonstravi digito victum Gallum in Mariano scuto Cimbrico sub novis distortum, eiecta lingua, buccis fluentibus: H.N. xxxv. 25. hinc enim ille Crassi oratoris lepos agentis sub Veteribus; cum testis compellatus instaret: 'dic ergo, Crasse, qualem me noris?' 'talem,' inquit, ostendens in tabula inficetissime Gallum exerentem linguam.)*

¹¹ II. 14. 317.

¹² See *Class. Rev.* xvii. 420.

¹ Eur. *H. F.* 1127.

² Overbeck *Kunstmythol.* Zeus pp. 20. 251, Hera p. 24 f. fig. 4a, Farnell *Cults of the Gk. States* i. 115 pl. V b.

³ Förster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 pp. 24 f.

⁴ See e.g. J. A. Hild in Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 674 fig. 4167.

⁵ Baumeister *Denkmäler* iii. 2133 fig. 2390 = *Class. Rev.* xvii. 414 fig. 9, Förster *op. cit.* pp. 35 ff.

⁶ Overbeck *Kunstmythol.* Zeus pp. 239 f. 251 ff. ⁷ Mart. Cap. i. 66. In the Pompeian fresco Hera's veil is white, that of Zeus violet (Baumeister *Denkmäler* iii. 2132 f.).

⁸ C. Thulin *Die Götter des Martians Capella* Gieszen 1906 pp. 5 f., cp. pp. 24, 31 ff., 66.

⁹ Müller-Deecke *Etrusker* i. 276, 508, J. Marthia in Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 822, Bachofen *Das Mutterrecht* pp. 12, 92, 274, 293.

¹⁰ *Supra* p. 367.

shows that the *tribunal praetorium* stood in front of the *tabernae veteres*, i.e. in front of the Basilica Iulia, with a view towards the *tabernae novae*, which lay in front of the Basilica Aemilia, and Professor Hülsen therefore conjectured, at a recent meeting of the German Institute (cf. the French version of his work on the Forum, p. 148), that the three inscriptions of which we have spoken have some connexion with it.

Close to it was the statue of Marsyas (Hor. Sat. i. 6. 120, etc.) and the three sacred trees, the fig, the olive, and the vine (Plin. H.N. xv. 78), and the foundation of the square enclosure in which they stood may perhaps be still preserved to us, between the inscription of Naevius and the *putei* of Trajan.

Professor Mau's paper on the Rostra has now appeared in the *Römische Mitteilungen* (1905, 230-266), and I must say that his arguments seem to me to be convincing. He follows the view of Nichols that the hemicycle is earlier than the Rostra of opus quadratum, and accepts the advance of Richter on this view, that the curved structure was itself the Rostra of Caesar (*O.R.* 1904, 140), bringing a number of new arguments to support his theory. The objection that the hemicycle is too narrow to have ever served as the Rostra is met by the consideration that it was originally wider, and that it was only made narrow when the flight of steps at the back was put in to serve as an approach to the new Rostra of opus quadratum. He demonstrates, successfully I think (though further excavation might result in certainty), that the state of things at the point of contact on the side of the Arch of Severus proves the priority of the hemicycle: and that the existence of a gate or railing on this side, supposed by those who believe that the hemicycle was constructed later as one side of a courtyard (Hülsen, *Röm. Mitt.* 1905, 16 sqq.; *Roman Forum*, 76), cannot be rightly inferred from the holes in the marble plinth of the rectangular Rostra, which is now seen standing independently.

He also shows that the arrangement of the slabs of *porta santa* marble on the front of the hemicycle postulates the existence of the other half of the curve, which is further vouched for by the presence all through the concrete core (not only in the N. E. half, where alone the marble facing is preserved) of several layers of travertine chips, corresponding in level with the foundation of the plinth and the plinth itself.

More recently Comm. Boni's attention has

been devoted to the investigation of the base of the Column of Trajan.

Dio Cassius (lxix. 2) and other writers tell us that the ashes of the emperor, after his death in Cilicia in 117 A.D., were conveyed to Rome for burial, and placed within a golden urn, which was deposited in the column. Recent writers, such as Lanciani (*Ruins and Excavations*, 319), Richter (*Topographie*, 116), and Platner (*Ancient Rome*, 272) had denied that there was any chamber in the base: but a very little work was sufficient to prove its existence: and it turned out not to have been so very long ago filled in, for, on the lintel of the doorway leading to the chamber itself (which is approached by a small corridor entered by a door opposite to that which leads to the stairs to the top of the column) was the inscription 'Radel 1764.' It is, indeed, somewhat surprising that its existence should not have been recognized: for, besides the fact that the ancient window which lighted it was always visible on the W. side of the column, plans of the chamber may be found in two engravings of the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* published by Antoine Lafréry about the middle of the sixteenth century (Nos. 94 and 95¹ of the copy described in Bernard Quaritch's Rough List No. 135, p. 122), in Bartoli's *Colonna Traiana*, (dedicated to Louis XIV) not long after 1667, in which year the making of casts by his order began, the scaffolding for which was made use of by Bartoli to draw the reliefs in detail, and in Piranesi's *Colonna Traiana*, dedicated to Clement XIII (1758-1769). I should add that Comm. Boni's discovery was made independently of these sources of information.

The chamber was filled up with solid concrete, no doubt from fears for the stability of the column at some time before 1838, when Nibby (*Roma nell' anno* 1838, Parte Antica, ii. 188) wrote that he considered that there were distinct traces of the entrance to it. The doorway was later covered with plaster, so that its presence would not have been easily detected. The filling up of the chamber was justified, inasmuch as, in the foundation of one course of travertine blocks (themselves resting on concrete) a large hole had been made, no doubt by searchers for the golden urn, and had been used for burials, no doubt at the time when the little church of S. Niccolò de Columna stood at the foot of the column.

¹ In the latter the plan of the base is shown reversed. Labacco, in his *Libro appartenente a l'Architettura* (1552) Pl. 12, gives a reduced copy of it, reversed again, so that the position is correct.

Of this church we first hear in a document of the twelfth century, and it was destroyed by Paul III. in 1536 (Armellini, *Chiese di Roma*, 167).

The question of the continuation of the Via Cavour towards the Piazza Venezia is one that interests archaeologists, inasmuch as the new street must pass through some part of the Forum of Trajan and either through or close to the areas of others of the imperial Fora.

Five projects have already been presented, the best of which seems to be that of Signor Tolomei, who proposes to bring the new street from the Tor dei Conti along the outside of the Forum of Augustus on the N.E. and so to the Forum of Trajan. It would perhaps then be best, as Professor Lanciani suggested in a recent lecture on the subject, not to attempt to carry the new street further, but to lower the level almost or quite down to that of the Forum of Trajan, and so pass through it without prejudicing excavation in the future.

This would, however, be more costly than another, that of Signori Crimini and Testa, which would simply be to follow the line of the present Via di Marforio, running just below the monument to Victor Emmanuel (as far as the N. angle of which the road is already half made) and keeping along the S.W. edge of the imperial fora, without touching them. From the Arch of Severus, however, which would thus be reached, it would be necessary to carry the road on a bridge in front of the Curia, which would spoil the appearance of that part of the Forum entirely.

Nothing has, however, been definitely decided as yet. Another important problem, to my mind, is the question of the road crossing the Forum Romanum itself. The present viaduct is ugly, and cuts off the buildings immediately below the Tabularium from the rest of the Forum: while from a practical point of view it is narrow, and involves awkward turns: and I am not disinclined to think that a better effect might be produced by an open iron bridge, which, though inevitably ugly, would not cut the Forum into two parts. Its exact position would depend on the solution decided upon for the problem of the Via Cavour.

THOMAS ASHBY, JUNIOR.

BRITISH SCHOOL, ROME.
June 1906.

GARDNER'S GREEK SCULPTURE.

IN noticing the second edition of this work (*Class. Rev.* xx. p. 284) I felt it necessary to call attention to the defectiveness of the illustrations. I am now informed that the defects are due to the accident that the blocks had become corroded, and that their state was not reported until the edition had been printed off. It is satisfactory to be assured that the motive of economy did not enter into the matter; that such a motive could be imputed as a possible alternative to the actual one of carelessness was due to the ever-increasing output of cheaply and badly illustrated manuals of art.

G. F. HILL.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ASIA MINOR.

Miletus.—The following is a summary of the chief results of excavations from Oct. 1903 to Dec. 1905. An inscription, restored from fragments, gives information as to a Milesian Guild of Dancers and records a procession from Miletus to Didyma. Mention is made of a shrine of Hekate 'before the gates,' of 'the broad way,' and of a paean sung 'κατὰ Κεραίτην παρὰ Χαίρω ἀνδρίσων.' These statues are evidently the seated figures now in the British Museum. In the Delphinium three distinct building periods can be traced. To the first, the archaic, belong a square altar, a round base with a *boustrophedon* inscription recording a dedication by two *Prytaneis* to Hekate, and three round altars, two of which are dedicated to Zeus Soter and Artemis respectively. The second period, the Hellenistic, is noteworthy chiefly for the lists of eponymous magistrates ranging from 523–260 B.C. Important light is also thrown on the relations of Miletus with its colonies—Kyzikos, Olbia, and Apollonia on Rhyndakos. The third building period dates from the second century A.D. The early-Ionic temple of Athena has yielded very important material for the history of pottery. The oldest fragments show a clear connection with the declining Mycenaean Age. These are followed by geometrical fragments (akin to the Boeotian type) and Rhodian pottery, the latter in many cases of the Fikellura style. The statues of the Muses mentioned in the June Number of the *Class. Rev.* were discovered in the baths erected originally by Faustina the Younger and subsequently restored by Makarios in the

third century A.D. The statues probably date from the second century A.D. An important vaulted building has been excavated on the S. slope of the Theatre-Hill. It is a Heroon of some distinguished personage of Hellenistic date. The difficulties which have hitherto stood in the way of the excavation of the temple at Didyma have now been surmounted and the work has actually been started.¹

Aphrodisias (Caria).—In 1905 attention was directed chiefly to the excavation of the baths. An inscription on the architrave of the E. Portico reads: 'Η Ἀφροδείτη Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τραι[α]νῷ Ἀδρι[α]νῷ Σεβαστῷ Ὀλευ[ε]ν[τ]ίῳ Παν[ε]λ[λ]η[ν]ίῳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὸν ἐπιφερόμενον τοῖς κίοσιν καὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς λε... Several marble statues of the Roman Period have been discovered in a remarkable state of preservation. They include the draped figure of a priestess with headdress of the type of *Julia Titi*, two heads of Aphrodite with a hole at the top for the insertion of a *polos*, and two consoles decorated with sculptured heads of Zeus and Perseus respectively.²

Samos.—At Tigani, which occupies the site of the old harbour at Samos, two remarkable statues have been found. One represents a man of heavy build standing with the left foot advanced. The figure is dressed in the style of the seated figures from Branchidae in the British Museum, to which it is evidently closely related. The other is a figure seated on a throne. The style of drapery resembles that of the first statue, but the head is missing. On the left side of the throne is the following inscription, written στοιχιδόν in five lines:

Ἀεάκης ἀνέθηκεν
ὁ Βρύσωνος: ὅς τῃ
Ἡρῇ: τὴν σὺλῃν: ἔ-
πρησεν: κατὰ τὴν
ἐπίστασιν.

This Aeakes may be identical with the father of the tyrant Polykrates (cf. Herod.

ii. 182). The interpretation of the inscription is uncertain. Perhaps it may be translated: 'Dedicated by Aeakes son of Bryson who exacted (a tenth of) the spoil for Hera, according to his office as ἐπιστάτης.' The figure, though obviously akin to the Branchidae statues, shows an advance upon them in style.³

CRETE.

Knossos.—Dr. Evans has carried on his examination of the ancient street leading from the N.W. of the palace and has ascertained that it was flanked on both sides by store-chambers. These have yielded a mass of inscribed tablets. On this road was discovered a small palace in which the steps leading to an upper story are still partially preserved.

Palaiakastro.—Members of the British School have conducted excavations on the site of the Dictaeon temple of Zeus. Above remains of the 'Kamares' period the various *strata* succeeded one another with great regularity up to the 6th. cent. B.C. Terracotta antefixes with Gorgoneia and slabs with designs of warriors and quadrigae in relief belong to a wooden temple of that century. In the temenos many votive offerings have been found, comprising vases, lamps, bronze shields, and a bronze lion. The lower *strata* were very rich in Mycenaean objects, among which were sculptured stone vessels and ivory plaques ornamented with engraved linear designs. The pre-Mycenaean period is represented by fine 'Kamares' vases, terracotta *bucrania*, and a mass of ox-bones, the presence of the last pointing to the existence of a cultus-shrine. Further inland a two-chambered house was explored and found to contain vessels of stone and primitive pottery of the same type as that found in the first city at Troy. The presence of obsidian points to early commercial intercourse with Melos.⁴

F. H. MARSHALL.

¹ *Arch. Anz.* 1906, part 1.

² *Acad. des Inscr.*, March-April, 1906.

³ *Athen. Mitt.* 1906, parts 1 and 2.

⁴ *Arch. Anz.* 1906, part 2.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 29. No. 2.

The evidence of ancient Christian literature on the authenticity of a *περὶ ἀναστάσεως* attributed to Justin the Apologist, G. Archambault. The evidence is very weak. *Studies on Plautus Asinaria*, I. On scenes I, II, and construction in general, Louis

Havet. *Hyperides contra Athenogenem*, col. I. 14, P. Foucart. Read [πονη]ταρ. *Critical Studies on Lactantius*, Paul Monceaux. Name; life; literary chronology: lost and apocryphal works: L. and *de Mortibus persecutorum*: L. and the poem on the Phoenix. On the hippodrome at Olympia, Camille

Gaspar. Discussion of a metrological fragment first published by H. Schoene in which its various dimensions are given. *Études Latines* viii. On some passages of the *Amphitryon*, Félix Gaffiot. On 861-82; 576 and 769: 891-6. *Pompa Diaboli*, Salomon Reinach, a reply to Mr. de Alès. *Epigraphical notes on inscriptions of Magnesia by the Maecander*, J. de Decker. *Bulletin bibliographique*.

No. 3.

Studies on Plautus Asinaria. II. *Corrections of the text*, L. Havet. Emendations of 3, 20, 59, [61], 64, 76-9, 85, 93-5, 97-8, [100], 103, 105, 109, 126, 142-3, 145, 156-7, 161, 167, 182-7, 191-5, 198, [199], 203, 205, 217-8, 224-5, 244, 250-6, 263, 275, (278), 280, 292, 301, 308-17, 320, 325, 330-2, 347-8, 354, 363-4, 379. *The musical fragment of Oxyrhynchus* (Grenfell and Hunt, IV. pap. 667), C. E. Ruelle. On *Plautine Metric*, Georges Romain. In the 4th foot of the iambic trimeter and the 5th of the trochaic septenarius the 'thesis' is never formed by an iambic word with shortened final or by a word which would be iambic in position (e.g. *bonus*) or by two shorts which are not part of the same word: further, contractions such as *mi* (*mihî*) are not permitted. Exceptions in the *Amphitryon* and elsewhere are examined.—Archaic forms like *siem*, *duim*, etc. and infinitives in *-ier* are only regularly admitted in two places. (1) In the third foot of the trochaic septenarius 'quand le quatrième temps marqué tombe sur une finale et qu'une coupe trochaïque est visible après le cinquième pied.' Here they are rare. (2) In the antepenultimate foot in trimeters and trochaic septenarii. Here they are frequent. Exceptions are examined.—The proceleusmatic is only permissible in certain parts of the verse, which are

enumerated.—*Inscriptions relating to Didymi*. B. Haussoullier. Details of the construction and cost of the temple of Apollo at D. *Bulletin bibliographique*.

No. 4.

The employment of diminutives by Catullus, P. de Labriolle. *Theocritus as an imitator of Sophron*, Edmond Faral. *Anchurus*, P. Roussel. This name of a son of Midas is to be restored in Anth. Pal. xv. 25 μήτ' Ἀγχούρου | πλίνθους for μήτε ταρχούρου which is unmetrical. *Κέλμεις ἐν σιδήρῳ*, the same. An explanation of an obscure proverb and legends connected with the mysteries of Samothrace. On Scaliger's correction in Tibullus i. 2. 65, 66, A Cartault. *fuat* for *fuit* is a permissible form, and makes the poem, the relations of which to other poems of Tibullus are examined, intelligible. *De carmine quod est inter Horatiana* IV. viii, Mortimer Lamson Earle. Maintains the spuriousness of the poem on the ground of un-Horatian assonances of endings. *The origin of the name Phoenicia*, Isidore Lévy. *Φοινίκη* was the oldest name of Caria and thence transferred to the Syrian littoral. *Two passages of Plautus*, Félix Gaffiot. Emendations of *Miles* 435-9 and *Truc.* 826-31. On *Epinomis*, 987 C, J. Bidez. *Ἥλιον* (*ἁστήρ*), not *Κρόνον*, should be read. *Psellus* and the commentary of *Proclus* on the *Timaeus*, J. Bidez. *Psellus* is a wholesale borrower from *Proclus*. On *Minucius Felix* Oct., F. Préchac. Suggestions on iv. 3, xxiv. 2, xxxiv. 9. On the same xix. 9, 10, P. Médan, On the same v. 2-3, 8, xxxv. 1, J. de Decker. *De Titulo Ionico*, Bruno Keil. On an inscription on an offering to the Apollo of Didymi published by B. Haussoullier. *Bulletin bibliographique*.

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Aeschylus in English Verse. Part I. The Seven against Thebes. The Persians. By Arthur S. Way, M.A. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 100. London, Macmillan & Co. Ltd. 1906. 3s. 6d. net.

Allen (P. S.), see *Erasmus*.

Altmann (Walter) Die italischen Rundbauten. Eine archäologische Studie. 9" x 6". Pp. 102. Mit 20 Abb. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1906. M. 3.

Aristophanes. *Ἀριστοφάνους Ὀπίεις*. The Birds of Aristophanes, acted at Athens at the Great Dionysia B.C. 414. The Greek text revised with a translation into corresponding metres, introduction and commentary by Benjamin Bickley Rogers, M.A. (*The Comedies of Aristophanes*, vol. iii. Part 2.) 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xcii+306. London, George Bell & Sons. 1906. Cloth 10s. 6d.

Arnim (H. von), see *Hierocles*.

Arnold (W. T.) Studies of Roman Imperialism by W. T. A., M.A. Edited by Edward Fiddes, M.A., with memoir of the author by Mrs. Humphrey Ward and C. E. Montague. (*Publications of the*

University of Manchester. Historical Series, No. IV.) 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. cxxiii+282. Manchester, University Press. 1906. Cloth 7s. 6d. net.

Aston (John), see *Hemsley* (W. J.).

(Das) *Athenae Nationalmuseum*. Phototypische Wiedergabe seiner Schätze mit erläuterndem Text von J. N. Svoronos. Deutsche Ausgabe besorgt von Dr. W. Barth. Heft 7-8. 13" x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 183-238. Plates LXI-LXXX. Athen, Verlag von Beck und Barth. 1906. 15s.

Baddeley (St. Clair) Villa of the Vibii Vari, near Tivoli, At Colli di S. Stefano. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 11; 10 illustrations and a plan. Gloucester, H. Osborne. 1906.

Barth (Dr. W.), see *Athenae Nationalmuseum*.

Bick (Jos.) Horazkritik seit 1880 von Dr. J. B. 9" x 6". Pp. vi+89. Leipzig und Berlin, B. G. Teubner. 1906.

Blakeney (E. H.), see *Homer*.

British Museum. Catalogue of Greek Coins in the, see *Head* (B. V.).

Brown (Lester Dorman) A Study of the Case

- Constructions of Words of Time. (*Yale University Degree Dissertation.*) Pp. iv+141. New Haven, Conn. Published by the author. 1904.
- Brugmann (Karl) und Delbrück (Berthold). Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der Indo-germanischen Sprachen. Band II. Lehre von den Wortformen und ihrem Gebrauch von K. B. Teil I. Allgemeines Zusammensetzung (Komposita). Nominalstämme, Zweite Bearbeitung. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 6". Pp. xvi+688. Strassburg. Karl J. Trübner. 1906. Geh. M. 17.50.
- Caesar. Long (Rev. F. P.) Caesar's Civil War with Pompeius. Translated with introduction and notes by the Rev. F. P. L., M.A. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xxviii+228. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1906. Cloth 3s. 6d. net.
- Rouse (W. H. D.) De Bello Gallico Liber I. Edited by W. H. D. R., Litt.D. (*Blackie's Latin Texts.*) 7" $\times$ 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. x+38. London, Blackie & Son. Ltd. 1906. 6d. net.
- Chambers (Charles D.) The Greek War of Independence (1821-1827), being a Greek text for beginners, with notes, exercises, vocabularies, and maps. (*Ora Maritima Series.*) 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xii+204. London, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd. 1906. Cloth 3s.
- Clark (E. C.) History of Roman Private Law. Part I. Sources. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. viii+168. Cambridge, University Press. 1906. Cloth 4s. 6d. net.
- Construch (M.), see *Hephaestion*.
- Crönert (Wilhelm) Kolotes und Menedemos. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Philosophen- und Literaturgeschichte von W. C., mit einem Beitrag von P. Jouguet und P. Perdrizet, und einer Lichtdrucktafel. (*Wessely: Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde. Heft VI.*) 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ " $\times$ 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 198. Leipzig, Eduard Avenarius. 1906. 30s.
- Demosthenes, see *Plutarch*.
- Diodorus. Bibliotheca Historica. Editionem primam curavit Imm. Bekker, alteram Ludovicus Dindorf, recognovit Curtius Theodorus Fischer. Vol. iv. and vol. v. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) 7" $\times$ 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Vol. iv. pp. lxiv.; vol. v. pp. xx+336. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1906. Geh. M. 5.
- Drerup (E.), see *Isocrates*.
- Duff (J. D.), see *Pliny*.
- Eivrem (S.) Notes on some Greek Literary Papyri. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 13. Christiania, Jakob Dybwad. 1906. Reprint.
- Observations on the Colax of Meander and the Eunuch of Terence. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 28. Christiania, Jakob Dybwad. 1906. Reprint.
- Erasmus. Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterdami denuo recognitum et auctum per P. S. Allen, M.A. Tom. I. 1484-1514. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. xxiv+616. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1906. Cloth 18s. net.
- Euripides, see *Jones* (W. H. S.)
- Fiddes (Edward), see *Arnold* (W. T.).
- Fischer (C. T.), see *Diodorus*.
- Fraser (W. R.), see *Plutarch*.
- Gallus, see *Skutsch* (Franz).
- Grenfell (B. P.) and Hunt (A. S.) The Heheb Papyri. Part I. Edited with Translations and Notes by B. P. G. and A. S. H. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ " $\times$ 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. xiv+410. Ten colotype Plates. London, Egypt Exploration Fund. 1906. 45s.
- Günther (R.) Die Präpositionen in den griechischen Dialektinschriften. (*Leipzig Degree Dissertation.*) 9" $\times$ 6". Pp. vi+164. Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner. 1906.
- Head (Barclay V.) Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phrygia. 9" $\times$ 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. cvi+492, with one map and 53 plates. London, Gilbert and Rivington. 1906. 35s.
- Hemley, (W. J.) and Aston (John) The Second Macedonian War, being extracts from Livy Books xxxi-xxxiii. By W. J. H. and J. A. (*Blackie's Illustrated Latin Series.*) 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. vi+96. London, Blackie & Son. 1906. 1s. 6d.
- Hephaestion. Enchiridion cum commentariis veteribus edidit Maximilianus Conbruch: accedunt variae metricorum Graecorum reliquiae. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) 7" $\times$ 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xxvi+432. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1906. Geh. M. 8.
- Hessels (John Henry) A late Eighth Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary preserved in the Library of the Leiden University (MS. Voss. Q α Lat. No. 69), edited by J. H. H., M.A. 9" $\times$ 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. lviii+242. Cambridge, University Press. 1906. Cloth, 10s. net.
- Hierocles. Ethische Elementarlehre (Papyrus 9780) nebst den bei Stobäus erhaltenen ethischen Exzerpten aus Hierokles unter Mitwirkung von W. Schubart bearbeitet von H. von Arnim. (*Berliner Klassikertexte. Heft IV.*) 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xxxvi+76, mit 1 Lichtdrucktafel. M. 16.
- Homer. The Iliad of Homer. Books III and IV translated into English prose by E. H. Blakeney, M.A. (*Bell's Classical Translations.*) 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 5". Pp. 55-100. London, George Bell and Sons. 1906. 1s.
- Hope (E. W.) The Language of Parody. A Study in the Diction of Aristophanes. (*Johns Hopkins University Degree Dissertation.*) 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 6". Pp. 63. Baltimore, J. H. Furst Co. 1906.
- Horace, see *Bick*.
- Hunt (A. S.), see *Grenfell* (B. P.).
- Hussey (G. B.) A Handbook of Latin Homonyms. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xxxi+179. Boston (U.S.A.), Benj. H. Sanborn & Co. 1905.
- Hüter (Prof. Ludwig), see *Sophocles*.
- Isocrates. Drerup (Engelbert) Isocratis opera omnia recensuit scholiis testimoniiis apparatus critico instruxit E. D. Volumen prius. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. cc+196. Leipzig, Th. Weicher. 1906. M. 14.
- Johnston (H. W.) The Private Life of the Romans 8" $\times$ 6". Pp. 344. 205 illustrations. Chicago Scott Foresman & Co. 1905.
- Jones (W. H. S.) The moral standpoint of Euripides. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 35. London, Blackie & Son. 1906. 2s. 6d. net.
- Jouquet (P.), see *Crönert* (W.).
- Klotz (Alfred) Quaestiones Plinianae geographicae. (*Sieglin: Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie. Heft II.*) 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 228. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1906. M. 7.
- Lindblom (A. T.) In Silii Italici Punica quaestiones. Commentatio Academica. 9" $\times$ 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 142. Upsaliae, Typis descripserunt Almqvist et Wiksell. 1906.
- Livy, see *Hemley* and *Aston*.
- Long (Rev. F. P.), see *Caesar*.
- Loseby (A. J.) Jehovah. A theological essay in blank verse on Evolution. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 5". Pp. 76. London, Arthur H. Stockwell. 1906.
- Mitteis (Ludwig) Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig. Band I. Mit Beiträgen von Ulrich Wilcken herausgegeben von L.M. 12" $\times$ 9". Pp. xiv+380 mit 2 Tafeln in Lichtdruck. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1906. M. 28.
- Montague (C. E.), see *Arnold* (W. T.).

- Olcott* (G. N.) *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae Epigraphicae*. Fasc. 5-7 ADIT-AES. Pp. 97-168. Rome, Loescher. 1906. Fr. 2.50 each (see C.R. p. 178).
- Perdrizet* (P.), see *Crönert* (W.).
- Peter* (Hermann) *Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae collegit disposuit recensuit praefatus est H. P. Volumen alterum*. 9" x 6". Pp. ccx+208. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1906. Geh. M. 12.
- Pliny*, Duff (J. D.) *C. Plini Caecili Secundi Epistularum Liber Sextus*. Edited by J. D. D., M.A. (*Pitt Press Series*.) 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. xx+94. Cambridge, University Press. 1906. Cloth 2s. 6d.
- , see also *Klotz* (A.).
- Plutarch's Lives*. Aristides, Marcus Cato, Demosthenes, Cicero, Lycurgus, Numa, translated by W. R. Frazer. (*New Classical Library*. Edited by Dr. Emil Reich.) 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Pp. 234. London, Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1906. Cloth 3s. 6d. net. Leather 4s. 6d. net.
- Reitzenstein* (R.) *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 172. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1906. Geh. M. 5.
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- Schenkl* (Karl) *Griechisches Elementarbuch*. Bearbeitet von Heinrich Schenkl und Florian Weigel. 20ste. Auflage. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6". Pp. 240. Wien, F. Tempsky. 1906. Geh. 2K. 25h.; geb. 2K. 85h.
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- Schubart* (W.), see *Hierocles*.
- Schubert* (Friedrich), see *Sophocles*.
- Skutsch* (Franz) *Aus Vergils Frühzeit*. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 170. Leipzig und Berlin, B. G. Teubner. 1901. M. 5.
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- Sloman* (Arthur) *A Grammar of Classical Latin for use in schools and colleges*. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xvi+480. Cambridge, University Press. 1906. Cloth 6s.
- Sophocles*. *Sophokles' Oidipus Tyrannos* von Friedrich Schubert. Dritte, gänzlich umgearbeitete Auflage von Prof. Ludwig Hütler. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". Pp. lxii+58. Mit 11 Abb. Leipzig, G. Freytag, Wien, F. Tempsky. 1907. Geb. M. 1.20 or 1K.50h.
- Stevens* (J. A.) *A Junior Latin Syntax*. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Pp. 56. Dublin, Blackie & Son. 1906. 8d.
- Stobäus*, see *Hierocles*.
- Storanos* (J. N.), see *Athener Nationalmuseum*.
- Thulin* (Carl) *Die Götter des Martianus Capella und der Bronzeleber von Piacenza. (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuch und Vorarbeiten herausg. von A. Dieterich und R. Wünsch. Band III. Heft 1.)* 9" x 6". Pp. iv+92, mit 2 Abb. im Text und 1 Tafel. Gieszen, Alfred Töpelmann. 1906. Geh. M. 2.80.
- Vergil*, see *Skutsch* (F.).
- Ward* (Mrs. Humphrey), see *Arnold* (W. T.).
- Way* (Arthur S.), see *Aeschylus*.
- Weigel* (Florian), see *Schenkl* (Karl).
- Wilcken* (Ulrich), see *Mitteis* (Ludwig).

CORRIGENDA TO THE JULY NUMBER.

- P. 293b (note on Lysias 12, 11, l. 4). *Dele comma between ἀγαπᾶν and δεήσκειν*
- P. 298a, l. 7. *For οἱ δοῦλοι read τοὺς δούλους.*
- P. 320a (4th par. from end). *After 'help towards' add 'their solution.'*

The Classical Review

NOVEMBER 1906.

THE scheme for the international excavation of the buried city of Herculaneum, to whose prosecution Prof. Waldstein has devoted himself with such unflagging and unselfish enthusiasm, appears to be entering on a new and more promising phase. As early as 1904 the Italian Government gave it all the countenance which governments can be expected to accord to such projects; and Prof. Waldstein's personal advocacy in France, Germany, and the United States had evoked a most encouraging response, when the enterprise was checked for a while by a counter-agitation upon Italian soil, which made the Government hesitate. The matter has, however, since been referred to a Royal Commission (*Commissione centrale delle Antichità e Belle Arti*), which reported favourably, and the opposition seems to be now upon the wane. Having regard to the magnitude and the importance of the undertaking, it is greatly to be regretted that its inherent difficulties have been enhanced by the intrusion of influences as mischievous now as in the times of the historian of Rome: 'factio respectusque rerum priuatarum quae semper offecere officientque publicis consiliis' (Livy, ii. 30).

In redemption of the promise made in our last issue we give some further par-

ticulars of the transformation of this journal which will take effect next year. The Advisory Committee of the new *Classical Review* will include in addition to the names published in October those of Prof. R. M. BURROWS, Mr. S. H. BUTCHER, M.P., and Miss E. PENROSE. The first number will be published in February, and the second in March. As it will not be possible to produce a number of the *Classical Quarterly* by January, the first issue will be in April, and the 1907 volume will accordingly consist of three numbers only. Subject to readjustments which future experience may show to be advisable, the spheres of the two periodicals will be approximately as follows. Original articles will as a rule be published in the *Quarterly*, and notices of books as a rule in the *Review*. Summaries of periodicals, classical and archaeological, will appear in the *Quarterly*, and the remaining matter in the *Review*.

The triennial performance of a Greek play at Cambridge will take place on November 30th and following days. The play selected is the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus, and the arrangements as to music, scenery, and so forth will follow the lines of those of the performance of the same drama in 1885.

A PECULIARITY OF CHORIC RESPONSION.

(Continued from p. 346.)

I have presented the facts from tragedy first, because they were the first to strike me and with them I am most familiar. And indeed I feel that some apology and some explanation is needed before I pass to the facts from lyric poetry. That, although the tragic 'rhyme' has been a familiar thing to me since 1889, I did not, until quite recently, make investigations elsewhere; that in fact this paper was written, in its first form, and despatched, before I had even seen Blass' *Bacchylides*; this, strange as it may seem to readers of the *Class. Rev.*, will cease to seem strange if the writer is allowed to state that his occupation nowhere demands of him any acquaintance with Greek poetry, that his leisure has, in the first place and the second, other claims on it, and that he dwells at the other end of the world. As the opportunity of revising this paper luckily offered itself, I determined, since any value it might have lay entirely in the collection of facts, to make that collection complete.

And indeed, there is one question which one can by no means avoid. If it stands so with tragedy as I have stated it to stand, how stands it with Mezger's 'recurrent words' in PINDAR?¹ Are they really *κρυπταὶ κλαῖδες* to the poet's meaning, or are they merely unconscious iterations as Mr. A. B. Cook (*Class. Rev.* xvi 266) maintains? Perhaps not altogether the first, but certainly not altogether the second. They come under our rubric Ia, and are imbedded in a mass of rhyme which can be arranged under nearly all the rest. I proceed to give the facts, premising only that I follow the same principles as with the tragedians, being perhaps a little more stringent in regard to the admission of slight instances, and almost entirely ignoring irregular correspondence. *Olympia* I (Schroeder) 1 ἄριστ=30 χάρις δ'; χρυσός=41 χρυσέ; 2-ε διαπρέπ=13-ελία δρέπ; 11 ἐστίαν=98 ἐστίαν; 14-15 ἀγλαΐζεται δὲ καὶ μουσικῆς ἐν αὐτῷ=90-91 νῦν δ' ἐν αἰμακονόριαις ἀγλααῖσι μέμικται, and for sense of 14-15 cf. 102-3; 15-ὥται=33 -οῖποι=44 -ῳδῆς; 17 ἀμφί=35 ἀνδρί=

93 ἀμφί=104 ἀμφό; 18 χάρις=65 πάλιν; 21=39 παρέχων=50 -α κρείων; 29 -μένοι=58 μενοι; 31 τιμάν=48 -τίμου; 36 ἀντία προτέρων=47 αὐτῖα φθονερῶν; 42=100 ἵπατον; 43 χρόνῳ=101 νόμῳ; 49 μαχαί=96 ἀκμαί; 50=108 -αῖσι; 51 φάγον=69 80 γάμον; 59 ἀπάλα=70 -α παρὰ; 77 ἐπί=106 ἐπί; 95=106 -εται; 98 μελιτόσσαν=109 γλυκυτέραν (κεν?) II 3 Διός· 'Ο=63 βίστον=70 Διός δ; 4 ἀκρόθνια=84 ἔνδον ἐντί=91 'Ακράγαντι; πολέμου=31 θανάτων=44 πολέμου; 5 τετραροίας=52 ἀγωνίας; 7 εὐωνύμων=34 εὐθυμῶν=47 ἐγκωμίων=94 εὐεργέταν; τε πατέρων=47 τε μελῶν; 16=96 δίκαι; 17 χρόνος δ' πάντων=57 ὅτι θανόντων=77 πόσις ὁ πάντων (the trouble in 76-7 does not touch this though A omits δ); θέμεν ἔργων=97 θέμεν ἔσλων; 19 χαρμάτ=99 χάρματ; 20 παλῖγκοτον δαμασθέν=40 παλαίφατον τέλεσσαν; 25 βρόμῳ=92 νόμῳ; 26 b Παλλάς=33 b ἄλλοτ' =73 b ἄλλα; 30 'Ινοῦ=50 'Ισθμοί; 33 b for sense cf. 53 b; 42 ἔπεφνε (Triclinius, πέφνε vett., πέφνεν' Foi Schroeder)=89 ἔπεχε; 45 τιμώμενος=52 περῳόμενος; 60 φράσαι=100 φράσαι; 72-πνέουσιν=85 -ετοῖσιν III 3 ἔμνον ὀρθώσαι=18 ἔνυν ἀνθρώποις; 4=34 ἔππων; 15 'Ολυμπίαί=30 'Ορθωσῖαι IV nil V 4=20 πόλιν; -τρόφον=17 λόφον VI I ἵπο=43 ὑπό; 2 κίονας=86 πίομαι; 3 πάσσομεν . . πρόσ=24 βάσσομεν . . πρόσ; 4 χρή=74 χρήμ; 5 ἐν Πίσαι=12 ἐν δίκαι=26 (ἐν' 'Ο)λυμπίαι; 7 αἰοδαῖς=91 αἰοιδᾶν; 9 ἀρεταί=72 ἀρετάς; 10 κοίλαις=31 κόλποις; 16-αῖσι=79 -αῖσιν; 17 μάντιν=38 μαντεντο; 21 μελίφθογοι δ' ἐπιτρέψοντι Μοῖσαι=105 ἐμῶν δ' ἔμνων ἄεξ' εὐτερπὲς ἄνθος; Μοῖσαι=42 Μοῖρας; 22 σθένος=71 γένος; 23 τάχος=44 φάος; 23-4 find an echo in 73; 25 ἐξ ἁλλᾶν=74 ἐξ ἁλλων; 28 Εἰρώτα=49 Εὐάδνα; 33 δόμεν=47 -δόμεν; 34 οἰκεῖν=48 οἰκῶ; 35 γλυκεῖ=91 γλυκὺς; 36 -οῖο=57 -οιο; 39 -όκροκον=60 -οτροφόν; 43 ἐρατᾶς (which has been questioned, see Schroeder)=85 ἐρατειν; 52 ἀκούσαι=66 ἀκούειν; 55 καὶ παμφορῦροι ἀκτίσι βεβρεγμένους ἀβρόν=76 αἰδοῖα ποτιστάξῃ χάρις εὐκλεία μορφᾶν; 68 θάλος=96 κράτος; 70 θέσθαι=98 δέξαιτ; 77=98 'Αγγῖα; 83 -θέλοντα=104 ἐόντα; 84 ἐμά=105 ἐμῶν; 86 πλέκων=93 -έπων VII I φιάλαν ὥς=20 ἐβελήσω; 2 -δον ἀμπέλ=21 -νὸν ἀγγέλλ; 4 οἰκοθεν=23 πατρίθεν; 5 ἐν δ=43 ἐν δ; 6 ὁμόφρονος=63 καὶ εὐφρονα; 8 φρενός=40 χρέος; 10 νικῶν-τεσσ=86 νικῶνθ' ἔξ; 12 παμφώνισσι=44 68 ἀθροῦσι; 14 'Ρυδόν=33 νομόν=71 τέκεν=90 ὀδόν; 15=91 εὐθυ; 17 πατέρα=36

¹ Mezger I know only at second-hand and I have deliberately refrained from searching him out: I take as definition of his 'recurrent words' that given by Prof. Bury *Nemean Odes* p. xx 'a practice of the poet to repeat some particular word in the same verse and foot of different strophes or epodes.' With the Bury-responses, as one might call them, I have plainly nothing to do.

πατέρος; 18 Ἀσίας=94 θαλίας; 20 Τλα-
πολέμου=77 Τλαπολέμωι; 21 λόγον=27 νόθον
=46 ὁδόν; 28 θενών=47 φρενών=60 θεόν=72
θεῶν; 30 χθονός=87 λόγον; 34 ἔνθα=72
ἐπτά; 72 προτέρων=91 πατέρων and cf. gen-
eral sense; 74 ἔχον=93 ἔχει VIII 5=34
-μένων; 10 στεφανα=76 στέφανος; δέξαι=
32 (στέφανον) τεῦσαι; 13 ἀγαθών=57 ἐρέω;
20 κρατέων=64 ἀέθλων; 30 -ομένων=52
-όμενος; 33 -μένων=70 μένος=77 μέρος; 34
πολέμων=78 -ομένων; 42=86 ἀμφί; 46
τετράτοις (τετράτοις Ahrens Schroeder)=68
τέτρασιν; 63 ἔργ=85 ἔργ IX 4 -μόστωι=32
τόσῳι; 5 -Βόλων=71 μολών; 9 ποτε=37 τό
γε; Λυδός=93 κύκλον; 13=31 ἀμφί; 16
-αῖσιν (contra codd.)=72 -αῖσιν; 17 πάρα=
35 λόγον=45 γόνον; 33 Φοῖβος=89 οἶον;
Ἰάδας=99 -αλία; 34 σώμαθ'=90 -γῶνα; 37
ἐπεὶ=47 ἔγειρ'; 42 ἄστει=88 Ἀργεῖ; 44
δόμον=72 μόνος=90 μένεν; 70=88 παῖς; 88
-σχεθε=98 φέρε X 2 παῖδ=65 παῖς; φρενός;
=8 χρέος; 4 χερὶ=94 χάριν; 7 χρόνος=64
τόνον; 10 κατακλύσσει=94 ἀναπάσσει; ρέον=
46 πέδον=52 σχεδόν=67 τέλος=73 -ερον; 11
λόγον=53 μόνος; 12 χάριν=69 -αῖσιν; 16 ἐν
Ὀλυμπιάδι=58 σὺν Ὀλυμπιάδι; νικῶν=100
ἀλκαῖ; 19 Πάτροκλος=40 ἄπορον; 20 ποτί=
104 ποτε; 21 πελώριον=42 ἀλώσιος=63
ἀγώνιον; ὁρμάσαι=42 ἀντάσαι; 23 πάντων=
44 πᾶσαν=71 Φράστῳρ; φάος=92 σταθμός;
29 ἀέκονθ'=71 ἄκοντ'; 30=93 -εὔσαις;
Κλεωνῶν=66 ἐλαύνων; δάμασε=87 μάλα δέ;
31 ποτέ=46 τὸ δέ; 39 νείκος=102 κείνον; 42
θάνατον=63 θέμενος=84 κἀλαμον=105 πότμον
ἄ- (πότμον 'Bekkero teste unus e Thomm, Ξ'
Schroeder: θάνατον cett.); 43 ἔλαιος=91
Φέρσιος; στρατών=49 πάγον; 45 -θεον ἄστος
=87 νεότατος; 50 -φθέγξατο=86 ἐξ ἀλό-; 51
τελευτά=66 Τεγέαν; 52 μέν ἄρ=73 μέγαν;
ἄρα=67 -φερε=94 ἀνα-; 63 -ελών=84 -λέων;
66 ἴκεν . . κυδαίνων = 87 ἴκοντ . . θερμαίνει;
75 φάος=90 -τατος; 76 τέμενος=97 -τόμενος;
85 φάνεν=91 ἄτερ XI 3 νεφέλ=9 ἐθέλ-; 5
ἀρχ=11 Ἀρχ XII 3 τὴν γὰρ ἐν πόντῳ
κυβερνῶνται θοαί=9 τῶν δὲ μελλόντων τετύ-
φλωνται φραδαί and note the exact corre-
spondence of word-size, ἐν πόντῳ cohering
XIII 1 -ολυμπιο=101 Ὀλυμπίαι; 3 ξένου=
26 γένου; δὲ θερά=34 Νέμεα=95 βέλεια;
δὲ θεράποντα=26 χρόνον ἅπαντα; 5 -κορον=
28 οὔρον=97 -κορος; 6 -νομία=98 Νεμέαι;
7 Εἰρήνη=53 Μῆδειαν=61 Πειράνας; 9 ἐθέ-
=47 ἔπε=93 ἐμέ; 11 τέ μοι=95 χερῶν; 16
ῥαλῶν=62 μέγαρον; 18 πόθεν ἐξέφανεν=64
ποθέων ἔπαθεν; 23 β αἰμαῖ=92 β ἀρχαῖ-;
24 εἰρύ=93 εἰθύν; 25=33 -εσσιν; 26 χρόνον
=34 Νέμεα=49 Φίδι=72 ἀνά=95 βέλε-; 27
νέμεων=96 ἐκῶν; 28 οὔρον=74 ἔρην; 29 δέξαι
τε=75 δεῖξέν τε; 30 δρόμον ἄν=53 θεμένας;
δρόμον=61 σφετέ=84 ἔλε; 31 θνατός=62

κλᾶρον; 37 Πυθοῖ . . τε Ῥοι=98 Ἰσθμοῖ . . τέ
μοι; 39=85 ἀμφί; 52 θεόν=75 θαῖς; 53
πατρός=76 -ατο; θεμέναν γάμον=61 σφετέ-
ρον πατρός; αὐτά=76 αὐτά; 57 -ότερα=103
-όμενα; 59 Ἐλέν . . πάντα=82 θέμιν .
-άναι; 68 ἄγε=114 ἄνα (imper.); 73 τέρας=
104 γε μάν; 79 -έσθαι=102 -έχθαι; 80 ὅταν
=103 τότ' ἂν XIV nil Pythia I 1 -πόλλων
=81 πολλών; 2 ἀρχά=8 κνώσσων = 68
-θρώπων; 4 -βολάς=44 βαλεῖν; 5 καὶ τὸν
αἰχματάν=11 ἐγγχων ἀκμάν; κεραυνός=71
Κρονίον; 7 κτεῖναι=27 μελαμ-; Ῥοι νεφέλαν
=87 τοι φέρεται; 8 κατέχευας=22 προχέοντι;
10 -όμενος=24 -ομένα=70 -όμενος; 14 πόντον
=74 πόντωι; 14 Πιερίδων αἰόνα=94 καὶ
λογίαις καὶ αἰοῖσι; 15 ὅς τ' ἐν αἰνῇ Ταρτάρῳ
κεῖται, θεῶν πολέμος=95 τὸν δὲ ταύρῳ χαλ-
κῶι καυτήρα νηλέα νόον; 19 b -ανία=39 b
-αλίαν; 20 Αἴται=60 Αἴταις; 20 b χιώνος=
60 b φίλιον; 22 -χέοντι=62 θέλοντι; 23 ἐν
ὄρν- = 89 ἐν ὄρν-; 24 βαθεῖαν φέρεῖ=64 -ες
αἰεὶ μένεν=90 -αν αἰεὶ κλύνει; πλάκα=44
παλά-; πατάγωι=50 ἐφέπων=90 δαπάναις;
25 κείνο=31 κλεινός; 26 δεινοτά=32 γέιτονα;
30 -υμίαν=70 -υχίαν; 35 λόγος=95 νόον; 38
καὶ σὺν εὐφώνῳι θαλαῖς ὀνημαστάν=98 μαλ-
θακὰν παῖδων ὁάροισι δέκονται; 40 b -ανδρόν=
80 b ἀνδρῶν; 41 -ρεταῖς=87 -ρεται; 43
αἰνῆσαι . . ἔλπομαι=83 αἰανίς . . ἐλπιδας; 44
βαλεῖν=64 μένεν=90 κλύνει; 45 ἀμεύ-
σασθ'=65 Ἀμύκλας; 50 δίκαν=90 λίαν;
52 τειρόμενον=66 γέιτονες ὦν; 57 χρόνον
ὦν=77 ἐρέω; 63 καὶ μὲν Ἡρακλεῖδαν
=83 αἰανίης ταχείας; 64 τεθυμῶν ἐν=84
ἐσλοῖσιν ἐπ'; 65 -εἰς=91 -ίει; 68 λόγον ἀνθ-
=82 κόρος ἀμβ-; 73 οἶα . . -ων ἀρχῶν=93
οἶον . . -ων ἀνδρῶν; 76 Σαλαμίν . . χάριν=96
Φάλαριν . . φάτις II 2 δαιμόνιαι=26 μαινο-
μένοις; 4 μέλος=12 σθένος; 5 -έρων=37
-έπων=85 -έων; 6 στεφανός=14 ἀρεταῖς=62
ἀρεταῖ; 7 ἔδος=63 νεό-; 8 ἀγαναῖς=40
παλάμαι; 9 χερὶ=57 φρενί; 10 -ώνιος . .
κόσμον=26 -ὦν βιώ . . ὄλβον; ὅταν=34 ὄραν;
12 θεόν=60 -τερον; 13 ἐτέ=37 μεθέ-; ἀνήρ
=29=37; 14 εὐαχέα=62 εὐανθέα; 15 κελα-
δέοντ'=63 κελαδέων; 19 καμά=67 κατά; 23
-όμενον=71 -όμενος; 25 -έσσι=33 -εσσιν=49
-εσσι; 27 Ἥρας ὅτ' ἐράσαστο=35 εἶναι δὲ παρά-
τροποι; 29 τάχα=37 γλυκῦ; παθῶν=77 ἄλω-;
30 ἔξε=78 μάλα=86 νόμον; ἀμπακίαι=54
-μαχαναί; 32 -τιτος=80 -τισις; 33 θαλάμῳς
=81 ἀγαθοῖς; 34 Διός=50 θεός; 37 53 61
compare sense; 38 εἶδος=54 εἶδον; 40
παλάμαι=64 πολέμων; 41 b πεσών=89 b
ἔδω; 47 ἀμφοτέροις=71 ἀντόμενος; 48 -οῖοι
το=72 -οῖ οἶος (Tricl.); 49 ἅπαν=57 σάφα;
ἅπαν ἐπ=81 -ατα δ' ἐπ-; 51 βροτῶν=75
βροτῶν (Bergk cum libris) βροτῶι (Heindorf
Schroeder); 52 ἐτέροισι=60 ἑτερόν; 57
-ευθεῖα φρεν=73 εὐ πέπραγεν; 63 θράσος;

87 στρατός; 70 ἄθρη=94 ἄρή; 72 παρά=96 ἀγα-; 74 καρπὸν=82 ἀστὸν; 76=84 ἵπο-
 III 1-ἵδαν=31-ἵδα; 2-ῶν=48-ῶν; εἰδασθαι
 =25 εἰνᾶσθῃ; 3 ζῶειν τὸν ἀποικχόμενον=56
 ἄνδρ' ἐκ θανάτου κομίσαι; 4 -αἶδα=11 'Αἶδα;
 γόνον=11 δόμον=27 σκοπὸν=103 γόνον; -α
 Κρόνου=57 Κρονίων; βάσσαισι=34 κρημνοῖ-
 σιν; -τερον=34 τερος=80 -τέρων; 5 ἀνδρῶν
 =12 παίδων=58 αἰῶν; φίλον=12 Διός;
 ποτέ=74; 6 γυιαρ=52 γυίσι; 7 ἀλκτῆρα
 νοῦσων=53 ἔστασεν ὀρθούς; 8 τὸν μὲν=47
 τοὺς μὲν=84 τὴν δέ=100 τοῦ δέ; Φλεγῶνα
 =24 μεγάλαν; 9-10 cf. 101 for sense and
 recurrence of τόξους; 10 τόξοισιν ἵπ' Ἀρτέμι-
 δος=26 λέκτροισιν ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας; 11 χόλος=103
 ὁδόν; 13 φρενῶν . . κρύβδαν=29 νόωι . .
 κλέπτει; πατρός=98 πατρί; 14 cf. sense of
 99; 15 καθαρὸν=61 -θάνατον; 17 παμφώνων
 . . αἶων=86 ἀνθρώπων . . αἶον; 24 -αν
 ἀφάταν=100 ἀθανάτων; 26 Ἀρκαδίας=72 -ας
 χάριτας; 27 ἄρα=34 παρὰ; ὦνι τόσσαις=50
 ὦνι λύσαις; 30 βροτός=60 ποδός; 37 σπέρ-
 ματος . . ἴστωσιν=53 φάρμακα . . ἔστασιν; 41
 ψυχᾷ=64 θυμῷ; γένος . . δλέσσαι=110 θεός
 . . ὀρέξαι; 45 καὶ ῥά νιν . . Κενταύρωι=68 καὶ
 κεν ἐν . . -αν τάμων ('τέμων libri, τάμων
 Mommsen; prll IP³⁴ Schroeder); 47 μόλον
 =100 μόνον; αὐτοφύτ=93 ἀμφοτέ; 48 πολῶι
 =101 πολέμωι; χαλκῶι=94 χρυσέαις=101
 τόξοις; μέλη τερωμένωι=101 ἀπὸ ψυχᾶν λιπών;
 52-ἄπτων=105 ἀνδρῶν; 58 ἐνέσκηψ=74 ἔλεν
 Κίρρ-; 60 αἶσας=76-ἄσαις; 66-ασχεῖν=89 οἱ
 σchein; 68=91 -ονίαν; 72 χάριτας=95 δὲ χάριν;
 75 ἀστέρους οὐρανόωι=105 ὑνιπετᾶν ἀνέμων; 80
 ὀρθαν ἐπίσται=96 ἔστασαν ὀρθόν; 82 τὰ μὲν ὦν
 =105 ἀνέμων; 88 βροτῶν=111 προσω IV 1
 ἀνδρὶ φίλωι=239 ἀνδρα φίλας; 2 εἰσπουν=94
 117 λευκίππων; -κεσλται=71 Πελλάν=94
 Πελλάς; -σίλται=33-σίδα=56-ἵδα=163-λίαι
 =217-ἵδαν; 3 -ειλόμενον=34 -ειγομένους;
 -όμενον=141 -αμένους; 4 -ῶν=150 -ῶων
 =165 ἑκόν; αἰητ- (Mosch.)=8 αἰχματ-; -ητῶν
 =119 -ήσικων; 6 χρῆσιν=60 χρησμοίς=190
 μάντις=198 φθέγμα; Λιβύας=259; ἱεράν=190
 ἱεροῖς; 7 λιπών=130 δραπῶν; εὐ=30 76;
 8 -ἀντι=85 -οντος=284 -οντα=292 -αντος;
 12 ἡμυθίσω=211 ἡμυθῶν; ἰάσωνος=111
 Ἰάσωνα; 13 παῖδες=59 υἱέ; θῶν=51; 14=
 290 γᾶς; 17 -ῶων=86 γίνω; 19 μεγαλᾶν
 πολῶν=134 Πελλία μέγαρον; 20 -ἔρθαι=273
 ἔσσαι; 21 θεῶι=274 θεός; (διδόντι=67 δώσω;
 23 δέξαι=161 δέρμα=253 ἔνθα; Κρονίων=115
 Κρονίδαι; 26 ἀμερ=256 ἄμαρ; 29 φιλῶν
 δ' ἐπέων=52 -νεφῶν πεδίων; ἐπέων=60
 κελάδωι=213 βελῶν; 30=130 -τεσσιν; 31
 ὦτων=131 ὠτον=269 ὦρον; 34 ἀρούρας=149
 ἀπούρας ('ἀπούρας tacite Boeckh, quem omnes secuti sunt praeter Bergkium; prll
 II⁸⁴ Schroeder); 35 δεξιτερᾶι=96 δεξιτέρῳ;
 μᾶστ=219; μᾶστευο=73 μάντευο; 36 Ἔιν

(Hermann)=197 Ἔοι; -αἰσιν=281 -αἰσίν;
 θορών=59 λόγωι=258 χρόνωι; 37 χειρὶ=129
 ξείνι; δέξαιο=244 δ' εἰχετο; -ονίαν=98
 πολιᾶς; 38 αὐτάν=168 ταῦταν; κατα=283
 κακᾶν; ἐκ=53 ἐν=122 ἐξ=130 ἐν=268 ἐν
 =291 ἐν; 40 -ορέαν=63 -όμενον=132
 -όμενος=293 -ορέαν; -τρυνον θαμά=178
 -τρυνον πόνον; 41 θεραπόντ=271 χέρα
 (Mosch.) προσ; 43 χθόνιον=112 δνοφερόν;
 47 -γειομένων (ἐπιγειομένων Schroeder)=93
 -μειβόμενοι=185 λειπόμενοι; -ορέων=262
 -ορέοις; 48 κείαν=125 κείνον; εὐρέαν=140
 τραχείαν; 49 ἐξ=72 ἐξ=126 ἐκ=264 ἐξ;
 Μυκανᾶν (see Schroeder)=279 Κυράνα; 50
 -ρήσει=142 Κρηθεῖ; -αἰκῶν=150 -αἶων; 52
 =259 νᾶσον; -αινεφῶν=98 -αιγενέων; -ῶων
 =121 190; πεδίων=259 πεδίων; 53-πόταν=
 199 -πνοάν; 55=78 χρόνωι; 57 ἦρα (see
 Schroeder)=210 ἦ βα-; -ρα Μηδείας=218;
 Μηδείας=126 Μεσσάνας=172 Ἀλκμάνας;
 ἐπέων=210 ἀνέμων=218 τοκέων; στίχες=
 210; 58 πικινάν=73 πικινῶι; 60 ὠρῶσ=267
 ὀρθαῖς; κελάδωι=121 γλεφάρων=290
 κτεάνων; 61 πεπωμένον=84 πειρώμενος; 62
 Κυράναι=261 Κυράνας; 63 τίς=86 τις; 64
 ἦ μάλα . . μετά=271 χρή μάλα . . χέρα
 (Mosch.); 65 μέρος Ἀρκεσίλας=157 μέρους
 ἀλικίας; 66 κῶδος . . ἔπορε=112 κῶδος . .
 δνοφερόν; 71 κίνδυνος=186 -κίνδυνον; 73=96
 θυμῷ; 74 ματέρως=166 καρτερῶς; 75 παντῶς
 =85 ὅχλων; 79 αἰχμαῖσιν=148 (ἀ)κόντεσσιν
 διδύμαις=117 δὲ δόμους=209 διδῶναι ('διδυμοί
 Be Ambr; P ii 9, ii 172, iv 79, i vii 17
 in gen fem consentium libri' Schroeder);
 ἀμφοτέρα ('Ec utraque paraphr [coniecerat
 Hecker Phil V 439], ἀμφοτέρον vulgo [non
 in scholl'] Schroeder)=102 ἀντροθε γάρ;
 ἔχεν=286 ἔχει; 80=118 ἐπιχώριος; θαητοῖσι
 γυίοις=264 Ἔοι θαητὸν εἶδος; 81 στέγετο=
 165 τέλεσον; Φρίσσο=242 Φρίξ; 83-αἰθυσσον
 =198 ἀκτίνας; 84 ἐστάθη=99 ἐξάνη; 87
 Ἀπο=225 ἀπό; Ἀπόλλων=294 Ἀπόλλων;
 91 ὀρνύμενον=114 183 πορφύρεοις; 94 ἀνά
 =171 τάχα=186 παρὰ; 98 ἔμμεν=259 ἔνθεν;
 99 ψευδέουσιν=199 σμασιν=268 τέχουσιν;
 101 λόγοις=116 λόγων; 104 εἰκοσι=142
 εἰδῶτι; 105 οὐτ' ἑκὼς ἐκτράπελον=128
 μελιχίοισι λόγοις; κείνοιο=243 κείνον=281
 κείνος; 106-ορέαν=198 ὕμεναι=267-ορένα;
 117 ἵστε=263 γνῶθι; πατέρων=148 προ-
 γόνων; 118 ἄλλων=187 ἄλλοις; 121 γλεφάρων
 =244 γενῶν; 123 γόνον=145 ὄμο; 126
 ταχῶς=164 τάχος ὅτρ-; 127 μοῖραι=196
 μοῖραν; 128=189 Ἰάσων and sense; 131
 ἄωτων=269-α χῶρον; 136-ἄσων=297 ἀστῶν;
 138=299 ἐπέων; 140 ἐρπόν=240-επτον;
 141 ὀργάς=279 ὀρθᾶς; λοιπόν=256; 147
 ξίφεσιν=162 βελῶν; 148=278 τιμάν; μῆλα
 =194 Ζῆνα; 149 ἀγέλας=264 μεγάλας; 154

ξυνῶς=192 -κύρας; 155 κακόν=178 πόνον=270 φάος; 159 γὰρ ἐάν=205 ἀγάλα; 160 -όντας=183 -οντας; 163=186 ἐπί; 168 -ανήσαντες=222 -αἰνησάν τε; 171 Κροῖδι=194 -ρανιδῶν; 173 Ἔγνο=280 -εἰνο-; -θέντες=257; ἀλάκ=288 -ἀγκῆ; 174 κλῆος=281 νέος; 175 ἑσλόν=236 κέντρον; 177 ἔμολεν=284 ἄμαθε; 184 γλυκύν=207 βαθύν; πόθον=276 θέμεν; 191 Μόσφος=268 μόχθον; 192 κρέμασαν=246 τέλεσαν; 194 ὠκυπόρους=209 κραιπνότεραι; 195 ἀνέμους=210 ἀνέμων; 195 ἐκάλε=233 ἐόλει (Boeckh); 197 αἰσιν=266 λοίσθιον; 198 -ες στεροπάς=236 ἐξεπῖνασ' (Hermann, -ῆσ' libri Schroeder) =259 -ας ἔπορεν; ἄπο=290 ἀπό; 201 ἐνίπτω=247 συνάπτει; 203 στομία πεμψόμενοι=226 χθόν' ἀμειβομένοι; -όμενοι=272 -οτέρους; 210 αἰτᾶς=218 αἰτάν; 213 ὀξυτάτων οἱ ὠκυτάτων=244 λαβροτατῶν; 214 τετρακνῆμον=245 πεντηκόντερ; -αμον=268 -ανον; 215=269 -αισα; 224 ἀδαμάντινον=247 κατ' ἀμαξινόν; 234 ἀνάγκαι οἱ ἀνάγκας=288 ἀνάγκαι; 235 ἔντεσιν=258 ἤθεσι; 236 -πῶνας' (Hermann -ῆσ' libri Schroeder) ἐπιτακτ=290 -πὸ γὰς ἀπὸ τε κτ'; 248 οἶμον . . σοφίας ἐτέ=294 οἶκον . . -ποσίας ἐφέ; 251=274 -εσσι; 255 ὄλβου=263 δζους; 263 -έκει=278 φέρειν=286 ἔχει; 270 Παϊάν=293 νοῦσον; 280=288 -ότατον V 2 καθαρᾶι=106 δαπανῶν; 3 -όντος=14 ὄλβος; ἀνάγκη=65 θῆλη; 4=77 πολὺ; ἐπέταν=108 ἐρώ; 5 Ἀρκεσίλα=109 ἀλικίας (cf. iv 65 =157); 7b ἀπὸ=38b νάπος; 10 -μέριον=52 πεδίον; 11 μάκαιραν ἐστίαν=53 πατρώϊαν (Mosc.) πόλιν; 15-16 τὸ μὲν ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐσσι μεγάλαν=97-98 βασιλείας ἱεροὶ ἐντί, μεγαλῶν; 19 -μενον=81 -μέναν; φρενί=102; 21=52 ἦδη; ἑλῶν=103 νέων; 27 Ἐπι=58 περί; 29 -όντων=60 -όλων; 31 -ταλίας=62 ταμίαι; γέρας=124 (irreg.); 38 ἄμειψεν=49 νυμαίει (νυμαίειον or νυμαῖον)=69 μαντείον (or μαντήιον)=80 Καρνείε (for variants see Schroeder)=100a ρανθείσαν; 53 πατρῶ=84 πάτρων; 65 οἷς ἂν=76 μοῖρα; 66 -όλεμον=108 -όμενον; 72 τὸ δ' ἐμ=103 τὸν ἐν and sense VI 3 ἐριβρόμον=30 -αρίμβροτον; 6-9 sense cf. 15-18; 17 νίκαν=26 τιμᾶς; 18 -αἰαῖς=27 -εἰρεν; 29 νοήμ=47 νόω; 32 ἵππος=50 ἵππειν (reading doubtful, see Schroeder); 37 ἔπος=46 -ένος; 42 πρὸς=51 προσ- VII nil VIII 1 Ἵουχία=68 ἁρμονίαν (cf. Aesch. Pr. 569=579); 2 μεγιστόπολι=22 δικαιοπολις; -όπο=9 κότον=29 -σχολος=42 ὁδόν=49 -όνος=69 -ον ὄσ; 3 καὶ πολέμων=10 δυσμενέων=43 μαρναμένων; 4 ἔχοισα=24 θιγοῖσα; 7 σὺν ἀτρεκέι=54 σὺν ἀβλαβεῖ; 8 τὸ δ' =28 τὰ δ- =48 ὁ δ- =61 τὸ δ' =88 ὁ δ'; 12 μάθεν=45 σαφές; 14 φέροι=87 -μένοι; 17=37 οὐδέ; Γιγάντων=57 -σι βάλλω (βάλλω=77 βάλλων)=97 -τιν ἀνδρῶν (so Heyne for ἀνδρῶν ἔπεσιν: the rhyme cuts the

ground from beneath Bergk's proposed reconstruction); 18 νόωι=98 στῶλωι; 24 ἔχει=91 ἔχων; 25 -αν ἀπ' ἀρχᾶς=56 -ασας οἰκοί; 28 -πρέπει=68 βλέπειν; 31 λίραι=44 φνῆι; 32 ἐν ποσί=92 ἐν δ' ὀλί; 40=60 -ατο; 56 χαίρων=76 δαίμων; 67 νόωι=74 -φρόνων; 76 sense cf. 96; 87 δεδωγμένοι=94 σσεισμμένοι IX 1 ἐθέλω=51 ἐρέω=109 ἔπλετο; 2 -οισιν=77 -οῖσι; 3 -κράτη=86 κρατη=111 πατήρ; 6f. cf. 56 f. for sense and repetition of χρίσε-; 6 δίφρωι=81 διφρη-; -μήλον=64 μήλων; 8 θάλλοισαν=108 θαπτόν; 14 ἥρωις=64 μήλων; 16 λέχει=108 ἐπέι; 34 ὀρέων=51 ἐρώ; 36 -ενεγκέν=53 ἐνέικαι; 38 ἑάν=88 -εα=105 ἔβαν; 40 ὁμῶς=115 ποδῶν; 41 (ἀδείας τυχεῖν τὸ πρῶτον) εὐνάς=66 (τερπνᾶν γάμον κραινέν τε) -λειτάν; 44 Φάνα=119 ἀπα; 46 ἀνα=96 καλᾶ; 54 ἀγείρας=104 ἐγείρει; 56 δώμας=89 κωμάς; -ασιν=64 -άσι; 70 ἀμφ- . . -έθλοισ=120 ἀμφ- . . πέπλοισ; 81 -ωνος=114 -ῶνος; 83 Καδμείων=108 καὶ ξείνων; 106 -κορον=114 χορόν X 1 -αἰμων=55 -αῖων; 2 μάκαιρα=26 κατ' αἰσαν; -φοτέραις ἐς=20 φθονεραῖς ἐκ; 4 παρά=10 γλυκύν=28 βροτόν (Schmid, βροτόν)=46 μακά; 12 -γενές=42 γενε=48 θάνα=60 ἐτέ; 13 ἐν πολε=49 -ἐν ποτε; 15 βαθύν=51 ταχύν; 19=61 τῶν δ'; 20 λαχόντες=26 κατ' αἰσαν=62 τυχών κεν; θῶν=38 -θένων; 21 ἐπι=57 ἔτι; 30 ἀγῶνα=66 ἄγων ᾶ; 35 ἐμφαμίαις=53 ἐγκωμίων; 42 ἱερᾶι γενεῖσι 18 λίθινον θιάατον 60 ἐτέρους ἐτέρων=66 φιλέων φιλέοντ; 44 θρασείαι=56 γλυκεῖαν; 48 φέρων=60 ἔρωις=66 ἄγων; 51 χθονί=69 ὅτι; 60 text doubtful, if φρένας be kept it will rhyme with 66 φρόνων XI 2 b Νηρηίδων=7 b ἡρωίδων; 4 χρυσέων=20 χαλκοῖ; 10 ἄκραι=21 ἀκτάν=42 ἄλλαι; 11 ἐπαπύλοισι Θήβαις=27 ἀλλοτρίαῖσι γλώσσαις; 15=63 -ραισι; 16 νικῶν=32 ἴκων; 20 πολυ=52 πόλιν; 35 νέα κεφαλᾶ=51 ἐν ἀλικίαι; 39 ἰών=55 ἑλῶν; 39 b ἄνεμος=55 b -όμενος; 50 b -αἶμαν=55 b αἰνάν XII 8 -άνα=24 -ῶνων; 11 μέρος=19 μέλος; 17 Δανάας . . χρυσοῦ φαρμ=25 διανισ- . . χαλκοῦ θάμ- Nemea I 3 Ἀρτέμιδος=21 ἀρμόδιον; 4 σέθεν=22 θάμα=29 σέο=47 μελέ; 5 θέμεν=59 θέσαν; 6 μέγαν=31 μεγά; 7 Νεμέ . . -φόροις=25 ἐτέ . . ὁδοῖς; 11 μεγάλων=47 μελίων; 16 b πολέμων=52 b κολεού; 17 ἐλαϊαν=35 ἐς αἶγλαν; 19 ἔσταν=55 ἔστα; 22 -δαπῶν=47 -άτων; 24 φέρειν=31 ἔχειν=49 λέχει; 25 ἀντί . . ἐτέρων . . -ασθαί=68 ἀντι- . . βελέων . . -εσθαί; 32 κοιναί=61 ποίαις; 35 θαπτόν=71 -ἂν Ἥβαν; 54 κραδί=72 Κρονίδαι II 2 -οιδόι=22 ἦδη; 4 κατα=9 θαμᾶ (μέν)=19 παρὰ (μέν); 9 νικᾶν=14 ἀλά; 11 Πελεϊδῶν=16 παλαίφατον III 5 -όμενοι=13 πρότεροι=76 τότε τοι; 7 μάλιστα=15 Ἀριστ-; (ἀ)οιδάν=21 Μοῖσαν; 8 στεφάνων=37 Τελαμών; 11 κείνων=53 Χείρων

(Xίρην Schroeder, as everywhere, but see Dr. Headlam here, 1905, p. 148); 12 πόνον=46 φόνον; 15 -κλείδας=49 -πειτ' ἄν=70 πείραι; 17 δὲ πλαγάν=38 μετ' ἄλκάν; 20 προτέρω (Hermann, πρόσω 'schol N ix 109' Schroeder) =62 ὀπίσω; 24 τεναγέων=66 κελαδέων; 24 ῥοάς=67 ῥοά; 28 γένει τε Μοῦ=57 γόνον τε 'Φοι; 30 ἀνδρὶ=72 ἀνδρά; 31 ἔλαβες (-yes Bergk) =65 ἔβαλεν; 32 ἀρεταῖς=74 ἀρετᾶς; 39 ποτε.. ἀκμάν=81 -όθε.. ἄγραν; φόβος ἀνδροδάμας.. φρενών=60 ἀλλὰν Λυκίων.. Φρυγίων; 53 ἔπος ἔχω=66 ὅπλιν νέων; 54 ἔπει=75 -έπει; 58 αὖξων=79 αὖλῶν IV 3 Μοισᾶν=11 ὕμνου; -όμεναι=67-όμενοι IV 3 ἔμενος=4 οὐδέ=20 οὔνεκ=28 οὐ τε; ὑδωρ=20 -ῶν; -ακά=20 παρά=52 κατά=66 -ενές=92 -ατα; τεύχει=84; 5 εὐλογία=45 ἀρμονίαι; -ορος=29 ἔλεν=53 πόρον=61 -φέρειν=69 -τρεπε; 6 ῥῆμα=86 γλώσσαν=94 ῥῆμα; 8 γλώσσα=40 γνόμαν; 9=81 θέμιν; Κρονίδα=25 Τροίαν (Τρῳίαν codd.); 13 f. sense cf. 85 f.; 15 θαμὰ κε=95 μαλακά (Schmid for μαλθακά); 17 στεφάνων=25 Τελαμών (=49 'Αχιλεῖς)=41 ἀρετάν=73 ἀέθλιον; 19 'Αθανάν=83 ἀπάσας; 21 ἀέκοντ' =85 'Αχέροντ; 22 Αἰγίνας=46 Οἰνῶνας; 25 κραταῖος=89 γεραιός; 27 πολεμιστ=51 -πτόλεμος; 29 -βεβῶτας=77 στεφάνων πα; 31 λόγον ὁ=79 πρόπολον=95 μαλακά (see on 15 =95); 34 -όμεναι=58 -αμενος; 36 ἔμπα.. ἔχει=76 ἔνθα.. ἔχοντ; 34 βλέπων=55 -τραπῶν; 52 ἔξοχοι=92 ἔξοχῶ; 54 ποδὶ=70 ποτὶ; 59 θάνατον=75 -θέμινος; 66 ἔδραν=74 ἔδαν V 6 τέρεναν=30 ἔπειρα; 7 Νηρηίδων=25 σεμνὰν Θέτιν; 8 -ραιρεν=44 -ραρεν; 10 Ἑλλανίων=22 ἐν Πολίῳι; 33 ἀπα=51 ἀνά; 39 θρασεί=45 -ράτεις VI 2 -μενα=9 -μναι; 5 νόον=12 Νεμέ=34 ἔνεκ=56 λέγει; 10 πεδίῳν=32 -ερίδων; 13=57 μεθέπων; 15 -νεσιν=37 -νεσι; 19=41 -μενος; 20 λάβαν=64 ἄλμας; 40=62 -ἔδαν VII 2 σθενέ=73 σθένος; γέειτετρα 23 παρίοισι; 4 τεῖν=ἐτάν Boeckh, ἐτάν Bergk, ἐάν or ἐάν codd.=75 ἔα; 'Ηβαν=12 ἀλκαί=96 ἄλκάν; 6 εἵργει=14 ἔργους=77 εἵρειν; ἔτερον ἔτερα= (35 Νεοπόλεμος ἐ- Christ, Νεοπτόλεμος codd. Schroeder)=48 τρία Γέπια δι=56 -σαν ἀνελόμενον=98 -σθενεία βίοντον; σὺν=14; 8 εὐδοξος=100 εὐδαίμων; 10 -ακιδᾶν μάλα=31 'Αἶδα πέσε; -πειρον=86 ξείνον; ἀμφέπειν=73 ἐμπεσεῖν; -έπειν=128 52 ἔχει; 13 ἔχοντι=47 ἐόντα; 17 -αἶον=101 -αἶον; 20 ἔλπομαι=104 ἀμπολεῖν; 21 λόγον=63 κλέος=84 ὅπλιν; πᾶσαν ('olim me bardum et stupidum dicebam' because I could not understand Bergk's ἡ πᾶθ' ὦν, now I rejoice that Schroeder has openly denied that it is Greek) =42 μάχας; 22=93 ἔπει; -ανᾶ=85 πάτραι; 23 -ὄν δ' ἔχει=52 -ὄν δ' ἔχει; 25 δέμεν=46 δόμον; 30 πόλιν=85 πολέ; -εται=43 -έται;

31 ἔν=52 ἐν; -εται=86; 34 χθονός=47 -σκόπον=68 χρόνος; δαπέδοις=89 ἀνέχοι; 36 =70 ἀπο; 45=87 ἔμμεναι; -εναι=74 -εται; 48 δίκαν=90 Γῆγαν; 53 τέρπιν=74 τερπιν; 68 μαθῶν=97 -βάτων; 69 ἐν πάρ=98 εἰ γάρ VIII 3 ἑτέροις=37 ἑτεροι; 5=39 ἐπι; 6=23 ἀμφ; 8 ἄριστος=25 μέγιστον; 9 ᾧ=38 ἀδῶν; 14 ἀστῶν=31 ἄλλων; φέρων=48 -φορον IX 3 Ἑλ Χρομί=81 μὲν βρομί=43 ἐν κονί; Χρομί=28 Κρονί; 4 παίδεσσ=14 παῖδες; αἰδάν=49 φωνά; 5 ἐπόπταις=50 προφάταν; 6 λόγος ἀνθρώπων=41 πόρον ἀνθρώποι; 7 δ' ἐπέων=17 Δαναῶν; 8 ἀνά=18 ἄγα; μὲν βρομίαν=43 ἐν κονίαι; 11=51 -αἰσι (17 Bergk's proposed λαγέται=42 ἀμέραις); 22 ἱππεί=32 -ἱπποί=52 ἱπποί; 25 βαθύ=40 βαθν; 26 μαχατάν=50 βιατάν; 27 (μαχατάν) θυμόν=37 θυμὸν (αἰχματάν)=47 κῆδος; 29=54 ταυτάν; ἀνά=34 παρά; 33=48 -εται; 35 ἔκρινας=50 ἐγκρινά; 38 ποτὶ=48 -πόσι; 44=54 σὺν; 45 λαχῶν=50 -ᾶτω X 1 Δαναοδ=79 καμάτον; χαρίτες=73 -δαρίδας; 2 φλέγεται=44 μάλα=62 γένετ; 3 ἔργων=75 τέγγων; (θρασ)έων=39 ἐὼν (Θρασ-); 4 -έος=58 θεός; 5 πολλὰ=41 ὁμμά; παλάμας=59 πολέμωι; 6 -ψαφον=12 καρπὸν; 8=56 ἱπ; βέλειςιν=38 θαμάκις; 9 -μοιο=57 -μοῖον; 10 ἀριστεύει=28 'Αδραστείωι=46 ἀριθμῆσαι; 11 Ζεὺς=29 Ζεῦ; Δανάν=65 παλάμας; μολῶν=83 φυγῶν; λόγον=23 κρίσιν (=41 -τρόφον by Rauchenstein's conjecture) =77 ἀναξ; 12 φρενῶν=78 -μένωι; 13 θρέψε=67 ἔνθεν; 18 ἀλοχος'Ηβα=36 ἔμολεν'Ηρας; μάτηρ=72 -ᾶ δ' ἔρις; 20 ἀνθρώπων=62 -ων πάντων; 22 λάβε=28 δαπέ=82 ἄγε; 24 -φόρων (. . πόνων)=78 πόνωι; 26 καὶ τόν=80 καὶ τόδ; -ροσαι=44 κρόκαις; 31 περί=85 περί; 32 ἐσχαίων=68 ἔμβολον; 35 ἐλαίας=53 θάλειαν; 38 -ίτεσσο=44 -ιέσσο; -έσσι=80 ἐσσί; 44 ἐπιέσσο=80 ἔπος Ἑσσί; 48 δρόμωι.. σθένει=60 χολω.. ἀκμᾶι (Ραυω, αἰχμᾶι); σὺν=84; 50 Πολυδεύκεος.. σφίσιν=68 Πολυδεύκεος.. φλάσαν; 54 μάλα=72 ἄμα=90 ἀνά; 59 φθιμένον=83 θάνατον; 60 λόγχα=84 ἐγχεῖ; 75 θερμά=81 σπέρμα XI 3 θάλαμον=35 ἀνάγων; 7 θεῶν=17 χρεῶν; 22 γονέων.. βίαν=38 γενεαῖς.. σθένος; 25 καὶ παρ=36 Isthmia I 1 τὸ τεόν=58; 10 στεφάνους=21 στεφάνων; 15 χερσί=66 χεῖρα; 23 δρόμοις=57; 36 -ειδόμειον=53 -ειβρομένους II 3 ῥίμφα.. ἐτόξενον=35 μακρά.. ἀκοντίσσαιμ; 5 εἰθρόνον=26 χροσέας; 18 πόρε=39 ποτε; 24 ἔργον=35 ὄργαν; 35 δισκήσας=40 ἐμπνεύσας III (rhymes with IV) 1 τυχήσας=43 τύχουσι; 3 sense cf. 3 21 27 39; 4 μεγάλα=64 Μεγάρ; ἔποντ=46 λεόντ; 5 ἐκ σέθεν=5 σὺν θεῶι; -πιζομένον=29 -ριζόμενοι; 7 χρῆ μὲν ὑμῆσαι τὸν ἔσλον=43 κείνον ἄψα πρὸς τὸν ἔσλον; 10 γλυκεῖαν=22 παλαιάν; 11 ἐν βάσσαισιν=65 ἐν θυβαῖσιν;

12 νάται . . Θήβαν = 60 ἀναξ . . Ἡρας ; 13 = 13
 ἀρετάν IV 1 θεῶν = 43 Μοισῶν ; 2 Μέλισσ' =
 44 Μελῖρσ- ; 3 see on III 3 ; 5 = 11 τέλος ;
 7 τιμόεντ- = 37 -τίμακεν ; 10 ζωὼν = 22 φάμαν ;
 12 -εἰαῖς = 42 αἰεῖ ; 23 -ομένα = 47 -αμένα ;
 29 ἔρι- = 41 ἐπί ; 32 ἰέσθαι = 50 ἰδῆσθαι ;
 34 ἀνδρῶν = 70 ἀνῆρ ; 36 μομφάν = 54 ὄφρα ;
 38 κατὰ = 62 -ματα ; 46 -βρεμε = 64 τέκε ; 47
 ᾧ τ' ἀνα = 59 ἀθανά ; ἰσχει = 65 -ίξει ; 55
 Ἀλκμάνας = 61 Ἀλεκτράν V 1 πολυ- = 22
 πόλιν ; 2 σέο = 23 θεο- ; σέο γ' ἕκατ- = 8 κλέος
 ἔπραξ- ; ἕκατ- = 29 ; 3 χρυσόν = 45 πύργος ;
 6 τιμάν = 54 τιμᾷ ; 10 ποδῶν = 25 πόνων ;
 18 Φυλακίδα = 60 Φυλακίδαι ; 22 -νομον = 28
 χρόνον ; 23 θεο- = 29 Διός ; 24 κόμπων = 51
 κούχαμ- ; 29 Διός = 44 δια- ; 33 γέρας . . ἐν
 Ἀργεῖ = 48 κελα- . . ἐν Ἀρεῖ ; 33 b Πολυ- =
 48 b πόλιν ; 47 κύνων = 53 -εινώ VI 1 ἀνδρῶν
 = 10 ἀνθρώ- ; -ίου = 60 ; 2 μελέ = 61 Νεμέ- ;
 7 Φυλακίδα = 57 Φυλακίδαι ; τρίτον = 32 ἴσον ;
 9 -φθόγγος = 34 -φθόγγον ; 12 ἐπήρατον = 37
 κελήσατο ; 15 αἶδαν = 31 -αμίαν ; 28 -αχον ἐς
 = 62 -αγον ἐς VII 5 -αμένα = 22 ἀρετάν ; 15
 Πυθίος (Tricl.) = 49 Λοξία ; 18 = 40 ὅ τι VIII
 3 = 43 -έτω ; 5 καίπερ = 25 παῖδες ; λυθέντες =
 15 τραφέντα ; 7 κακῶν = 27 γαμῶι ; 8 πόνων =
 38 ποδῶν ; 11 -μᾶτον = 21 νᾶσον ; 13 πρό
 ποδός = 33 -ρον γόνον = 53 -οντό ποτ- ; (σκοπεῖν
 Thiersch = 33 τεκεῖν) ; 15 -οισι = 45 -οισιν ;
 18 βασιλέι (Schmid) = 48 Ἀχιλλεύς ; 25 ἀρί-
 στενον = 65 ἐνίκασε ; 29 ἕξαν (Schmid) = 69
 -έχει (Tricl.) ; 30 θεῶν = 60 θεᾶν ; 34 κρέσσον
 = 54 Μέμνον- ; 35 λεχέων = 45 ἐπέων ; 37
 -ποδῶν = 47 σποφῶν ; 41 = 50 πεδῶν ; 45 καρπός
 = 65 ἄβρον ; 58 ἐπί = 68 Ἐπι-.

The list is nearly complete: I have no doubt that another inquirer, working over the same ground, will find something to strike out, something to add; it is hard to maintain the same standard in considering this matter, especially for the first time. Others must do the work over again.—I will remark that Pindar makes use of rhyme to bind his odes together. Thus it is easy to see how the last epode of the first Pythian is linked to the rest of the poem. Another case, where I will allow myself, for once, to consider a 'Bury-responson', is that of an ode which I choose simply because it is a favourite with me, the third Pythian. This beautiful poem is built up, in a mood of resignation, on the theme of 'lifting up,' either out of hell or out of affliction. The third verse, with its lovely cadence, strikes the note, ζῶνεν τὸν ἀποχόμενον, and this is echoed in 56 ἀνδρ' ἐκ θανάτου κομίσαι. ἀλκτῆρα νόσον 7 is answered by ἔστασαν ὀρθοὺς 53, a motive repeated in 96 ἔστασαν ὀρθὴν (καρδίαν) and to this attention is directed by the rhyme with 80 ὀρθὴν ἐπίσταται.

Well, however one may use them in the details of interpretation, there the facts are, and I need not insist on them. Rhyme exists in Greek poetry: why? why does it exist in any poetry? Mezger's facts are no longer isolated: they fall into their place, and can no longer be explained away.¹ I amused myself, for a while, by using Mr. Cook's solvent—and some others, that occurred to me—on the rhymes in the fourth Pythian: they were eaten away, one by one. I made to myself, among other objections, that which most people would use (it is just like Wilamowitz' objection to the Attic archetype of Homer), that so many of these rhymes consisted merely of participial endings, and the like; things that must rhyme, anyhow, and must sometimes correspond. 'Must rhyme anyhow': well, out of what other material does rhyme arise? the language must have a tendency that way. And then, after playing the devil's advocate, I read my list once more and I was once more convinced. Why, I would not rate the evidence of the fourth Pythian as high as that of the twelfth Olympian, with its single rhyme. The facts exist: they can be, they must be, analysed more closely than I have done, they must receive fuller explanation: but they cannot be explained away.

Otto Schroeder (prolegomena II⁹⁴), who also has his theory of unconscious iteration to explain repetition at short distance, dismisses contemptuously the futilities of those who observe repetitions 'oculis potius quam auribus

¹ While contesting Mr. Cook's perhaps most important conclusion, I by no means wish to meddle with the general argument of his paper. But there is one poem I must rescue from his hands, Apuleius' Ἀνεχόμενος ex Menandro (anth. lat. 114 ap. Baehrens PLM IV p. 104). If the assonances there are unconscious, then I expect someone to argue that the alliteration of *Clasped and clothed in the cloven clay* did not strike the poet's ear and that when he put *Nepheleidia* at the end of the *Heptalogia* he was seriously trying to show how the other six should have written. That poem of Apuleius does not belong to ancient literature at all; it stands among the beginnings of a new music; it foretells an invasion of rhyme from the end into the middle parts of the verse, a marination of the whole line in rhyme, assonance, and alliteration. This we may perceive in its primitive form here or in *Nor Mars his sword nor warres quick fire shall burne* or in the well-known *En robe d'or il adore* of Verlaine's *Parsifal* sonnet (exactly the *malas adorent ore* of Apuleius); more subtly in *Descendre à travers ma rêverie en silence* or *Las de l'amer repos où ma paresse offense* (where *paresse* stands to *repos*, for sound, as Ἐλένα to νεφέλα and is nearer in sense); it is this that gives all its terrible force to the word *mal* in the line *Similmente il mal seme d'Adamo*, which is hardly anything but veiled rhyme and assonance from the first syllable on.

aut fastidiosis atque insanis potius auribus quam graecis.' The 'Orakelton' of Wilamowitz is catching; but I am sceptical as to the possibility of anyone hearing Pindar 'graecis auribus.' Our memory is not, in these matters, that of the Greeks: we stand to them, I think, in the same relation as a layman to a musician, if both hear a new symphony for the first time. I conjecture that the recurrence of the same musical phrase would assist the perception of the rhyme. Else it were vain labour to rhyme the fourth Pythian.

BACCHYLIDES is taken off my hands by Blass. But the reader must be warned that he counts as rhyme every possible repetition, down to that of two consonants (e.g. γλ in fr. 20 as constructed by him vv. 1, 9). Thus, to look at his pages, you would imagine that you were being admitted to a 'revel of rhymes,' but it is quite otherwise: Bacchylides is true to himself nor is he extravagant. I will go through the *Theseus*, first, in order not to fill more space with examples, and secondly because Blass' method of notation makes my head turn when I try to check a longer ode. A few rhymes, which Blass has dropped, and which I found lying in my path without searching for them, are bracketed. 1 -*ân* = 16 -*ân*; 4 = 34 -*ân*; 5 -*ôs* = 20 -*os*; 6 (ῥι' = 21 Κρονί-); ῥρ = 36 -*op*-; -*ρι*' = 51 -*ρι*-; 9 -*ων* = 24 -*ôn*-; -*ων* = 39 -*ων*-; 10 -*λας* βίαι = 55 Λαμνίαν; (βίαι = 40 σθένος); 12 -*τῶν* = 57 -*των*-; 15 = 60 -*ας*-; 19 -*όν* τ' = 34 -*οντ*-; 21 -*αίου* = 51 -*αίτου*-; 25 -(*ρ*)*ων*- = 40 -(*ρ*)*ῶν*-; 30 = 45 τελείται; 32 = 47 λέγει; 35 -*ον* σύν = 50 -*ον* κν-; 38 = 53 καὶ . . -*ον*-; 44 -*τυ*- = 59 -*τύ*-. Brave rhymery, indeed! But, to be fair, let us take the first strophe of III, where things are slightly better. There faces you the very first word ἀριστοκάρπου printed thus Ἀρι-*σ*-*τ*ό*κα**ρ**π**ου*: the rhymes are made up thus 57 ἀ*π**ι**σ**τ**ο**ν* (why did not Blass space the first syllables?) 5 -*το* γὰ*ρ* (and he might have taken -*οῦ* from ναοῦ 19). 1 -*ουσάν* = 71 Μουσάν; 2 = 5 -*αν* (where -*δίναν* is spaced because of this and δίν*ας* 44); 3 it looks as if ἔμ*ν**ει* had a full rhyme, but there are only -*μειν* 31 -*τειν* 49; 4 Ἰέρων*ος* is all spaced out, I find Ἰέρων in 64 92 but no -*ος* except the unspaced last syllable of ἀριστος 22.

There remain the fragments. For Pindar I simply follow Schroeder, for the others

Hiller-Crusius, not questioning their arrangement or reading.

PINDAR 107: 5 -*νμένα* = 14 -*ομέναν*; 6 νεώ- = 15 -*νέω*-; 8 Θήβ*αις* = 17 θήσ*εις* 122: 3 χλω*ρ*ās = 8 ῥ*ας* 123: 2 δρα*κ*είς = 5 θρά*σ**ει* 124: 3 = 6 -*ύσοιο*.

SIMONIDES 3 (Bergk 5) 1 γένεσθ*αι* χαλεπόν = 10 γένεσθ*αι* δυνατόν; 7 πράξ*ας* = 14 πάν*τας*: 9 τοῦ*ς* κε θεοὶ φιλέ*ον*τι = 16 οὐδ*ε* θεοὶ μάχον*ται* 22 (Bergk 37) 1 πέν*ων* = 10 -*νέμων*-; 3 παρει*ᾱς* = 12 πρόσ*ω*πον. HYBRIS I need only mention.¹

I have searched stanzaic poetry for rhyme (which would be rhyme in our sense of the word) and have not found anything, in the classic period, which counts: for I do not suppose that one can lay much stress on Sappho I 21 διώξ*ει* 22 δώσ*ει* or IV 1 ἔδω*ρ* 2 ἔσδω*ν* 3 φύλλ*ων* (Smyth retains ὄσδω*ν*, which Wilamowitz *Homericische Untersuchungen* 315 had dismissed to the 'Rumpelkammer' along with ἀκοῖ*σαι* and the like). But there exists one plain bit of evidence that, in the post-classic period, if not before, such rhyme was a recognized element of verse. No. 425 of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri runs thus:

ναῦται βυθοκυματοδρόμοι,
ἀλίων Τρίτωνες ἰδάτ*ων*,
καὶ Νειλῶται γλυκνδρόμοι
τὰ γελῶντα πλέοντες ἰδά*τα*,
τὴν σύνκρισιν εἶπα*τε*, φίλοι,
πελάγους καὶ Νείλου γονί*ου*.

γλυκνδρόμοι, I think, rather 'who speed amid the fresh waters,' as opposed to the ἀλίων Τρίτωνες ἰδάτ*ων*, than 'with happy course,' and this poet must also have meant by σύνκρισιν the 'meeting' or 'mingling' of the waters. What it all means, I cannot precisely say; but it is not my purpose to comment on this queer relic: I merely wish to point out that in the first four lines we have the common quatrain rhyme-scheme A B A B.

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SYDNEY, August 1905.

¹ If Blass is right in making his fr. 4 of Bacchylides antistrophic, he might keep his one-syllable rhyme in 11 and at once fill the measure and explain the loss by inserting δ*α*ί*α* before δ*ά*μ*να*ται. It is true that the word does not occur in our Bacchylides.

NOTES ON DEMETRIUS *περὶ ἑρμηνείας*.

4. THE cola of a sentence should not be very long, ἐπεὶ τοὶ γίγνεται ἄμετρος ἢ σύνθεσις ἢ δισπαράκοι οὐκ ὀρθοί.

As ἄμετρος here means only out of proportion, excessive in amount, we ought perhaps to read καὶ for ἢ. The two things go together and are almost one, not alternative.

15 τῶν δὲ τὰς πυκνὰς περιόδους λεγόντων οὐδ' αἱ κεφαλαιὶ ῥαδίως ἐστᾶσιν . . οἱ τε ἀκούοντες ναυτιῶσι.

There seems no point in οὐδέ. Read οὐθ', which connects with the τε following, as in 19. Perpetual periods, he says, make both speakers dizzy and hearers sick.

25 (κῶλα) παρόμοια τοῖς ἐπ' ἀρχῆς (in respect of, by virtue of their beginning) . . ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ τέλους.

Radermacher's citations do not at all support this use of ὡς, for they all refer to something in the mind, while ὡς ἐπὶ τέλους here is purely objective and matter of fact. Perhaps ὡς, like ἢ in 4, is a mistake for καί, both confusions being well known.

66 ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ὀδράκοντες δὲ πού, φησὶν, ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Κακασῷ μέγεθος, καὶ μέγεθος καὶ πλῆθος.

The words (which he gives as an example of repetition, ἀναδίπλωσις) are not to be found in Herodotus, and as they stand they are not intelligible. The second difficulty is however easy to surmount. Probably the phrase intended was something like μέγεθος <θωμάσιοι>, καὶ μ. καὶ π. 'astonishing in size, both in size and in number.'

95 ποιεῖ δὲ μάλιστα μεγαλοπρέπειαν διὰ τὸ οἶον ψόφοις εἰκέναι, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ ξένῳ.

Is not the first μάλιστα an accidental repetition of the second?

103 ἔνια γὰρ μὴ ῥηθέντα μείζονα φαίνεται καὶ ἱπονοηθέντα μᾶλλον.

After the downright μὴ ῥηθέντα a μᾶλλον seems out of place. Perhaps we should read μόνον.

116 ὅταν διθυραμβώδης συντελῇ ἢ διπλωσις τοῦ ὀνόματος. Perhaps διθυραμβώδως. Cf. 91 διθυραμβικῶς συγκείμενα. Such a mistake is common enough.

121 ἑρμηνείων ὁμοιον τῷ Τηλεβόᾳ ποταμῷ.

Probably ποταμόν. 'One like the river

Teleboas' is hardly possible for 'a river like the Teleboas.'

137 ὅταν τὸ αὐτὸ μηχανόμενον ἄχαρι γένηται.

As he means not 'has become' but 'becomes,' this should be γίγνεται.

In 216 editors correct γινόμενα to γενόμενα.

143. He quotes from some poet unnamed

δέσποτα Πλούτων μελανοπερίγῳ,
τουτὶ δεινὸν πρὸ πτερύγων
αὐτὸ ποίησον.

πρὸ πτερύγων, which is of course metrically insufficient as well as difficult in meaning, may perhaps represent πρὸς τῶν πτερύγων, 'by thy (or their) wings I adjure thee.' For the apparently pointless αὐτό I would suggest the repetition of τοῦτο. τουτὶ shows the fragment to be due to a comic poet, or at least to a poet of little elevation.

158 ἔσται . . ἐμφαίνει.

Future and present together are unlikely. We might alter either.

164 τὸ δὲ γελοῖον καὶ <δί> ὀνομάτων εὐτελῶν? Just above we have had ἐκφέρεται καὶ δί' ὀνομάτων καλῶν, and without διὰ the genitive lacks construction.

169 ἔνθα μὲν γὰρ γέλως τέχνη καὶ χαρίτων.

'Sometimes humour and grace go together.' This seems imperfectly expressed unless we add something, e.g. reading <καί> γέλως, or <ἄμα>.

So in 7 I think καί has been omitted before αἱ Λιταί.

222 συνετὸς ἑαυτῷ δοκεῖ διὰ σὲ τὸν ἀφορμὴν παρσχηκότα αὐτῷ τοῦ συνιέναι

τόν may be right, but I suspect it should be τήν. The construction is that of Thuc. 8. 76. 5 δι' αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ προκαθημένους: 6. 80. 2 δι' ἡμᾶς μὴ συμμαχήσαντας: 5. 16. 1: Dem. 18. 32 διὰ τούτους οὐκ ἐπεισθέντας (τούς after τούτους not in Σ), etc.

226 φαίνεται seems a mistake for ἐφαίνεται. The sense needs that, and in the Platonic MSS. the word is ἐδοξεν.

237 καὶ <ἐπὶ> τοῦ Φαλαρίδους τοῦ τυράννου ἔφη τις, as in 218, 236, 285 (by Sauppe's restoration for ἐπεὶ, etc. The genitive, as in 164, needs a preposition.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

AD MUSONIUM RUFUM.

(*C. Musonii Rufi reliquiae* ed. O. HENSE. *MCMV Lips. Teubn.*)¹

Ob elegans hoc et perutile munusculum quantum editoris acumini industriae doctrinae debeamus, et statim inspicienti non potest non occurrere et plene ubertimque expositum est a v. cl. P. Wendland (*Berl. Philol. Wochenschrift* 26 Jahrg. 1906, No. 7, pp. 197 sqq.); quod debitum, ut solvendo non sumus, ita optime adgnosce nobis videmur si quantulumcumque potuerimus ad emendatiorem libelli statum pro virili parte contribuemus.

Sect. II p. 6, 5 Πάντες, ἔφη, φύσει πεφύκαμεν οὕτως, ὥστε ζῆν ἀναμαρτήτως καὶ καλῶς, οὐχ ὁ μὲν ἡμῶν, ὁ δ' οὐ καὶ τούτου μέγα τεκμήριον ὅτι κτέ.

Praestare videtur <"Οτι> πάντες —, καὶ τοῦτο (sic F) μέγα τεκμήριον ὅτι κτέ., cf. p. 7, 8 καὶ μὴν κἀκεῖνο μέγα τεκμήριον τοῦ μετεῖναι ἀρετῆς φύσει ἡμῖν κτέ. Conferatur adnotatio critica ad p. 99, 4.

Sect. VII p. 29, 16 προθυμότερους πονεῖν τοὺς τὰ κρείττω μετιόντας <ῆ> οἷς ἐλπίδες μακρὰ τῶν πόνων εἰσίν.

Propter Codicis Br¹ lectionem ἐλπίδες τῶν μακρῶν πόνων (sine ῆ) et Codicis A² superscriptionem μεγάλαι, olim scriptum fuisse suspicor ἐλπίδες μακρὰι (sine ῆ).

Sect. XVI p. 85, 7 οὐκουν ἀνέξῃ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐν μουσικοῖς, ἐὰν ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἐπαῖων μουσικῆς προστάτῃ κρούειν ἀμούσως τὴν λύραν, ἥ ἐπιστάμενος γράμματα οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος κελυῆ σε γράφειν καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν μὴ ὡς ἑμαθες, ἀλλ' ἐτέρως· οὐδὲ γε ἂν ἐπιστάμενον κυβερνᾶν οὐκ ὦν κυβερνητικός κελυῆ σε κινεῖν τὸ πηδάλιον ὡς οὐ προσήκει, οὐ προσέξεις αὐτῷ.

Quid potest esse evidentius quam genuinum esse id quod exhibet A²: ὦν μουσικός? Praeterea post προστάτῃ, quod in A correctum est, excidisse videtur <σοι>.

Sect. XVII p. 90, 6 ἐπεὶ μῦθ' ἐν θεοῖς μῦθον ὑπονοῆσαι κρείττον ἔχομεν φρονήσεως κτέ.

Aut omnia me fallunt aut 'cogitare' est ἐπινοῆσαι; cf. 12 τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἐπινοοῦμεν τὸν θεόν.

Sect. XVIII^A p. 98, 11 δεῖ γὰρ μηδαμῶς τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα δούλου μηδενὸς εἶναι μαλακώτερον.

μηδέν?

¹ Pagg. xxxvi et 148. Pret. Marc. 3. 20.

Sect. XVIII^B p. 100, 12 τοὺς ὀψοφάγους ἀντὶ ἀνθρώπων ὑσὶν ἢ κυσὶν ὁμοιουμένους τὴν λαβρότητα κτέ.

Supplendum esse <διὰ> τὴν λαβρότητα et per se perspicuum est et ostendit locus e Clemente Alexandrino citatus.

Sect. XX p. 112, 16 τεκμήρια δὲ τούτων αἱ τῶν ἐφήβων ἐκεῖ (ἐν Λακεδαίμονι) καρτερήσεις, ἐθιζομένους φέρειν λιμόν τε καὶ δίψας, καὶ μετὰ τούτων ῥῆγος, ἔτι δὲ πληγὰς καὶ πόνους ἄλλους . . . σεμνοῖς ἔθουσιν οἱ παλαιοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τραφέντες ἀριστοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦσαν κτέ.

Aut ante σεμνοῖς excidit <ἐν οἷς>, aut in ipso latet; cf. p. 3, 2 οἱ μὲν ἐν ἔθουσι κρείττοσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν χείροσι τετραμμένοι.

Sect. XXIV p. 119, 9 Κἂν ἡδονῇ κανονιστὸν ῆ τὰ ἀρεστά, οὐδὲν τῆς σωφροσύνης ἡδίων· κἂν πόνῳ κανονιστὸν ῆ τὰ φευκτά, οὐδὲν τῆς ἀκρασίας ἐπιπονώτερον.

De rebus expetendis et fugiendis, περὶ τῶν αἰρετῶν καὶ φευκτῶν, disputari solet inter philosophos.

Sect. XLV p. 128, 19 οὕτως καὶ 'Ρούφος πειράζων με εἰώθει λέγειν 'συμβήσεται σοι τοῦτο καὶ τοῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου.' κάμου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποκριναμένου ὅτι ἀνθρώπινα, 'τί οὖν' ἔφη 'ἐκεῖνον παρακαλῶ παρὰ σοῦ αὐτὰ λαβεῖν δυνάμενος;' τῷ γὰρ ὄντι, ὃ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τις ἔχει, περισσὸς καὶ μάταιος παρ' ἄλλου λαμβάνων.

Utinam editor, sicut in antecedenti fecerat sectione (p. 128, 1-7), ex Epicteto praemisisset illa quibus conexa haec sunt: οὕτως καὶ —; quamquam ne sic quidem satis essent lucida. Solus Meibomius, παρακαλῇ scribens, locum intellexisse mihi videtur, in eo tamen errasse quod formam verbi *mediam* dedit, ab Epicteti genere dicendi abhorrentem. Scribatur itaque παρακαλεῖς. Obiter monendum est verbum *συμβήσεται* in bonam partem esse accipiendum, de quo haerebat Schweighäuser (Epict. ed. Schw. II. p. 140): conferatur Epict. iv 7, 21 (p. 370, 14 Schenkl).

Sect. XLVII p. 129, 15 'Ρούφος τις ἔλεγεν Γάλβα σφαγέντος ὅτι 'νῦν προνοῖα ὁ κόσμος διοικεῖται;' ὁ δὲ 'μὴ παρέργως ποτ' ἔφη, 'ἀπὸ Γάλβα κατεσκέυασα, ὅτι προνοῖα ὁ κόσμος διοικεῖται;'

Corais coniecturam μὴ γὰρ ἐγώ σοί ποτ' (cf. *Class. Rev.*, xx 1 p. 17) reiecit editor scholio fretus: ὡς εἰκεν οὗτος οὐκ ἦν φιλόσοφος, ὃν ἐπιρραπίζει ὁ φιλόσοφος 'Ρούφος λέγων

ὅτι παρέργως φιλοσοφεῖ· ἔδει γὰρ σέ φησι προηγουμένως κατασκευάζειν, ὅτι ἔστι πρόνοια καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ Γάλβα· ἐγὼ γὰρ τοῦτο φησιν οἷκ ἐποίησα· verum quidquid significat παρέργως—sive 'obiter' (Schweigh.) sive quid aliud—omne quod improbandi gratia additur adverbium inepte additur, ubi conclusionis pravitas (ἀπὸ Γάλβα κατασκευάσας) iam per ipsum hoc ἀπὸ Γάλβα denotatur; modo patria lingua veritas: videbis aut hoc aut illud ferri posse, non autem utrumque. Qui sic verba struere volet: μὴ παρέργως, ἀπὸ Γάλβα δηλονότι, κατασκευάσας; misere diluet responsionis concinam et acutam brevitem. Id persentiens scholiasta, ut tamen aliquo modo sese extricaret, in interpretatione sua παρέργως alio transtulit! huic tamen ignoscendum, siquidem verba illa 'ἔνν πρόνοια ὁ κόσμος διοικείται,' pro exclamatione, non pro interrogatione, ceperat, ut apparet ex hac scholii parte: ἔδει γὰρ σέ φησι προηγουμένως κατασκευάζειν, ὅτι ἔστι πρόνοια.

Typothetae errori tribuo, p. 7, 20 τοῦτ' οὖν τίνας ἄλλου τεκμήριον ἔστιν ἢ τοῦ φυσικὴν εἶναι ὑποβολὴν τῇ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχῇ πρὸς καλοκάγαθίαν καὶ σπέρμα ἀρετῆς ἐκάστω ἡμῶν ἐνεῖναι. pro ἐνεῖναι;—p. 13, 16 ἀνθρώπους δὲ τοὺς ἄρρενας ἐξαίρετον τι ἄρα δεήσει ἔχειν ἐν τῇ παιδείᾳ καὶ τροφῇ παρὰ τὰς θηλείας, πρὸ θηλείας;—p. 21, 10 τί οὖν, (pro τί οὖν); εἶπεν ὁ Μουσώνιος, ταῦτα μὲν ταύτῃ ἔχει· cf. p. 10, 19 τί οὖν; ταῦτα μὲν ταύτῃ ἔχει (= p. 85, 13).—p. 66, 10 οὐ γὰρ ἂν δόξειεν εἶναι ἀνεκτόν, οὐ μόνον εἰ κεκτημένην ἀνδρὶ νόμιμοι ἢ γυνὴ προσοῖτο δοῦλον, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ἀνάνδρος οὖσα τοῦτο πράττει; pro πράττει.—p. 30, 1 ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἄρα θανατοποιοὶ δύσκολα οὕτως ὑφίστανται πράγματα—ὥν τὸ σφάλμα θάνατός ἐστιν. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα δρῶσι

μικροῦ χάριν μισθοῦ· ἡμεῖς δ' οὐκ ἀνεξέομθα ταλαιπωρεῖν κτέ. pro ἔστιν· καὶ ταῦτα πάντα—, qua interpolatione parenthesis clarius indicatur.—p. 59, 9 'τί δέ; ἐλευθερώτερον αὐτὸν αὐτῷ μηχανᾶσθαι τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἢ παρ' ἑτέρων λαμβάνειν;' utinam deorum immortalium ritu primi consilii non paenitisset editorem, v. cl. Elteri consilio haec interlocutori rursus adimentem (Addenda, p. 148); neque probo quod p. 89, 12 οὐδὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔξῃν ἂν λέγοιτο κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλ' ὅ τι ἂν μάλιστα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐμφανίζῃ, δι' ὧν πράττει κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν post πράττει leniter distingui vult, cum idem sit πράττειν κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν quod alio loco (p. 93, 4) τὸ ἔξῃν κατὰ φύσιν ἢ χρῆ πράττοντα καὶ διανοοῦμενον. Melius post ἐμφανίζῃ abesset distinctio.—p. 38, 8—p. 39, 2 demonstratur bonum regem necessario et esse philosophum, tum postea (p. 39, 2—p. 40, 7) philosophum esse regem; quo melius error praecaveatur, ultima verba sic distinguenda sunt: καὶ δὴ καὶ βασιλικὸς παραπλησίως τῷ κεκτημένῳ πολλοὺς ὑπηκόους ὁ ἔχων ἓνα ἢ δύο τοὺς πειθόμενους αὐτῷ, μόνον ἐχέτω τὴν τοῦ βασιλεὺς ἐμπειρίαν· ὥστε καὶ βασιλικὸς εἴη ἂν (sc. ὁ φιλόσοφος). Haec (ὥστε καὶ κτέ.) idem valent quod logicorum illud 'Q. E. D.'

In epistula spuria p. 139, 6 πρὸς μὲν θεοὺς εὐσεβεῖν καὶ οὐσιότητι κοσμεῖσθαι, πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δὲ δικαιοσύνην καὶ οὐσιότητι rursus dormitavit typotheta denuo οὐσιότητα intrudens pro ισότητι. Ibidem paulo infra (11) legitur τὸ μὲν αἰτεῖν ἢ μέμφεσθαι θύτερον αὐτῶν (τῶν γονέων) ἀσιβεῖς ἡγήεσθαι, κτέ.; quid hic sibi velit αἰτεῖν nescio: scio ἐγκαλεῖν et μέμψεσθαι iungi solere.

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NOTES ON THE MOSTELLARIA OF PLAUTUS.

I. 662, 680.¹

TRANIO has told Theopropides that his son Philolaches had bought a house (637–658). Theopropides desires to know where this house is situate, but Tranio pretends that he cannot remember the name of the man from whom it was bought. In 662 Theopropides says *age, comminiscere ergo*. In *comminiscere* I see two senses, the innocent one which Theopropides himself intended, and the meaning of 'invent,' 'make up,' as one makes up a lie out of whole cloth. This latter sense is common in

¹ I use Lindsay's text.

Plautus; indeed, Professor Lodge, *Lexicon Plautinum*, s. v., declares that the verb is used 'semper de fictis.' Cf. *Epid.* 281, *Mil.* 226, 232, *Capt.* 531, *Trin.* 516, *Asin.* 102, *Ps.* 689, 1206. Tranio, driven into a corner by his master's insistence, declares in an aside (662–667) that the best thing he can do is to say that Philolaches had bought the house next door. *calidum hercle esse audivi optimum mendacium*, 665, is an instructive commentary on 662. In 668 ff., in answer to an impatient *quid igitur? iam commentu's?* from Theopropides, Tranio asserts that Philolaches had bought the house next door. Theopropides expresses a desire

to inspect it; in 679, 680 he repeats his wish, thus: *evocadum aliquem ocus, roga circumducat*. Could the audience help seeing a double meaning in *circumducat*? In Plautus *circumducere* often = 'lead around by the nose,' 'cheat.' According to Lodge, the examples of this force fall into two classes. In the first we have *circumduco* with a personal accusative, as in *Asin.* 97, or in the passive, with personal subject, as in *Truc.* 874. In the second we have *circumduco* with the accusative of a person and the ablative of a thing, i.e. *circumducere* is treated as = *fraudare, privare*: see *Bac.* 311, 1183, *Poen.* 976, 1287, *Ps.* 431, 634, *Trin.* 859, 959. In *Ps.* 529 we have *ea* (= *fidicina*) *circumducam lepide lenonem*. In eleven passages, then, the meaning 'cheat,' 'cozen' is clear. The literal physical sense is found but thrice: here (combined, I believe, with the derived), *Most.* 843 (see below), *Mil.* 221 *anteveni aliqua et aliquo saltu circumduce exercitum*. This last passage is the clearest, and yet even there the reference is after all to cheating: cheating is described in a military figure.

Presently, *Tranio* calls on the neighbour that he may secure permission for *Theopropides* to inspect his house. In 714 ff. he cries: *Tempus nunc est senem hunc adloqui mihi. Hoc habet: repperi qui senem ducerem, quo dolo a me dolorem procul pellerem*. Here *ducerem* = *circumducerem*, 'cozen,' 'overreach.' When at last *Theopropides* meets the neighbour, the latter bids a slave show him through the house: *Eho, istum, puer, circumduce hasce aedis . . . ego met ductarem, nisi mi esset . . . negotium* (843, 844). Note carefully *Theopropides's* reply: *Apage istum a me perductorem: nil moror ductarier. Quidquid est, errabo potius quam perductet quispiam*. Here he is awake at last, though at 662, 680 he had not seen the possibilities of his own language.

One remark, of course, that when *Tranio* is finally brought to book by *Theopropides* he makes no use of this passage. He might well have defended himself by referring back to *Theopropides's* imperatives in 662, 680, as affording justification for part at least of what he had done; if he chose to quibble, he had his master's express command to overreach that master. *Plautus's* failure to use so effective a point does not, however, invalidate my suggestion. The *Mostellaria* is at once one of the most effective and one of the most impossible of *Plautus's* plays. It has been remarked that *Tranio* makes no use of the information he gained by overhearing *Simo's*

soliloquy in 690-710. The play opens with an effective scene between *Tranio* and *Grumio*, in which the latter, a slave from the country, upholder of proper living, comes off second best. *Plautus* might very easily and strikingly have made *Grumio* an instrument in the undoing of *Tranio* (cf. *Professor Fay's* edition, p. 67), but he did not do so. In this respect *Plautus* failed, as *Terence* failed with his *πρόσωπον προτακόν* in the *Andria*, *Sosia*, though it may be argued that *Terence* had less chance to use *Sosia* than *Plautus* had to use *Grumio*; it is, further, possible for spectator or reader to assume that *Sosia* reported to *Simo extra fabulam*.

II. 832-852.

In his note on 850 *Professor Sonnenschein* said: 'but perhaps the fun of this passage consisted in having not a real dog, but the figure of a dog represented on the threshold, like that in the house of the Tragic Poet at Pompeii.' I agree with this note in believing that we are not to think of a real dog, but I do not believe that we are to think of a mosaic dog. The whole passage, and especially the words *tam placidast (canis) quam feta quaevis*, 852, certainly have more point if we hold there was no real animal present. *Theopropides* is by name (on the principle *κατ' ἀντίφρασιν*) the man who sees nothing at all; *Tranio* in 495 says to him *interdum inepte stultus es!* *Tranio* is hoodwinking him here, as in 833-839 he had hoodwinked him when he invited him and *Simo* to look for a painting (non-existent) showing a cornix and two vulturii.

Now, there is no passage in *Plautus* or *Terence* in which there is a reference to mosaic work, and for good reasons. The evidence seems to show that mosaic work was not introduced into Greece until the third century B.C., and that it was not known in Rome until the time of Sulla.¹ With painting, however, the case is different. Verses 833-839 of the *Mostellaria*, already referred to, of themselves show that *Plautus* could refer to wall-paintings as to something entirely familiar to a Roman audience; the CAVE CANEM incident in *Petronius* 29 is also in point.

I have been at pains recently to collect all references in *Plautus* and *Terence* to painting. Cf. *Asin.* 174, 175 *neque fictum usquamst neque pictum neque scriptum in poematis ubi lena bene agat cum quiquam amante, quae frugi esse volt*; 762-767 *ne*

¹ See Mr. Cecil Smith in *Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities* ii. 397.

epistula quidem ulla sit in aedibus nec cerata adeo tabula; et si qua inutilis pictura sit, eam vendat: ni in quadriduo abalienarit quo aps te argentum acceperit, tuos arbitratu sit, comburas, si velis, ne illi sit cera ubi facere possit litteras (there may be a reference here to encaustic painting; this process was known to the Greeks by Alexander's time, i.e. before Menander's day¹); *Epid. 623-626 usque ab unguiculo ad capillum summumst festivissima. estne consimilis quasi quom signum pictum pulcre aspexeris?* *EP. e tuis verbis meum futurum corium pulcrum praedicas, quem Apella atque Zeuxis duo pingent pigmentis ulmeis*; *Capt. 998-1000 vidi ego multa saepe picta, quae Accherunti fierent cruciamenta, verum enim vero nulla adaeque est Accheruns atque ubi ego fui, in lapidicinis*; *Men. 143-145 dic mi, enumquam tu vidisti tabulam pictam in pariete ubi aquila Catameitum raperet aut ubi Venus Adoneum?* *PE. saepe. sed quid istae picturae ad me attinent?* *Merc. 313-315 si unquam vidistis pictum amatorem, em illic est. nam meo quidem animo vetulus, decrepitu senex tantidemst quasi sit signum pictum in pariete.* In *Poen. 1269* the ἀγαστρίαις has just taken place and Hanno has recovered his long lost daughters; here all three embrace afresh. Agorastocles adulescens, in love with one of the daughters, cries (1271-1273): *o Apella, o Zeuxis pictor, qui numero estis mortui, hoc exemplo ut pingeretis? nam alios pictores nil moror huiusmodi tractare exempla.* We may recall the story that Alexander the Great would have no one but Apelles paint his portrait. In *St. 270, 271* we have: *sed ecce Pinacium eius puerum. hoc vide, satine ut facete atque ex pictura astitit?* Mr. Fennell comments thus: 'So far from standing like a figure in a picture (an allusion to his name) Pinacium is more than half tipsy

¹ Smith, *D. of A.* ii. 392-394.

. . . so that he cannot stand steady, nor when he stops to rest does he at first know where he is.' Cf. also *Eun. 583-585 virgo in conclavi sedet suspectans tabulam quandam pictam: ibi inerat pictura haec, Iovem quo pacto Danae misisse aiunt quondam in gremium imbrem aureum.* *Vid. 35, 36* may also be cited: *mollitia urbana atque umbra corpus candidumst. NI. sol est ad eam rem pictor: atrum fecerit.* *Frag. 31 ff.* seems also to involve a reference to paintings: *nil quicquam factum nisi fabre nec quicquam positum sine loco; auro, ebore, argento, purpura, picturis, spoliis, tum statuis* Cf. also *Asin. 402 non potuit pictor rectius describere eius formam*; *Poen. 1114 formam quidem hercle verbis depinxi probe*; *Phorm. 268.* In *Mil. 1189* Pleusicles says of Palaestrio's plans, *satis placet pictura* (in 1177 ff. Palaestrio had described at length the ornatus thalassicus which Pleusicles was to wear).

The passages show that to the Romans of Plautus's day fresco painting and portrait painting were familiar. We may remember here that before Plautus's time Q. Fabius had been called Pictor.

One other point may be noted. In so far as the passages cited above throw any definite light on the subjects of paintings, we note that the themes all come from mythology: we have Venus and Adonis, Venus and Ganymede, Jupiter and Danae, and scenes in the underworld. Most of the wall-paintings at Pompeii are mythological in character; cf. e.g. Mau-Kelsey *Pompeii* 474, and the fine discussion in Boissier's *Rome and Pompeii*, as translated by Fisher, pp. 370-419.

CHARLES KNAPP.

[Mr. E. S. Thompson has already criticised Prof. Sonnenschein's interpretation in this *Review*, iv. p. 381. He suggests that the dog was a stuffed one.—ED. C.R.]

ON THE SINGING OF TIGELLIUS (HORACE, SAT. I. iii. 7, 8).

TIGELLIUS, according to Horace's account, as it is usually printed in our editions, used to sing

modo summa
voce, modo hac resonat quae chordis quatuor ima.

In dealing with this passage all our editors, so far as I know, have accepted an interpretation which may be said to have become traditional. The poet, they explain, is here speaking in the technical language of Greek music, in which the 'uppermost' string of

the lyre (*ὑπάτη χορδή*) was the one of lowest pitch, while the lowest (called *νήτη*) gave the highest note; accordingly *summa voce* here means 'in a deep bass voice,' and *quae chordis quattuor ima resonat* is a high treble. So far all agree. But when they come to the elucidation of details, it quickly appears from their doubts and divergent views that the matter is by no means so clear as their unanimity on the main issue would lead us to expect. There are in fact, serious difficulties in the way of the traditional interpretation, which demand a more careful examination than they have apparently yet received.

(1) The first and most obvious of these difficulties lies in the fact that *summa voce* had in current usage a meaning just the reverse of the one we seek to attach to it here. The Roman, like the Greek, conception of 'high' and 'low' notes, of 'up' and 'down' the musical scale, was the same as ours. This fact might perhaps be safely taken for granted, the conception is so natural; but there is proof within easy reach. For example Cicero (*De Oratore* 3. 227), after recalling the employment of a *fistula* by Gracchus to control the pitch of his voice, goes on as follows: 'In omni voce, inquit Crassus, est quiddam medium, sed suum cuique voci; hinc gradatim ascendere vocem utile et suave est. Nam a principio clamare agreste quiddam ist, et idem illud ad firmandam est vocem salutare. Deinde est quiddam contentionis extremum, quod tamen interius est quam acutissimus clamor, quo te fistula progredi non sinet et iam ab ipsa contentione revocabit. Est item contra quiddam in remissione gravissimum, quoque, tamquam sonorum gradibus descenditur.' And Quintilian, in an equally instructive passage (11. 3. 41, 42), writes: 'Neque gravissimus autem in musica sonus nec acutissimus orationibus convenit. . . Nam vox, ut nervi, quo remissior, hoc gravior et plenior; quo tensior, hoc tenuis et acuta magis est. Sic ima vim non habet, summa rumpi periclitatur. Mediis ergo utendum sonis.' From these passages it is plain that *summa voce* conveyed to the Roman mind the idea of high pitch associated with that of energy of utterance. Sometimes the latter idea predominates, as in Cicero, *De Oratore* 1. 261; but where pitch is thought of, *summa voce* means *acutissima voce*. If Horace, intending to use a contrary terminology, began his sentence with *modo summa voce*, he defeated his own purpose by misleading his reader at the outset.

Did Horace write *summa voce*? I am not

calling in question the soundness of the text but the correctness of our punctuation. There is something to be said for a different division of the sentence, suggested by rhythm and emphasis. The two superlatives are placed where they stand, of course, for more emphatic contrast; and in reading the lines the emphatic *summa* holds our attention and our voice for a moment, appreciably strengthening the metrical pause at the close of the verse; whereas there is no metrical reason for a pause after *voce*, which is metrically more closely connected with *hac* than with *summa*. According to these indications this is what Horace meant to say:

modo summa,
voce modo hac resonat quae chordis
quattuor ima.

The position of *modo*, in both sentence and verse, will then be the same as in 9. 9:

ire modo ocuis, interdum consistere;

and *summa* is not *summā* (sc. *voce*), but nominative, with its construction held in suspense until it is supplied in the words that accompany *ima*: that is to say, *modo summa* stands for *modo (illa) voce quae chordis quattuor resonat summa*. If anyone thinks the separation of *summa* from *voce* harsh and the ellipsis too bold, he can satisfy himself that Horace is quite capable of both by reading the next few lines:

saepe velut qui
currebat fugiens hostem, persaepe velut qui
Iunonis sacra ferret;

where *qui* is not the subject of *currebat*, which is thrust parenthetically into the first relative clause, usurping the place of its proper verb, *curreret*, of which we get no definite clue till we come to *ferret* at the end of the second relative clause. The ellipsis is certainly bold, but it is quite in Horace's manner. When his sentence contains two parallel or contrasted members having a common construction, he is fond of reserving a part or the whole of the common matter for the second member. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this practice:

C. 1. 12. 26.

hunc equis, illum superare pugnis
nobilem.

E. 2. 3. 189.

neve minor neu sit quinto productior actu.

S. 1. 4. 115.

sapiens, vitatu quidque petitu
sit melius, causas reddet tibi.

E. 2. 1. 24.

foedera regum
vel Gabiis vel cum rigidis aequata Sabinis.

C. 1. 8. 11.

saepe disco,
saepe trans finem iaculo nobilis expedito.

In the light of these and similar examples we can see that Horace may have intended to divide the sentence before us in the way suggested, so as to hold the meaning of *summa* in suspense till it can share with *ima* the reference to the tetrachord; and this division would effectually eliminate the difficulty we have been considering. But before deciding to move our comma for that reason, it will be prudent to examine further and see whether, even with this obstacle removed, the traditional interpretation of the passage can stand. For there are other difficulties, which I will now endeavour to state.

(2) If *summa* and *ima* get their meaning from the Greek musical vocabulary, they designate, in this context, the lowest and the highest note of a single tetrachord. Now these two notes are separated by an interval of only two and a half tones, or about half an octave,—an utterly inadequate range of pitch to express the extremes that Horace obviously has in mind.

(3) The traditional interpretation rests on the assumption that *ὑπάτη* and *νήτη*, which *summa* and *ima* are supposed to represent, are the extreme notes of the tetrachord. As a matter of fact the two names do not both occur in any tetrachord. The nearest they come to one another is in the part of scale corresponding to the old heptachord, in which they apparently originated; at any rate the names were given to the outside strings of that instrument, and to the corresponding notes. The heptachord consisted of two 'conjunct' tetrachords, that is of two tetrachords having the middle string or note (*μέση*) in common. The names were likewise given to the outside notes of the octachord, which consisted of two 'disjunct' tetrachords, so that here they were a whole octave apart. Even this interval would be hardly enough for Horace's purpose, and it is of course excluded by *chordis quattuor*. In the more extended musical scale, which the poet must have had in mind, *ὑπάτη* and *νήτη* occur twice each as the names of notes,

and the lowest note of all is not named *ὑπάτη*.

(4) The traditional interpretation requires us to suppose either that *summa* and *ima* had become established by usage as the Latin equivalents of *ὑπάτη* and *νήτη*, or that they were such apt translations of those terms as to be readily recognized as their equivalents by the poet's readers. Neither of these suppositions appears to be tenable. There was no such established usage. The first Latin treatise on music, the seventh book of Varro's *Disciplinae*, had probably not been published when Horace wrote this satire; and in any event it appears that Varro did not establish a Latin nomenclature for the musical notes. For Vitruvius, who knew Varro's work, says (5. 4. 1) that many of the terms had no Latin equivalents, and he therefore transcribes the Greek forms (*hypate*, *nete*, etc.). Later we find Latin terms established, but those for *ὑπάτη* and *νήτη* are not *summa* and *ima*, but *principalis* and *ultima* (Martianus Capella 9. 942 f.; Boethius, *De Musica* 4. 3). As to aptness of translation, *ima* could hardly be recognized as standing for *νήτη* (= *νέατή*), which properly means, not 'lowest,' but 'last,' and was rightly rendered in the *ultima* of later writers. In the case of *ὑπάτη* translation was difficult, because it was uncertain in which of its various phases of meaning the word was used. The usual explanation is that the name was originally given to the string of lowest pitch because that string was uppermost in position as the lyre was held in playing. This explanation appears to have come from an ancient source: at least we find it in the confused comments of the later scholiasts, though not in Porphyrio. But even so it was merely an ancient opinion, one of several that were current. We must remember that the names of the musical notes were in Horace's time, centuries old, so that their original significance, so far as it had no bearing on their present use, must have long since faded away. This is apparent in the Greek writers on music, from Aristoxenus down, to whom they are as colourless as 'scale' and 'key' and 'treble' are to us. Thus *ὑπάτη* had come to be a mere name of a note. Why it had been originally applied to that note, nobody knew, anybody was at liberty to guess. Some of the Pythagoreans found its origin in their doctrine of the music of the spheres: the gravest note was called *ὑπάτη*, because it is the note of Saturn, the highest of the seven heavenly spheres, while the most acute, as that of the moon, the lowest and last

of the series, was for a similar reason called *νήτη* (Nichomachus, page 6 Meybom). But other Pythagoreans refuted this etymological theory, pointing out that under the physical conditions just the reverse must be true: the moon, the slowest of the heavenly orbs, must produce the dullest note, and Saturn, the swiftest, or rather the still swifter starry sphere above Saturn, must yield the most acute (Nichomachus, p. 33 f.; cf. Cicero, *Somnium Scipionis* 10, and Macrobius, *Commentary* 2. 4). Aristides Quintilianus has a simpler explanation: *ἡ πρώτη* and *ἡ ἔσχατη* signified in archaic usage merely 'first' and 'last' (1. 6, pp. 10, 11). Still another view of the meaning of *ἡ πρώτη* has left its record in the Latin translation *principalis*, mentioned above. On the whole it appears that the translation of the two Greek terms was no simple matter, and that Horace had by no means the sure ground to go upon that he needed in using *summa* and *ima*, with their meanings reversed, for that purpose.

I see no way of maintaining our traditional interpretation in the face of these difficulties: and as these all have their root in the intrusion into the sentence of the Greek technical terms in their supposed *etymological meanings*, one is prompted to inquire whether the poet was really guilty of such pedantry,—whether we cannot find in the proper sense of his words a more satisfactory expression of his obvious meaning, without resorting to the Greek at all. This, so far as *summa* and *ima* are concerned, would be a return to the ancient interpretation; for our modern interpretation, though it has now become traditional, does not go back to the scholiasts, who mention the Greek technical terms, but not as affecting the meaning of the Latin adjectives. The Pseudacro and the Commentator Cruquianus fall into some confusion over the Greek terms, but they both define *summa* as equivalent to *acutissima*. Porphyrio is perfectly clear. He paraphrases the passage thus: *modo clara voce modo pressa*; and adds: *et a tetrachordo hoc ('the latter') sumptum, in quo est gravissimi soni chorda quae hypate dicitur*. He thus associates *hypate* directly with *ima*, and evidently has no thought of its etymological meaning.

The question of interpretation turns upon the meaning of *voce*, and on the construction and meaning of *chordis quattuor*. The latter is usually explained as an ablative ('on the four strings'), *voce* being used here for musical note, either vocal or instrumental. It is true that *vox* is often used of instru-

mental music, but in this use it is still a conscious figure of speech; and because we may speak of 'the voice of the lyre,' it does not follow that we may say a man sings with the voice of the lyre. The *vox* with which Tigellius sang was his own voice, which might be attuned to a given string, but was not sounded upon it. *Chordis* is therefore dative, with the construction aptly illustrated in the passage cited by Krueger from Cicero, *Tusc.* 3. 3: '(gloria) virtuti resonat tamquam imago.' The voice 'echoes' the strings.

The tetrachord, paraphrased in *chordis quattuor*, we are to think of, not as a species of lyre, but as a part of the musical scale, without specification of any particular instrument. It was a system of four notes, of which the two exterior were fixed, and the two interior movable, varying in their positions and intervals according to the kind of scale. We do not need for our present purpose to go into the matter further than to observe two things: first, that the tetrachord was not a mere convenient subdivision of the musical scale, but a complex organic unit, so that the scale took the form of a group of tetrachords rather than of a series of individual notes; and, secondly, that the most obvious difference between any two tetrachords was a difference of pitch. The more extended musical scale consisted of one unattached note at the bottom, and four tetrachords.

In view of these facts, what are we to understand when we are told that a voice in singing echoes or responds to four strings? Evidently that the singer reproduces vocally the notes of a tetrachord as sounded on some stringed instrument, and—which is the main point here—keeps within that range of pitch. The voice that 'responds with lowest pitch (*ima*) to a tetrachord' is, strictly speaking, one that keeps within the range of the lowest tetrachord; or, as we might say less formally, within the lowest quarter of the scale. In like manner a man who sings *voce quae chordis quattuor resonat summa* keeps within the highest quarter; in other words, sings *summa voce*. Thus Horace expresses the extremes of pitch in which Tigellius indulged, not by single notes, but by ranges of notes: which is more appropriate, for Tigellius certainly did not confine himself to a single note at either extreme.

The question how Horace intended to divide his sentence I shall not undertake to decide. Both forms express his meaning, and express it about equally well. Division

after *summa* makes a more symmetrical sentence, but symmetry does not count for much in these studiously informal *sermones*.

There is ancient tradition, represented by Porphyrio, in favour of *summā voce*.

CLEMENT L. SMITH.

REVIEWS.

WILAMOWITZ AND OTHERS ON THE GREEK AND ROMAN WORLD.

Die Kultur der Gegenwart, ihre Entwicklung und ihre Ziele: Teil i, Abteilung viii, *Die griechische und lateinische Literatur und Sprache*. VON U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, K. KRUMBACHER, J. WACKERNAGEL, FR. LEO, E. NORDEN, F. SKUTSCH. Berlin and Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1905. 8vo. Pp. 464 (including index and short bibliography). Price M. 10, geb. M. 12.

THE present volume is the eighth of an encyclopaedic work on the history and tendencies of civilisation. Some parts of the volume, especially the sections on the languages themselves, seem carefully to avoid presupposing any knowledge of the languages which they treat of. *ὁ βασιλεύς* for instance is written in Italian characters with a German translation, but the book will doubtless be read principally by classical students. Its design, however, is not to serve as a compendious manual of facts, but rather to be a brief critical appreciation of the two literatures and languages, to give the ordinary student the most modern views and estimates of the various epochs of Greek and Latin literature and of the principal Greek and Latin authors, and to correct the false perspective in which the student of the *Schulautoren* often regards the whole subject. A book written with this purpose must above all things be illuminating. It must on every page answer the question why the modern *Gebildeter* should read the author or the language of which it treats. On the whole it may be claimed for the book that it realises this object. It is divided into six sections, which treat of Ancient Greek Literature, Mediaeval and Modern Greek Literature, and the Greek Language, and the three corresponding topics in Latin. The significance for modern times of the successive literary periods and their continuous organic development is well brought out, and there are brief but often most suggestive accounts of

all the principal Greek and Roman writers. It is interesting to note the amount of space assigned to the various periods, for the whole scheme of the work shows that the amount of space assigned to any period is to be the index of its importance.

Ancient Greek Literature is dealt with by von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf in 236 pages out of the 451 of the whole book. Of these 236 pages only 46 are devoted to the great Attic period. The comparatively lengthy treatment which early Christian literature receives is justified by the title of the general work (*die Kultur der Gegenwart*), but it is somewhat paradoxical to devote, as Wilamowitz does, considerably more space (60 pages) to Hellenistic literature than is granted to Attic, although all that is said about the period is most interesting. This preferential treatment is described by the author himself as a protest against 'the orthodox unfairness.' The fact, however, that this literature has failed to survive—a fact which, when reading Wilamowitz on Cleitarchus or Duris for example, one is apt to forget—is surely a reason for treating it a little less fully in '*Die Kultur der Gegenwart*.' As regards details of treatment, it is hard to single out anything in particular, where nearly everything is treated so suggestively. Perhaps the best parts of this section are those dealing with those authors who diverge most widely from the moderns either in form or style. For example, the peculiar social and literary conditions under which Sappho and Pindar wrote are happily brought out in a few lines which give more insight into their characters and spirits than many whole commentaries and elaborate introductions. The account of the rise of the drama is not quite up to the level of the rest. It gives if anything too much prominence to the technical details of the Attic stage. The paragraph, however, which traces the influence of the drama on the Platonic dialogue, and that again in which the Platonic dialogue is shown to have had its logical

outcome in the Aristotelian treatise are excellent examples of the way in which Greek and Latin literature is shown to be one complex but organic growth.

Any lucid epitome of mediaeval Greek literature would probably be read with the interest of novelty by the average English scholar, and Krumbacher's section on this subject is more than merely lucid. He writes with a most lively belief in the importance of his subject for the modern world at large. His conception of the mission of modern Greek as being to spread humanism and Christian civilisation over the East may be somewhat enthusiastic, as may also be his estimate of some of his favourite Byzantine authors, for example the sixth century Christian hymn writer Romanus, although it must be confessed that the two stanzas that he quotes make the reader want to hear more; but the whole section is a suggestive study of one phase of the struggle between East and West, conservatism and progress. The modern application often lies startlingly near. Krumbacher wants modern Greek to start a new life by developing on the lines of the Romance languages. He can only find a parallel for the literary conservatism of the modern Greek in that of the Turks and Chinese.

The section on the Greek language is less satisfactory. This is not so much the fault of the writer as of the subject. It is hard to see how a better popular history of the Greek language from its birth to the present day could have been written in the 24 pages allotted to this subject. The mistake seems to have been rather in giving the language a separate section. The writer, or rather the subject, of the last section of the book (*die lateinische Sprache*) is open to the same criticism.

Friedrich Leo's section on Classical Latin Literature is a clear and dispassionate résumé of the subject, though occasionally the treatment of well known writers or epochs is lacking in interpretive power. We are told, for instance, that the ancients had not the modern ideas about plagiarism, but no attempt is made to explain the spirit in which they plagiarised. Again we are told that Homer's games are a collection of interesting but disconnected incidents, whereas the various athletic events described in the fifth Aeneid form an artistic whole with a dramatic dénouement, but no explanation is offered as to why Virgil made this variation from his original, though every reader will feel that it illustrates some fundamental difference between the two poets. It is a pity too that Leo

gives support to the common view that it is chiefly Lucretius' 'digressions' that make him a poet, and that the atomic theory is fundamentally unpoetical. He means doubtless that it is wanting in human interest. But it is surely a lack of imagination not to see that the atomic theory as regarded by Lucretius is essentially the same theme as that of Dante and Milton. If once we put ourselves in Lucretius' position—and it is not the poet's fault that we fail to do so—every line of the poem has an intensely personal interest. The idea that the poem contains digressions and purple patches is at once dispelled. It is possible to appreciate Iphigeneia without doing this, but Iphigeneia and the other 'digressions' lose as much by being detached from the *Natura Rerum* as would Beatrice by being removed from the Divine Comedy.

The period of transition from classical times to the middle ages is dealt with by Eduard Norden. His introductory remarks, which he heads 'Hellenismus, Christianismus, Nationalität,' will be found most helpful towards a true appreciation of the period. Method of treatment is perhaps of more importance in this than in any other section, and the topographical arrangement which the writer adopts has much to recommend it. The notices of individual writers give rise to frequent but always relevant digressions on such subjects as rhyme and the beginnings of modern poetry (Ambrosius), Benedictine monasticism (Cassiodorus), the debt that Christian philosophy owes to Plato (Augustin). Although the writer of this section does not profess to go beyond the times of Charlemagne, he deliberately continues his account down to the times of Petrarch. Till then Latin was a living language. It was Petrarch and his successors who dealt it its death-blow, not by the services that they rendered to Italian and the other Romance languages, but by the false classicism of the Latin that they wrote, with its attempted return to the language of Cicero and Virgil.

One practical point that the whole book suggests is worth raising. Ought we not in England to extend our curricula, at least in the seats of higher education? Is it desirable that our university students (and lecturers?) should practically never read anything written in Greek after Theocritus, or in Latin after Tacitus? Though the other contributors to the present work do not attack the 'Schulautoren' curriculum so openly and vigorously as Wilamowitz, yet

the whole tone of the book is in favour of reading a wider selection of authors, and the book itself would serve as an excellent director of studies to those who wish to do so.

All the more striking therefore is this condemnation of Demosthenes and Cicero as authors for reading in schools. The foul moral atmosphere that Wilamowitz breathes when reading Demosthenes probably does little harm to the average schoolboy, but it is often forgotten how deadly dull it almost inevitably is to read twice a week for month after month one or two pages of any of the longer orations of either Demosthenes or Cicero. Every prose book of course loses by this method of reading, but it is nevertheless true that, for teaching purposes, with a historical or philosophical book a few prefa-

tory remarks are all that are needed, and the book has then only to be read consecutively for every succeeding chapter or section to form a natural unit of interest. This is not the case with the speeches of the two orators. Units of interest of the requisite length for a single lesson or lecture are only to be found here and there, and nearly every one of them requires a separate historical introduction. If, however, a series of extracts were carefully made, and were read in chronological order, one at each lesson, after an appropriate explanation of the historical setting, might not Cicero and Demosthenes prove to be not a cause of corruption to our youth, but the best introduction to two of the most difficult periods of ancient history?

PERCY URE.

TACCONI'S *THE IAMBIC TRIMETER IN GREEK*.¹

THIS large pamphlet (80 tall pages) consists chiefly of classifications, in which the various possible types of trimeter are distinguished according to the nature and order of the six feet, and each type is exemplified, if it occurs, from (1) the *iambographi*, (2) Aeschylus, (3) Sophocles, (4) Euripides (tragedy), (5) the *Cyclops*, (6) Aristophanes. Thus on p. 53 it is said that 'a dactyl in the first place with a tribrach in the third' is not found before Sophocles, nor in the *Cyclops*, but examples are cited from Sophocles, Euripidean tragedy, and Aristophanes. The author does not give statistics, and there is often no indication of frequency or rarity, for want of which an inexperienced reader might well sometimes misapprehend the real state of the case. The examples given are for the most part valid, though there are errors, some of them rather startling, as for instance, when *πάρεσιν οὐδὲν τερπνὸν οὐδ' ἐράσμιον* (Semonides) is cited (p. 10) as a pure iambic, or when Eur. *Bacch.* 1274 *σπαρτῶ μ' ἔδωκας, ὡς λέγουσ', Ἐχίονι* is said (p. 6) to exhibit elision preceding a final *cretic*. The collections, however, as far as they go, are interesting and may be turned to account.

But the work is no complete account of the subject; and when the author passes occasionally to the deduction

of rules, and to the critical application of them, it becomes evident that his grasp, possibly for want of actual practice in composition, is neither comprehensive nor sure. For example (p. 26), it is true that in *Iph. Aul.* 1570 *ἐλεξε δ', ὦ θηροκτόν' Ἄρ-τεμι παῖ | Διός*,² the anapaest is placed badly and not according to the practice of Euripides; but we cannot cure this by writing *ἐλεξε δ', ὦ θηροκτόνε Δι-ός Ἄρτεμι*, which violates the general rule for the division of a tribrach, as stated by the author himself on p. 17. Nor need we be at the pains to correct the verse at all. This part of the play, completed after the death of Euripides by quite incompetent hands, swarms with metrical and other errors, and is not to be brought to the standard of Euripides himself. If it were, we should not be content to mend v. 1610 *ἀπροσδόκητα δὲ βροτοῖσι τὰ τῶν θεῶν*, cited on the same page, by writing *βροτοῖς*, and leaving untouched the feeble caesura combined with the weak and precarious lengthening of *δέ* before *βρ* in the next word. A composer, for whom this and other such things were good enough, may well have written *βροτοῖσι τὰ τῶν θεῶν* too. On the other hand, *Iph. Aul.* 652 *οἶκ οἶδ' ὅτι φῆς, οἶκ οἶδα, φίλτατ' ἐμοὶ πᾶτερ* (see same page) comes from a scene which must have been written, if not by Euripides, by some one who had appropriated his art to perfection. The verse, irregular as it is, is almost certainly by the

¹ Il Trimetro Giambico nella Poesia Greca. Memoria di Angelo Taccone. Accademia Reale delle Scienze di Torino: Torino, Carlo Clausen, 1904.

² So cited by the author, but see the MSS.

original hand, and is extremely interesting. The dramatist, exhibiting a simple girl, almost a child, who speaks in some bewilderment to her father, adopts deliberately, for a moment, the familiarity and careless movement which are regular in comedy. All the symptoms of the later Euripidean tragedy point to such a device as the next possible and likely step in artistic development, a step on the road to Menander. Here Euripides, or his excellent imitator, actually takes that step. And if we insist on regularizing the metre, we must hardly do it, as the author proposes, at the expense of the language, thus: οὐκ οἶδ' ἃ φῆς, οὐκ οἶδα, φίλτατος πάτερ.

The rule on the 'cretic pause' is stated (p. 5) thus: 'When a tragic trimeter ends with a word or a group of words making up a foot and a half (= an apparent cretic), the preceding syllable is short. With elision (between this syllable and the cretic), it may be long.' A composer, who tried by this rule to follow the tragedians, would make strange work. He must suppose that such a verse as ὁ δ' ὡς τάχιστα τοῦτ' ἐσήμην' ὄμμασιν would be common and regular, but that such as χραίνει σταλαγμοῖς ἱππικῶν ἐκ πνευμόνων (Aesch.), εἰ τοί σφε τιμᾶς ἐξ ἴσου τῷ δυνσεβεί (Soph.), λύνει βροτοῖσιν ἢ γαμῖν οὐκ ἄξιον (Eur.) are irregular, as indeed the author declares. As a fact, the first verse breaks rather violently, and the three others do not infringe at all, the true rule, which is, that the two long syllables must not be separated by any noticeable pause. The reason, which is seldom stated properly, is this. In the latter part of a rhythmical series, licences of any kind are liable to offend, because the close must necessarily dwell on the ear. For this reason the last foot of the trimeter is always a true iambus; and for the same reason, a pseudo-spondee in the penultimate foot is in itself a somewhat bold variation, though it has certain compensating advantages. But the offence is aggravated, with-

out any compensation, if between the two syllables of the pseudo-spondee there is any perceptible pause; because in that case the thesis of the foot, which ought to be short, is really longer than the arsis, for the thesis consists in effect of the first long syllable plus the pause. In applying the rule, if the two syllables are separated at all (which is unusual) many delicate questions arise as to what amount of pause is, in the circumstances, noticeable. It is easily decided that the pause in ἐκ πνευμόνων, or in οὐκ ἄξιον, is not noticeable, the phrases being as solid as a single word; and such combinations are in fact so common that they must be embraced in the rule. But will this do?

διώμοτοι πλέουσιν, ἦ | μὴν ἦ | λόγῳ
πίσαντες ἄξειν, ἦ πρὸς ἰσχύος κράτος.

One might hesitate: ἦ adheres rather closely to λόγῳ, and μὴν is hardly separable from ἦ. We cannot therefore say that between μὴν and ἦ we do not perceive any break. Sophocles however decides (*Phil.* 592) that the stretch, as a rare variety, is tolerable. He goes even a little farther, and beyond any formal justification, in *Phil.* 22:

ἃ μοι προσελθὼν σίγα σήμαιν' εἴτ' ἔχει . . .

Here the elision between σήμαινε and εἴτε, which according to our author (p. 6) brings the case simply within rule, has probably some little effect; that is to say, τηρῶν εἴτ' ἔχει (for example) would be more irregular still. Something depends on the partition between εἴτ' and ἔχει, slight as it is; σήμαιν' εὐθὺς would be decidedly worse. Something should probably be allowed (see Jebb *ad loc.*) for an emphasis on the first syllable of σήμαιν(ε), leaving the second syllable comparatively short. But when all is said, 'the words break the metrical rule' (Jebb). We must miss both rule and reason, if we begin our exposition, as the author does, by treating such an eccentricity as normal.

A. W. VERRALL.

CONYBEARE'S AND STOCK'S SELECTIONS FROM THE LXX.

Selections from the Septuagint. By F. C. CONYBEARE, M.A., and ST. GEORGE STOCK, M.A. Boston: Ginnett and Co. 1906. Pp. v+313. Price 7s. 6d.

THIS is a volume to be welcomed with heartiness and sincerity. The fact that it

belongs to the 'College' series of Greek Authors issued by a well-known American publishing firm, is another point in its favour. It is high time that students should enlarge their literary outlook, realize that Attic Greek is not everything, and disabuse their minds that Greek literature came to

some mysteriously sudden close after Theocritus. Now there is no book quite comparable to the Septuagint, for the purpose of hammering home these truisms. Apart, too, from its great literary importance, as being written in the *κοινή* of Alexandria any time after the middle of the 3rd century B.C., the Septuagint has other (perhaps higher) claims on the interest of thoughtful persons. There is something more than a literary importance attaching to this (in some ways) greatest, as it is the first, of all translations of the Bible; and true criticism can never exhaust itself by any mere literary handling of its text. What the Vulgate has been, and is, to the West, that the Septuagint has been, and is, to the East. But more: the writers of the N.T., in almost all cases, appeal to the LXX version for confirmation of doctrine or historical declaration; and even before the Christian era it had acquired for itself the position of an inspired book. Messrs. Conybeare and Stock are well within the mark when (*Introd.* p. 20) they imply that the LXX version has exercised a world-influence. This fact alone would make it amply worth our while to study it, now and then, and reflect upon the signal position it occupies in the development of human history.

Hitherto no annotated edition of any portion of the LXX has been available for students; and, until quite recently, the aids to Septuagint study have been singularly meagre. But the publication of Dr. Swete's manual edition some few years back, followed—first by Hatch and Redpath's noble Concordance, secondly by Swete's Introduction, and lastly by the publication (early this year) of the first fascicle of the new Cambridge edition of the text, with an elaborate critical apparatus: all these aids, I say, have rendered it possible to approach the study of

the LXX with a sense of confidence and comfort unknown a generation ago.

Briefly, the aim of Messrs. Conybeare and Stock in their pioneer work is to render available for students selected portions of the LXX, so annotated as to give them a clear insight into the main peculiarities of vocabulary and style. With this excellent object in view they have chosen seven sections: (1) The Story of Joseph; (2) The Story of the Exodus; (3) The Story of Balaam and Balak; (4) The Story of Samson; (5) The Story of David and Goliath; (6) The Story of Elijah; (7) The Story of Hezekiah and Sennacherib. Each section is prefaced by short introductory remarks (these are, perhaps, the least convincing portions of the book); there is a fair abundance of linguistic notes at the foot of the printed text; there is a general introduction to the study of the LXX; and last, not least, a short grammar of LXX Greek. This portion of the work is excellent, and the writers deserve our thanks for their very careful conspectus. The General Introduction (pp. 1-24) is, perhaps, rather thin, but gives a fair and lucid account, on the whole, of the literary problem of the origin of the Septuagint. Few readers will be disposed to contest their general conclusions (*e.g.* as to the non-historical character of the Story of the '72'); but here and there a conjecture as to date or authorship seems to be based on too slender evidence (for an example, see *Introd.* p. 18 [top]).

The book is clearly printed, in fairly large type as far as the text is concerned, and is supplied with an 'index Graecitatis.' It is to be hoped that the editors will have the satisfaction of knowing their book is widely used.

E. H. BLAKENEY.

BROWN'S CASE CONSTRUCTIONS.

A Study of the Case Constructions of Words of Time. By LESTER DORMAN BROWN, Ph. D. Pp. iv + 141. Published by the Author, New Haven, Conn. 1904.

THE problem which the author of this monograph sets before himself is this: to discover the factors which determine the meaning of nouns whose primary meaning is that of

time, when used in the regular temporal construction of the genitive, dative, and accusative cases. The material upon which the study is based is taken from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon's *Anabasis* and *Hellenica*, and is intended to include all instances of nouns (or equivalent expressions) used in these writings in any of the regular temporal

constructions of the oblique cases. The number of nouns so used whose predominant meaning is not that of time is very small—only 11 out of a total of some 3100 cases—and the investigation therefore centres about the few common nouns of time, *ἡμέρα*, *νύξ*, *μῆν*, *ἔτος*, etc.

The question of the method of classification to be used, whether it shall be by form or by function, arises early, and as would be expected of one working in the atmosphere of the classical department of Yale University, the author chooses to classify by form: in this case the choice is unquestionably wise. The first two classifications are preliminary and serve to foreshadow the lines upon which the detailed examination of the cases is to proceed. The third primary classification consists of a complete index according to number, case, and modifiers, of all the nouns of time used in temporal constructions in the above authors: upon the basis of this classification the author takes up the question of the overlapping of various cases. He considers first the instances where he believes the genitive case to be used like a dative expressing 'the time when,' and cites numerous examples. The cases, however, where the genitive is used with a meaning indistinguishable from that of the dative, are not, I believe, as numerous as the author supposes. In the first place, exclusive of certain passages in Herodotus, whose usage in this matter is clearly divergent from the Attic usage, all the examples of such cases which are given are, with a single exception (Thuc. 6, 3, 2), either the noun *νύξ* or a season (*χειμῶν* or *θέρους*). For example in Xen. *Hell.* 1, 1, 13: αἱ νῆες ἅπασαι . . . τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἀνηγάγοντο, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ περὶ ἄριστον ὥραν ἤκον εἰς Προκόννησον, Mr. Brown holds that the meaning of the genitive is in no way different from that of the dative, the writer's purpose in both places being merely to date the action. But it will be admitted, I think, that an action can be dated in different ways. In some cases it is possible to use either the genitive or the dative, but is there not in most cases a slightly different shade of meaning according as one or the other case is used? Does not the frequent occurrence of the genitive *νυκτὸς* reflect the fact that from the nature of things the time of events of the night is less apt to be definitely known than the time of events of the day? I believe that the passages cited by the writer support this view. The dative *νυκτὶ* is cited in only four passages where it might seem not to differ in meaning from *νυκτός*; but in each of these cases a

special reason for the dative can, I think, be given. In *Hell.* 2, 1, 22; Δύσανδρος δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ, ἐπεὶ ὄρθρος ἦν, ἐσήμηνεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς εἰσβαίνειν, Mr. Brown admits that the *ἐπεὶ* clause makes the dative natural; and in Thuc. 4, 103, 4: ἐκεῖνη τῇ νυκτὶ κατέστησαν τὸν στρατὸν πρὸ ἔω κ.τ.λ., the time is rather definitely defined by *πρὸ ἔω*. Furthermore in Thuc. 7, 6, 4: καὶ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ ἐφθάσαν παροικοδομήσαντες καὶ παρελθόντες τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἰκοδομίαν, the context shows that the exact time of the action was known to both the Athenians and the Syracusans; and in *Hell.* 4, 5, 4: φανερός δὲ ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ νεὺς τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ καόμενος, the time was from the nature of the event likely to be definitely known. In my judgment, the only passage cited where the genitive seems not to differ appreciably in meaning from a dative is Thuc. 6, 3, 2 (τοῦ ἐχομένου ἔτους).

Three passages from Homer and one from Herodotus show the dative used like the genitive. But in *Anab.* 1, 8, 22 (ἡμίσει χρόνῳ) and Plut. *Aristid.* 23 (ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ), where the author takes the dative as equivalent in meaning to a genitive, he overlooks the possibility that the idea of means may be present; cf. *χρόνῳ* as used in *Her.* 1, 76 *et al.* and often in tragedy. The only examples that seem to show the genitive encroaching on the accusative are certain cases of *λοιποῖ*, 'in the future.' But in all except two of these cases the verb is negated, and, as the author says, here it is rather a case where the resultant meaning is the same whether the genitive or the accusative is used than an instance of the encroachment of one case on another. Clear examples of the use of the accusative for the dative are found only in Herodotus. On the whole then, the number of instances where any one case has the regular temporal meaning of another case is exceedingly small.

The results of the author's detailed examination of the genitive, dative, and accusative may be summed up briefly. In by far the greatest number of instances several factors make the temporal meaning clear without the aid of the inflectional ending. These factors are, in the order of their importance, first, the temporal meaning of the noun, and upon this the author rightly lays much stress; secondly, the modifying word, if any be present (*e.g.* a word of measure or a demonstrative word); thirdly, the verb, whether it expresses extensive or aoristic action; and lastly the context, in the broadest meaning of the term. As regards the expression of time by prepositional

phrases, examination shows that there is a marked preference for the equivalent case constructions of words of time.

On p. 68 the author gives an ingenious and plausible explanation of the origin of expressions which consist of a noun in the accusative singular with an ordinal numeral, translated usually by 'so many days (years, etc.) ago,' as *Hell.* 2, 4, 13: οἱ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχοντες οὐδ' ἑμῆς ἡμέραν ἐπέμπτην τρεψάμενοι ἐδιώξατε. He thinks they may have arisen from cases like *Anab.* 4, 5, 24: καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἔνδον τοὺς κωμήτας καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ κωμάρχου ἐνάτην ἡμέραν γεγαμημένην, where the tense with which the temporal word is used may denote a state of continuance after the completion of the act. From such verbs the use of the noun with the ordinal was extended to verbs which express occurrence only.

The explanation which is given on pp. 96 f. of the origin of the genitive in statements of wages, as e.g. *Thuc.* 7, 27, 2: δραχμὴν γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας ἕκαστος ἐλάμβανε, is ingenious, but to me not convincing. Comparing such expressions with expressions like *Anab.* 4, 6, 4: ἐπορεύθησαν ἐπὶ σταθμοὺς ἀνὰ πέντε παρασάγγας τῆς ἡμέρας, the author concludes that the genitive was originally closely connected with the verb. Now the genitive in such passages as the one from the *Anabasis*

clearly expresses the time within which the action of the verb takes place; he therefore suggests that the genitive in statements of wages may go back to a time when the pay was actually given and received some time during each day, comparing *Levit.* 19, 13 and *Deut.* 24, 15. It will be seen at once, I think, that this explanation rests upon a rather shadowy basis. I believe that an explanation of these genitives is rather to be sought along the line of such a sentence as *Anab.* 7, 6, 1: καὶ λέγει ὅτι δαρεϊκὸς ἐκάστῳ ἔσται μισθὸς τοῦ μηνός. If this case be taken by itself, it is entirely natural to take the genitive μηνός as depending immediately upon μισθός. Is it not then possible that these genitives, which in the historical period were doubtless almost purely formulaic, originally were dependent upon μισθός or an equivalent word, expressed or understood?

As is almost inevitable in a work of this kind, where the author is compelled to draw many minute distinctions, in some matters of detail the views expressed are open to question. But the work as a whole is done with painstaking care and accuracy. The main conclusions are amply sustained and the whole constitutes a suggestive and valuable beginning in a field of syntactical study which hitherto has been little explored.

HAVEN DARLING BRACKETT.

PROFUMO ON THE FIRE OF NERO.

ATTILIO PROFUMO, *Le fonti ed i tempi dell' incendio Neroniano*. Roma: Forzani, 1905. Pp. xii + 748. 20 lire.

THE first point that strikes one about the present work is its enormous size. It is a large and very heavy quarto ($12\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ inches) with 49 lines to the page, and the amount of time and labour devoted to its production must have been immense. But one cannot help thinking that interesting and important as the fire of Nero is, especially to students of the early history of Christianity in Rome, Signor Profumo should have recollected that life is short and busy, and given us his results in a somewhat handier form.

The occasion of the work is a recently made assertion, formulated in a pamphlet by Prof. C. Pascal (*L'incendio di Roma e i primi Cristiani*, Milan 1900) that the Christians were as a fact the authors of the fire of Nero, taking 'qui fatebantur' in Tacitus,

Ann. xv. 44 § 5 to mean those who confessed their guilt as incendiaries: their denunciations of their fellow Christians led to the latter being proved guilty also, not however as incendiaries, but as Christians ('deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens haud proinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis convicti sunt'). This charge naturally aroused much opposition: and the present work, the most careful study of the subject that has yet been made, brings us to the opposite conclusion. It has met with a favourable reception in the archaeological journals of Rome—such as the *Bullettino d'Archeologia Cristiana*, and the *Bullettino Comunale*.

The first part (pp. 1–194) deals exhaustively with the ancient authorities, whose testimony, with the single exception of that of Tacitus, who remarks 'sequitur clades, forte an dolo principis incertum (nam utrumque auctores prodidere),' asserts unanimously that

Nero was the author of the fire. Here, and indeed throughout the book, there is a great deal too much detail not directly bearing on the point at issue, e.g. before citing the testimony of Suetonius and Tacitus on the subject, it is hardly necessary to devote over twenty pages (23-44) to a discussion of their merits as historians and the relative value which is to be attached to their statements. Nor does it seem to me that the indirect evidence adduced by Signor Profumo is sufficient to justify his conclusion that Cluvius Rufus and Fabius Rusticus agreed with Pliny the elder (the third of his 'fonti prime' or contemporary sources) in asserting (*H.N.* xvii. 1 § 5) that Nero was the author of the fire, and that it was the 'official version' which attributed the occurrence to chance.

The second part (pp. 195-353) deals with the persecution of the Christians. We find Pliny the younger in his correspondence with Trajan, telling the emperor 'cognitionibus de Christianis interfui nunquam: ideo nescio quid et quatenus aut puniri soleat aut quaeri' (*Ep.* x. 96) and Trajan replies 'conquirendi non sunt: si deferantur et arguantur, puniendi sunt' (*ib.* x. 97). As Signor Profumo shows, it seems clear from this and from Tertullian's *Apologeticum* that there was no special law against the Christians *qua* Christians: they were affected by the *leges sumptuariae*, as guilty of evil customs, by the *lex Iulia de peculatu et de sacrilegiis*, as offenders against religion, by the *lex Iulia de maiestate imminuta*, as guilty of 'maiestas.'

These three charges were grouped, as Tertullian says, in the one *institutum* *Neronianum* (*ad nationes*, i. 7), which continued to exist till the Edict of Milan (313 A.D.), so that to be proved a Christian was enough to be condemned (*Apol.* 2). But they first appear together under Tiberius in the trial of Libo Drusus (*Tac. Ann.* ii. 27) and again in that of Appuleia Varilla (*ibid.* ii. 50), and Nero used them against pagans as well as Christians (e.g. Thrasea Paetus). The most important question (the doubt about which has even led some to suppose the whole account of Tacitus to be a forgery) is, why Nero pitched upon the Christians. They seem so far to have attracted little attention and it seems clear from Tertullian that this was the first persecution they had to undergo. Signor Profumo thinks that they were not actually charged with incendiarism (or we should have had some trace of the charge in the official version) but simply used to distract popular attention from the question as to the culpability of the emperor, by being

brought to trial and condemned on the charge of being Christians, in which capacity they were already hated. This, however, would not have been so likely to produce the effect desired by Nero, and I doubt very much whether the well known words of Tacitus, 'ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos et quae sitissimis poenis adfecit quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat,' will bear this sense. 'Subdidit reos' naturally means 'fraudulently brought to trial' (on the charge just mentioned by Tacitus, i.e. that of incendiarism). That, on the other hand they were condemned *en masse* as Christians and not as incendiaries there seems little doubt: but, as Furneaux says, in his note on *Tac. Ann.* xv. 44 § 5 ('qui fatebantur') 'the difficulty would disappear on the supposition that the Christians as a body had already been marked out by some means as the incendiaries, so that the question whether a person was a Christian became the most essential part of the charge against him.'

Signor Profumo, on the other hand, is inclined to believe that the Christians were already numerous and hated, and also actually feared as enemies of the empire, and that the reasons for the persecution were mainly political. The date of the event he places not immediately after the fire, but some months later, after Nero's attempts to assert his innocence had failed, i.e. in the spring or early summer of 65 A.D. It would then be still easier to connect with it the martyrdom of S. Peter, if not of S. Paul (who as a Roman citizen, would have been differently treated) as Dufourq (*Étude sur les gesta martyrum, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises*, fasc. 83, pp. 104 *sqq.*), even accepting the usual date (August?—at any rate after July 28th, 64 A.D.) of the persecution, proposes to do.

As to this, though Eusebius, Jerome, and Orosius may be taken to indicate the later date, Tacitus does not distinguish it as occurring in a different year from that of the fire; and the beginning of *Ann.* xv. 47 'fine anni vulgantur prodigia,' long after the account of the fire is over, seems to be contrary to this supposition.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that the traditional date of the martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul and 979 others 'Via Aurelia'¹ is the 29th of June.

¹ The theory that S. Peter was crucified on the site of the church of S. Pietro in Montorio has little to recommend it. The latest article against it is that of Marucchi in *Nuovo Bullettino Cristiano*, 1905, 135 *sqq.*, 269 *sqq.*

The third part (pp. 354-482) deals with the fire itself, and Nero's motives for causing it. Tacitus tells us that it was thought that Nero wanted to have the credit for founding a new Rome, in which his own palace—the Domus Aurea—was to form the most prominent feature. The idea of expropriation for purposes of public utility was unknown to Roman jurisprudence, as Signor Profumo shows: and the only possible means for Nero to effect his purpose would have been a series of wholesale confiscations, which would have affected all classes, and was obviously impossible. After a fire, on the other hand, the emperor habitually intervened (though not as dictator, as our author supposes (pp. 411 *sqq.*), for there is no trace of the dictatorship in the Principate as founded by Augustus)¹ and took the measures necessary in each case.

No doubt the city was in need of rebuilding, as Suetonius hints; and Signor Profumo well points out, that, narrow as the streets of ancient Rome seem to us (the standard width of the highroads in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, where there was far more vehicular traffic than in Rome itself, is only fourteen feet, and the Sacra Via itself is very little more), some Romans actually objected to their excessive width after the fire of Nero (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 43).

But of course Nero took advantage of the conflagration to appropriate to his own Domus Aurea a considerable portion of the city which had belonged to private owners—hence the haste of Vespasian to destroy it. (Martial, *De Spect.* 2: cf. the epigram quoted by Suetonius, Nero, 39

‘Roma domus fiet: Veios migrate, Quirites,
‘Si non et Veios occupat ista domus’.)

Signor Profumo's topography, by the way, is at fault when he remarks (p. 440) ‘e sola giungere a noi di tanta Domus—dimenticata, nascosta sotterra ai servigi delle nemiche terme di Tito, e di poi, e di queste e delle Traianee,—la grande *piscina vinaria* sita all' Esquilino, oggi nominata le Sette Sale.’ In the first place, the Sette Sale is not a subterranean reservoir: and in the second place, he has entirely forgotten the famous ‘Camere Esquiline’ with their splendid (though now much faded) frescoes, and many other remains enumerated by Lanciani (*Ruins and Excavations*, 361):

¹ Tac. i. 9 § 6 is perfectly clear—‘non regno tamen, neque dictatura sed principis nomine constitutam rempublicam.’

cf. also *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1897, 59; *Bullettino Comunale* 1897, 165.

He makes, on the other hand, an interesting observation—that Nero, in starting the fire at the point he did, was probably calculating upon the W.S.W. breeze which rarely fails in a summer afternoon: but that the wind must have changed to scirocco (S.E.), inasmuch as the fire, instead of taking the expected direction, went N.W. along the length of the circus (p. 477).

The fourth part (pp. 483-693) is devoted (1) to critical notes on the sources of Tacitus' information for the fifteenth book of the *Annals*. Signor Profumo supposes that his information was drawn from the Emperor Nerva, though I must confess that I fail to see the strength of his arguments; (2) to an examination of the reasons for the silence of Juvenal as to the fire, which he puts down to the fact of the publication of the first group of the Satires under Nerva, who had probably been a member of Nero's *concilium* (Furneaux on Tac. *Ann.* xv. 72) and apparently intimate with him (Martial *Epig.* viii. 70, ix. 26). The assumption is again made (pp. 570-574) without sufficient reason, and rather upon general considerations, setting aside the specific evidence to the contrary;² (3) to a discussion of the legend that Nero sang while Rome was burning, which he accepts as credible; (4) to an examination of coins of Nero (Cohen, 126-130) hitherto supposed to represent the MAC(ellum), but which Signor Profumo refers either to the MAC(hina), i.e. the *coenatio rotunda* of the Domus Aurea, or, preferably, to MAC(ellum) in the sense of ‘parco campestre a vivaria,’ supposing it to be a name given by Nero to that part of the Domus Aurea which contained the wild animals of which Suetonius (Nero, 31) speaks, in which the building represented, with its two orders of porticoes and a central dome, was situated.

The book is furnished with several indices—including an index of method, which, with all the long discussions on method in the text, is an entirely superfluous guarantee of the author's *bona fides*—and bears marks of care in the correction of the proofs. As I have said, the task accomplished by the author is a most laborious one—and unnecessarily so. The vessel might have been lightened by throwing overboard a large

² He seems to infer from Weidner's silence as to the identification of Marius with Marius Priscus condemned in 99/100 in viii. 120 that he was ‘already beginning to give up’ the theory: but Weidner had already specifically accepted it in i. 49, where Marius is mentioned.

quantity of useless ballast—as it is, it is not unlikely to sink by its own weight, which is a pity, as despite the hardly justifiable inferences which I have mentioned, the book contains good matter, and would, were it mercilessly pruned and freed of repetitions and passages irrelevant to the point at issue, be a work deserving of attention. If

I have in any point misjudged it, I can only plead that the time that I have been able to devote to it has not been sufficient to allow of my reading every word of it—a thing which, I fear, few will have the patience to do.

THOMAS ASHEY, JUNIOR.

HARDY'S STUDIES IN ROMAN HISTORY.

Studies in Roman History. By E. G. HARDY, M.A., D.Litt., Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College, Oxford. London & New York: The Macmillan Company. 1906. Pp. viii + 349. 6s., \$1.60.

MR. HARDY reprints in this volume his well known and favourably received work of 1894 on Christianity and the Roman Government (Chapters I.–X.), and six additional studies (Chapter XI.–XVI.) which have appeared from time to time in the *English Historical Review* and the *Journal of Philology* in practically their present form: Legions in the Pannonian Rising; Movements of the Legions from Augustus to Severus; The Provincial Concilia; Imperium Consulare or Proconsulare; Plutarch, Tacitus, Suetonius, on Galba and Otho; A Bodleian MS. of Pliny's Letters to Trajan.

It will be a matter of regret to the many who have profited by Mr. Hardy's useful studies on Christianity and the Roman Government to find that the work appears again merely as a reprint, without revision, or even the addition of a much needed index, to say nothing of the amplification which they would have liked to possess from the hand of a scholar so experienced and discriminating. The impulse to censure the author, however, for republishing in its original form a work already twelve years old, and on a subject which is constantly being investigated, will quickly die out at the reading of the prefatory notice, in which Mr. Hardy explains his action; and disappointment will be tempered by the reflection that the thorough revision which he would have given the work had circumstances permitted would have had the effect of modifying it in detail only. To mention

a single field in which there has been a great deal of activity since the appearance of Mr. Hardy's book, the utilization of the numerous studies on the Neronian fire and persecution which appeared in 1901 and 1902 over the names of Pascal, Coen, Ferrara, and other Italian scholars, would have resulted in no modification of his views worth mentioning. The main conclusions which made Mr. Hardy's book valuable in 1894 will make it welcome and profitable for the student of to-day. A work based upon such solid foundations as the scholarship of Mommsen and Ramsay, and elaborated by so sure a hand as that of Mr. Hardy, does not lose its usefulness in so short a time.

The remaining six studies of the book are characterized by the same thoroughness, accuracy, and independence of judgment. Chapters XI., XII., and XIII. are of especial interest, and of these the two last, on Movements of Legions from Augustus to Severus, and Provincial Concilia, are valuable original contributions for which every student of Roman administration will be grateful. One could wish indeed that the author's love of conciseness and his intentness upon the matter in hand did not result in a rigidity and angularity of presentation not altogether agreeable; inordinately long paragraphs and an unconciliatory style do not lighten the difficulty of following matter already difficult itself. But the feeling most prominent on leaving Mr. Hardy's book is one of regret that he is not to put us further under obligation by continuing his admirable contributions.

GRANT SHOWERMAN.

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SCHULZE ON LATIN PROPER NAMES.

Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen. By WILHELM SCHULZE. Pp. 1-582 Text, 583-646 Addenda, Indices, and Contents (being No. 5 of Vol. V. of the *Abhandlungen* of the Göttingen Kön. Gesellschaft. d. Wissenschaften). Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, Berlin, 1904. M. 40.

THIS most valuable book marks a noteworthy epoch in the study of the languages of Ancient Italy. The indescribable confusion and delay produced in every department of that study by Corssen's attempt to interpret Etruscan as an Indo-European tongue and to explain a mass of Latin and Oscan words by reference to Etruscan could only be ended by a rigorous boycott of the intrusive alien. And from 1886, the greatest date since Bopp in the history of Comparative Philology, when the first volume of Brugmann's *Grundriss* finally established it as one of the Historical Sciences, till 1897, the common effort of all workers in the Italic field was to free the tradition of their subject from the mass of falsities and obscurantisms with which the school of Corssen had cumbered it. In these years Von Planta's *Oskisch-Umbrische Grammatik*, Buck's *Oskischer Vokalismus*, Stolz and Schmalz's *Lateinische Grammatik*, Lindsay's *Latin Language* and my own edition of the remains of *The Italic Dialects* were being written. All these books showed clearly the resolve to purge their subject-matter of its Etruscan contamination, so as to judge purely Italic questions on purely Italic evidence. The attempt was in none of us, perhaps, completely successful, but in all alike it was absolutely necessary, for until this was done, it was impossible to say, of a multitude of forms and changes, which were characteristically Etruscan, and which Oscan, Umbrian, Faliscan, Sabine (or even Latin) as the case might be. A glance at any of Zvetaeff's collections (not to mention Fabretti's *Corpus Insc. Italicarum*) will show how many scores of non-Italic inscriptions their successors had to sift out. The eels had to be 'ponded' before they could be caught. But now that this has been done, and the scientific methods of the new generation of Etruscologists, like Pauli, Skutsch, and Torp, have begun to lay the foundations for a real study of Etruscan as a non-kindred though contiguous speech, it has become possible to enquire reasonably

what influence Etruscan and the Italic group of languages had upon one another during the many centuries in which they were spoken side by side. The main purpose which Prof. Schulze has set before him in his monumental study of Latin Proper Names is to analyse carefully the Etruscan elements discernible in Latin nomenclature: this theme, carried out with sober insight and devoted industry, occupies 360 out of the 596 quarto pages of the text, and in fact colours all the rest.

The results, though not perhaps of a startling kind, are extensive and really valuable both to the philologist and the historian, though the author modestly abstains from doing more than indicate the kind of historical inferences that can be drawn from them: e.g. on p. 218, where he shows that the names of the three primitive Roman tribes (*Ramnes, Titites, Luceres*) are the names of three Etruscan gentes. Similarly by a long train of morphological evidence he may, I think, claim to have established that *Roma*, Etr. **ruma*, was (like *Caecina*, *Sulla*, *Serva*, *Casca*, *Sora*,) the name of an Etruscan gens to which the *rumate* or *rumabe* of Clusium, the city of Por-senna (gens *Romatia* in N. Italy), the *rumulna* of Volci (= gens *Romilia* of the ager Vaticanus with their real or mythical ancestor *Romulus*) and possibly also the *C. Sex. Romaci Tusi* of a (fairly late) seal from Telesia in Samnium are akin. A careful reader of Schulze's own abundant and frankly sifted evidence—especially of such an admission as that on pp. 136-7 that the Etr. name *cesu* may be, not like *Cesina* a direct derivative from the simpler name *ceisi*, but merely a 'Rückbildung' or re-construction out of *Caesonius*, the Latin form of the name—will not, I think, feel that it is so absolutely certain as Schulze assumes (p. 580) that the gens *ruma* really gave their name to the city and not vice versa. But it does not appear to me to admit of any doubt (1) that the gens *Romilia* (older form, *Romilia*) were of Tuscan origin; (2) that their ancestor *Romulus* (all *-io-* nomina being of course patronymics from simpler forms, *Sextius* from *Sextus*, etc.) derived his name from an Etr. gentile name *roma* (in Etr. spelling *ruma*) by one of the Etruscan methods of derivation (p. 394); and (3) that a great many of the old names of Rome are simply those of Etruscan families—*Capena*

and *Ratumenna* are Etruscan nomina with the Etr. -na suffix, just as *Tarquini*, *Volsini*, *Volei*, *Veii*, and many more (pp. 564 f.) are names of Etruscan gentes in a Latin and plural form. All this being clear, the question whether the name *Roma* or the *gens roma* was prior, though interesting, loses somewhat in importance, and may well be left to be determined by evidence of another kind, some of which I have elsewhere¹ discussed, and to which I must return ere long. If by *Romulus* we mean the man who first built a wall round the city, then Schulze's view may well be accepted; but if we are asking whether it was a Sabine or Ligurian (Volsc-Latin) who first set *tuguri congestum caespite culmen* on Tiber's bank, that is another and probably a much older story.

This new light on early Roman history is perhaps the most striking fruit of the whole research, but it is probably only an earnest of larger results which will follow when the mass of knowledge of ancient nomenclature, here for the first time collected in more or less systematic form, has been digested and applied to the many different ends for which it is of use. No one can hope to discuss, to any profit, for any purpose whatever, the form or history of any name found anywhere in the whole Romanised world, without quarrying in the valuable² Indices which conclude this treatise. Keltic, Venetic, Illyrian, Spanish, Etruscan, African, and many other local influences, racial, religious, social, and legal conditions; phonetic, grammatical, and historical causes of change; in short, the thousand and one factors that determine the form and use of human names, so far as they could be traced by an encyclopaedic study of the records of all the communities that ever spoke Latin, are all, in some measure at least, represented in Prof. Schulze's teeming pages. And even the student whose immediate concern is merely with language cannot afford to neglect the fresh light that is incidentally thrown on a great many points of many languages of the Italian area (including all Romance), and especially upon Etruscan. How many educated Englishmen know, I wonder, that our common suffix -ess (*princess*, *tailoress*) is Macedonian (*βασιλισσα*), or

that the even commoner -ette (*planchette*, *suffragette*) is Etruscan (*lautnita* or *lautnida* 'libertella,' the daughter of a *lautni* 'libertus')? These are not Schulze's own discoveries (the second is Deecke's), but they naturally appear in this comprehensive collection of evidence (p. 77). And even the humblest reader of Vergil will be glad to know that such ethnic adjectives as *Saticulus* from the place-name *Saticulum*, are not a poet's tour de force, but a genuinely old Latin and Italic idiom (p. 553).

In noticing a book of such a wide range it is hardly worth while to dwell on single points in which it seems to need supplement or correcting; but I should perhaps mention that in the *Atti* of the Congress at Rome in 1903 already referred to, which I think Schulze nowhere cites, the author would have found at least two or three papers which bore directly on more than one of his points; especially that on the historical significance of the *CO*- and *NO*-ethnica, and another on the *gens Romilia*. And I would venture to demur to the use of the term 'latinisch' (not *lateinisch*) in a new sense. It was coined, I believe, to denote urban Latin and the group of dialects most closely akin to it, viz. Faliscan, Sabine, Marsian, and Praenestine—all, in fact, which do not turn *q* into *p*. Why need it be used in the wider sense of 'Italic,' a term which is surely beyond reproach? No one objects to the name 'German' because a number of Lithuanian dialects are also spoken within the limits of Germany.³ If a term be needed (which I doubt) for the purely geographical sense in which Schulze wishes 'Italic' to be used, 'Italensian' might serve.

But there are one or two criticisms on wider matters of method which I must venture at least to indicate.

The great difficulty in basing any sound grammatical conclusions on lists of names, as Schulze himself often realises (in criticising⁴

³ Other very doubtful points to me are the extraordinary (p. 106) denial of the identity of *Volens* and *Volusus* (cf. *modestus* : *nensus*-*tus*, etc.); the dogmatic separation (p. 90) of Umb. *Hoier* and *Hude* (why not as *Iouii* : *Ioui*?) and the apparent assertion (p. 372) that such nicknames as 'leg' (*Sura*), 'forest' (*Silva*), 'window' (*Fenestella*) could not have been given (save by unintentional coincidence) in such a country as Italy.

⁴ The least happy feature of the book is the tone in which Prof. Schulze regularly speaks of his predecessors, on whose labours his own work is based. Of all these Bichelers alone is mentioned without direct censure. And why should a huge treatise on a small department of Latin and Etruscan Grammar pour contempt on 'Grammarians' and

¹ *Le due strati di popolazione Indo-Europea dell'Italia primitiva* in vol. ii. of the *Atti* of the Historical Congress at Rome, 1903.

² But far from complete. Why, for instance, do they omit all reference to the Oscan forms *Dekkias*, etc., discussed at two pages' length (see below)? And is it the Index or the book which omits all consideration of the form *Etruscus* (as contrasted with *Tuscus*)?

Pauli), is the absence of definite chronological criteria. Roughly speaking, Etruscan insc. are older than Roman,—but only roughly. They range over at least five centuries, and when to the Etruscan names themselves are added the Italic originals from which a mass of them were drawn, and the modern derivatives to which they have given birth, the limits of time are enormously extended. Now with all the caution of his temperament, the author still does not appear to have given quite enough weight to this element of doubt. I have indicated one such case already in discussing the name *Roma*. Another will be found in the unhappy confusion in which the reader is left (p. 106) as to the Latinised Umbrian forms (a) *Volsienus* and (b) *Volsienus*, and the Etr. (c) *velzna*, (d) *vuisina*. It is demonstrable, as Von Planta pointed out, and as Schulze rather grudgingly admits, that (b) is the later form of (a), and but for what seems a rather perverse desire to reprove Von Planta for not dealing with the Etruscan forms—an abstinence of vital importance to Von Planta's own subject—Schulze must surely have realised that (c) is the early Etruscan original of (a), and that (d) is a later Etruscan adaptation or reconstruction of (b). The same neglect of chronology and the same prejudice against a view of Von Planta's (as to the Oscan origin of the doubled consonant in *Deccius*, *Stennius*, etc.), for which the evidence is simply overwhelming, has led Schulze to reject this view and put nothing in its place but a cloud of confusion (p. 282).

The inherent difficulties of a very abstract subject have not, it must be confessed, been diminished by the method in which it is presented. The four or five large divisions of the book are clearly right, and probably in their best order; but as soon as the reader plunges into any of these huge chapters, he is completely lost. This is because the author

gives no numbers to his paragraphs nor headlines to his pages and has the unhappy habit of not stating the proposition he wishes to prove until after he has gone over the evidence. The reader must carry in his head page after page of names, and apparently pointless observations about them, until at last the author condescends to explain why he has cited them. This is partly a grim kind of playfulness, partly an extraordinary misapplication of the 'Heuristic method.' The book begins with a typical example. After 12½ pages of what the author justly describes as 'somewhat tedious (*etwas umständliche*) remarks on well-known points' of late Gallic Latin (from Ausonius, Gregory of Tours, and the like), the reader is told that they were 'mainly' (*zunächst*) intended to clear up the author's own mind, but that they may perhaps provide a good background for the rest of the book! Why could not this naive paragraph have come on p. 1 instead of p. 13? Does the author regard his readers (surely an inoffensive class of persons!) as natural enemies whom it is a delight to afflict without cause? In point of style and arrangement to turn from any six pages of Brugmann, Meyer-Lübke, Fick, Kretschmer, or Skutsch to any six pages of this book, is to step from the XXth century into the XIVth. So magnificent a collection of facts,¹ to which the labour of years must have been devoted, deserved to be presented in a lucid form. No doubt it will be ere long, by some younger scholar, who will hardly need to go outside the covers of Prof. Schulze's great dissertation to find the material for a book of remarkable interest.

R. S. CONWAY.

MANCHESTER, September 1906.

'Etruscologists' (pp. 90 and 106)? Is our toil some profession in any danger of standing too high in the eyes of the world at large?

¹ It is impossible to mention all the interesting topics raised: the original namelessness of women in Italy p. 50; family-gods (123); the Etruscan origin (e.g. 274) of apparently Latin aspirates (*Gracchus*, *Matho*); the 'Lager-Rinder' (60); the Kelts in Spain (27); the self-assertion that appears in the name *via Appia* (instead of *via Claudia* which custom enjoined, p. 512) are some that have struck me most.

VERSION.

SOLILOQUY OF THE SPANISH
CLOISTER.

GR-R-R—there go my heart's abhorrence !
 Water your damned flower-pots, do !
 If hate killed men, Brother Lawrence,
 God's blood, wouldn't mine kill you ?
 What ? your myrtle-bush wants trimming ?
 Oh, that rose has prior claims—
 Needs its leaden vase filled brimming ?
 Hell dry you up with its flames !

At the meal we sit together :
Salve tibi ! I must hear
 Wise talk of the kind of weather,
 Sort of season, time of year :
Not a plentiful cork-crop : scarcely
Dare we hope oak-galls, I doubt :
What's the Latin name for 'parsley' ?
 What's the Greek name for Swine's Snout ?

Whew ! We'll have our platter burnished,
 Laid with care on our own shelf !
 With a fire-new spoon we're furnished,
 And a goblet for ourself,
 Rinsed like something sacrificial
 Ere 'tis fit to touch our chaps—
 Marked with L for our initial !
 (He-he ! There his lily snaps !)

Saint, forsooth ! While brown Dolores
 Squats outside the Convent bank
 With Sanchicha, telling stories,
 Steeping tresses in the tank,
 Blue-black, lustrous, thick like horsehairs,
 Can't I see his dead eye glow
 Bright as 'twere a Barbary corsair's ?
 (That is, if he'd let it show !)

When he finishes refection,
 Knife and fork he never lays
 Crosswise, to my recollection,
 As I do in Jesu's praise.

IDEM LATINE.

[*In piam memoriam sonitus uerborum iam
 paene obsoleti.*]

Pfui, pecus inuisum, sic pergite pergite, et
 horti
 Spargite uasa ista, quod male uertat, aqua.
 Letiferas odium plagas si infligere possit,
 Vah, noster, iaceas tu cito, Marce, meo.
 I nunc, luxuriam myrti sic falce putato ;
 Attat, cura prior, sic rosa poscit opem :
 Funde cauom in plumbum, lymphas infunde
 replentis.
 Te Phlegethon utinam torreat igne suo.
 Cenanti ille mihi cubat ad latus ; instat
 ineptae,
 'Salue' cum dictumst, garrulitatis homo ;
 Vt contristet hiemps, aestas ut torreat,
 annum,
 Qua pluuiua uento sole sit hora, crepat.
 'Suber,' ait, 'uereor tenui ne cortice fallat ;
 Horna quidem gallas uix, puto, quereus
 habet :
 Dic, sodes, apium Graece quid dicitur ?'—
 Ohe,
 Dic, quid hyosrhynchus dicitur Hebraice ?
 Audin' quae garrit ? Poliendast nempe patella
 Propria et in proprio constituenda loco.
 'Est mihi,' ait, 'cochleare, recens quod
 splendet ab igni,
 Estque calix, at tu tangere parce meam.'
 Purgat aqua calicem — sacratam credere
 dicas—
 Tum demum dignam scilicet ore suo :
 Nominis inscriptast argento littera prima.
 (Euax ! sic rupto lilia caule dole.)
 Tune exemplum hominis ? Fuscus est ubi
 Thestylis oris
 Sub ripa nostras assidet ante fores :
 Fabellas illic cum Nysa auditque refertque,
 In gelido gaudens tingere fonte comam :
 Caerula quanta comast, saetis nitet aemula
 equinis ;
 Quane acie spectes dissimulare cupis ?
 Ille hebes ante oculis praedo tunc acre tuere
 Ceu Libys, hoc prae te si modo ferre
 uelis.
 Cena ubi confectast, recte si uisa recordor,
 Cultello haud cochlear iungere more pio,
 Haud crucis in speciem meminist componere
 sanctam,
 Id quod ego, ut, Iesu, sit tibi dignus
 honos.

I the Trinity illustrate
 Drinking watered orange-pulp—
 In three sips the Arian frustrate,
 While he drains his at one gulp.
 Oh, those melons? If he's able
 We're to have a feast; so nice!
 One goes to the Abbot's table,
 All of us get each a slice.
 How go on your flowers? None double?
 Not one fruit-sort can you spy?
 Strange!—and I too at such trouble
 Keep them close-nipped on the sly.
 There's a great text in Galatians,
 Once you trip on it, entails
 Twenty-nine distinct damnations,
 One sure, if another fails:
 If I trip him just a-dying,
 Sure of heaven as sure can be,
 Spin him round and send him flying
 Off to Hell, a Manichee?
 Or, my scrofulous French novel
 On grey paper with blunt type!
 Simply glance at it, you grovel
 Hand and foot in Belial's gripe:
 If I double down its pages
 At the woeful sixteenth print,
 When he gathers his greengages,
 Ope a sieve and slip it in 't?
 Or there's Satan! One might venture
 Pledge one's soul to him, yet leave
 Such a flaw in the indenture
 He would miss till, past retrieve,
 Blasted lay that rose-acacia
 We're so proud of! *Hy, Zy, Hine . . .*
 'St, there's Vespers! Plena gratiâ
 Ave, Virgo! Gr-r-r—you swine!

BROWNING.

Tundimus in lympha poma aurea; tunc ego
 potans
 Testor tergemini numina sancta dei:
 Ter libans quisquis triplicem negat esse
 refuto,
 Exhaust calicem protinus ille suam.
 En peponum cultor! Promittit numine
 dextro—
 O sapor, o bona lux—gaudia tanta dapis.
 'Pontificis, fratres, unus compleuerit orbem
 Sectorum, nulli pars sua deerit,' ait.
 Quid? Stirpesne uigent istae? Num flos-
 culus ulli
 Amplior? in pomum gemma nec una tumet?
 Id tu miraris? Mea sedula cura meusque
 Germina furtiuo subsecat ungue labor.
 Insignem praebet monitum liber ille Sibyllae;
 Parendumst toti ne mala summa feras;
 Namque e ter denis si uerbo erraueris uno,
 Taetra per aeternamst poena luenda
 diem:
 Illi si laqueum morienti tendere possim,
 Spe sibi cum certa praecipit Elysium,
 Vt iuuat inuerso deiectum impellere cursu;
 'I, pete Tartareas, dis odium acre, domos.'
 Siue Priapeis hominem stet perdere—foedi
 Scriptura obtunsast, charta subalba, libri—
 Quam leuis ille labor: modo chartam euolue,
 necesest
 Aeternum iratos experire deos.
 Impuram in promptust oculis offerre tabellam;
 Pictam habet undecimae quae scheda
 quinta subit:
 Marcus ubi sua pruna leget, cum fiscina
 iuxtast,
 Quin ausim hic passum supposuisse librum?
 An niger ille deus lege hac orabitur adsit
 Mortuos ut teneat sub ditione sua?
 Tum faciam in pacto uerbi sic fallere mendum
 Vt mihi rem, quamuis non nociturus, agat.
 Sic decus illorum rubicundis floribus arbor
 Marcescat uiridem non renouanda comam.
 Huc, Satana, huc ades, huc—St! Quid sonat?
 Hora precandist:
 Sancta dea—i, grunni, sus comitate sues.

JOHN SARGEAUNT.

'Swine's snout finxit poeta: hyosrhynchus, cf. hyoseyamus. St. συλλεβικῶς Ter. Ph. 743.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

WHO WAS THE WIFE OF ZEUS?

(Continued from page 378.)

It appears, then, that Zeus and Herakles exchanged partners, Zeus taking Hera, and Herakles taking Dia (Hebe). Several consequences of this mutual accommodation would be worth investigating, did space permit. For example, it would follow that Herakles was originally a sort of Zeus. In Italy sundry inscriptions, one of a very ancient date,¹ attest the cult of Hercules *Iovius*,² while conversely in the island of Issa Q. Baronius erects a temple and altars *Iovi Hercli*.³ In Greece too there is said to have been a Zeus Ἡρακλῆς,⁴ and certainly Zeus took over the part of Herakles; for, whereas Herakles was called Ἡραϊος,⁵ presumably as being the associate of Hera, there was an Attic cult of Zeus Ἡραϊος.⁶ Athena whom the tragedians address as Διὸς κόρη,⁷ is on a black-figured amphora from Caere inscribed Ἡρακλέους κόρη,⁸ which may account for the constant association of Herakles and Athena in vase-paintings.⁹ True, there was a tradition that Hera suckled Herakles¹⁰; but then none could be an immortal god unless he had sucked the breast of Hera¹¹—one more hint at matrilineal descent. Hence too the fictitious birth of Herakles from Hera,¹² and the

remarkable inscription on an Etruscan mirror¹³ (fig. 4) which, like the Theban hymn quoted by Ptolemy Chennos,¹⁴ describes Herakles as the son of Hera.¹⁵ This mirror deserves attention¹⁶; for not only does it represent Herakles in closest intimacy with Hera, but Zeus who stands behind Hera is signing to Hebe or Dia who stands behind Herakles.¹⁷ The artist obviously intended to suggest some connexion between Zeus and Hebe, since he has given them both an adornment of two leaves stuck in their hair—a device unique in Etruscan art. Had he an inkling of the primitive pairing Hera~Herakles and Zeus~Dia? Again, if Herakles was a second Zeus, we can understand his association with the oak,¹⁸ the wild-olive,¹⁹ and the poplar,²⁰ for these are precisely the trees with which Zeus was associated.²¹ Further, if Herakles was analogous to Zeus, his amazing popularity in both literature and art receives for the first time an adequate explanation. References to and representations of him are far more frequent than is

¹³ Gerhard *Etruskische Spiegel* v. 73 ff. pl. 60. The inscr. runs *eca : sren : | tru : i xua | c : hercle : | unial : cljan : θra : sce*, and the only intelligible words *hercle : unial : cljan* denote 'Hercules son of Uni (Juno).'

¹⁴ *Supra* p. 368.

¹⁵ Dr. Postgate suggests that this scene represents the consummation of the apotheosis of Herakles and that Hera's act is the seal of his immortality. By it she says in fact *illum ego—adscribi quietis ordinibus patiar deorum*. *Hor. carm.* iii. 3. 33 sq.

¹⁶ The illustration in the text is reduced from Gerhard *op. cit.* v. pl. 60.

¹⁷ So G. Körte in Gerhard *op. cit.* v. 73, though he does not name Hebe. The design is completed by the presence of Apollo on the left, Artemis (?) in the background, a Silenos drinking above, and an Eros with an egg (?) below.

¹⁸ *Soph. Trach.* 766, 1168, 1195, *Callim. hymn. Dian.* 159, *Anth. Pal.* 6. 351. 1. *Plin. hist. nat.* 16. 239, Dessau 3080. On coins Herakles' club in an oak-wreath is frequent: e.g. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins Macedonia*, etc. pp. 7 f., 14, 16 f., 42, 46 f., *ib.* Thessaly to Aetolia pp. 92, 181, 183 ff., *ib.* Caria, etc. pp. 10 f., *ib.* Lycania, etc. pp. 183 f., *ib.* Lydia pp. 238 f. *Cp.* S. Reinach *Pierres gravées* pl. 100, 31.

¹⁹ *Pind. Ol.* 3. 13 ff., *Paus.* 5. 7. 7, *schol. vet. Ar. Plut.* 586, *Aristot. mir. ausc.* 51, *Soph. Trach.* 1196 f., *Plin. hist. nat.* 16. 89. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 219 no. 1294, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Vases* iv. 106 no. F 211.

²⁰ *Paus.* 5. 14. 2, *Theocr.* 2. 121 with *schol. ad loc.*, *Ov. her.* 9. 64, *Verg. ecl.* 7. 61, *Serv. in Verg. ecl.* 7. 61, *Aen.* 5. 134. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 93 no. 1731, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 219 no. 1297, *Furtwängler Ant. Gemm.* pl. 41, 35 and 37.

²¹ *Folk-lore* xv. 295 ff., *ib.* xvi. 279 ff.

¹ *C. I. L.* ix. 324 no. 3414 = Dessau 3431.

² *Roscher Lex.* i. 2235, 8 ff., 2946, 61 ff., 3007, 51 ff.

³ *C. I. L.* iii. 1. 393 no. 3075.

⁴ Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 141: the only evidence known to me is *Ael. hist. an.* 17. 46, on which see *supra* p. 367 n. 7. *Cp.* Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* p. 1506 n. 1, and the name Heraclammon in *Vopise. Aur.* 22 ff.

⁵ *Hesych.* Ἡραϊον Ἡρακλέα.

⁶ *C. I. A.* i. 5 no. 4, 21. Towards the end of Gamelon a kid is to be sacrificed to Dionysos, a table set for Herakles, an offering made to the hero Paragne[sios?], a pig slain for Zeus Ἡραϊος, a lamb for Hermes, etc.

⁷ *Aesch. Eum.* 415, *Eur. Ion* 21, *Phoen.* 1373, *cp. Tro.* 526.

⁸ Helbig in the *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1866 p. 181, P. Gardner *Cat. Gk. Vases in Ashmolean Mus.* no. 212, pl. 2, Kretschmer *Die gr. Vasenschrift.* p. 198 no. 179.

⁹ *Walters' Hist. of Ancient Pottery* ii. 38, 95, 105.

¹⁰ *Paus.* 9. 25. 2, *Diod.* 4. 9, *Euseb. prep. ev.* 2. 2. 19, *Lyc. Al.* 1327 f., *Tzetz. in Lyc. Al.* 39, *Hyg. poet. astr.* 2. 43. *Cp.* *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Vases* iv. 60 no. F 107, Gerhard *Etruskische Spiegel* iii. 125 pl. 126, v. 72 ff. pl. 59, 60, and the literature cited in *Roscher Lex.* i. 2130, 22 ff., 2222, 11 ff.

¹¹ *Eratosth. cat.* 3. 44, *Tzetz. in Lyc. Al.* 1327, 1350, *Geopon.* 11. 19. 1. So of Hermes, *Mart. Cap. I.* 34, *Myth. Vat.* 3. 9. 2 p. 233 Mai.

¹² *Diod.* 4. 39, *Lyc. Al.* 39 with *Tzetz. ad loc.*

the case with any other figure whatsoever in the whole pantheon of Greece and Italy—a fact certainly not due to mere enthusiasm for athletics.

I have elsewhere¹ attempted to show that

nean monarchs traced their lineage back to Herakles⁴ and consequently by way of regalia wore a lion-skin over their heads.⁵ 'Ηρακλείδης was tantamount to 'Ηρακλῆς.⁶ Hence on the sarcophagus of Sidon Alexander



FIG. 4.

by the early Greeks Zeus was believed to be embodied in the reigning king, originally the strong man of the district, Tzetzes being substantially right when he said Δίας γὰρ πρὶν οἱ Ἕλληνες τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐκάλουν.² The question therefore arises—Was Herakles too incarnate in human kings?³ The Macedo-

the Great appears with a lion-skin helmet;⁷ and it is probable that the head of Herakles

p. 391, cp. Hesych. s.v. βοῶπις); and the life of kings in general was 'Ηραία ζωή (Eudoc. viol. 435, Eustath. 81, 38).

⁴ Curt. 4. 2. 3.

⁵ Const. Porph. de praefectura 2. p. 22 (= Corp. script. Byz. iii. 48, 14 ff.).

⁶ Pausanias ap. Eustath. 1593, 14, cp. 989, 48, states that Herakles was also called 'Ηρακλείδης. Cp. Menand. fab. inc. frag. 319 Meineke ἀλλ' 'Ηρακλείδαι καὶ θεοὶ with Meineke ad loc. = Phot. lex. s.v. 'Ηράκλειδαι and 'Ηρακλείδην.

⁷ Collignon Hist. sculpt. grecq. ii. 404 fig. 215.

¹ Folk-lore xv. 299 ff., 382 ff., cp. ib. xvi. 285 ff.

² Tzetz. chil. 5. 454, cp. ib. 1. 474, 2. 160, 174, 197, 9. 454, antehom. 102, in Lyc. Al. 88.

³ As Perikles was Zeus (Folk-lore xv. 302), so Aspasia was Hera (Plut. v. Per. 24. schol. Plat.

on coins of the Macedonian dynasty symbolised the kings themselves.¹ Alexander not only compared his own exploits to those of Herakles,² but used often to appear in public with lion-skin and club,³ and actually gave the name Herakles to his son by Barsine.⁴ Argive kings too were Herakleids: and Nikostratos of Argos, a man of Herculean strength, used to masquerade in battle as Herakles with lion-skin and club complete.⁵ He assumed the name Herakles and was dubbed *ἑτερος Ἡρακλῆς* by Ehippos.⁶ Themios of Cyprus, the favourite of Antiochus II., also had a lion-skin, a Scythian bow and a club: he was presented to the people on festal days as Herakles; and men sacrificed to him as *Ἡρακλεῖ Θεμίῳ*.⁷ Among the Romans, Agrippa wears a lion-skin on a coin.⁸ Caligula sometimes pretended to be Hercules.⁹ Nero wanted to club or throttle a lion in the arena;¹⁰ and the populace paid their respects *Νέρωνι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ*.¹¹ On the Via Appia was a temple in which stood a statue of Hercules with the features of Domitian.¹² Hercules appears on a medallion with the features of Hadrian.¹³ Commodus was worshipped as Hercules¹⁴ and represented as such on statues¹⁵ and on coins.¹⁶ With his club and lion-skin he wore the clothing of a woman.¹⁷ Septimius Severus has a lion-skin head-dress on a medallion.¹⁸ A statue in the Vatican shows Julia Domna as Omphale.¹⁹ Caracalla refused to be called Hercules,²⁰ unlike Maximinus I.,²¹ Gallienus, Postumus, Probus, and Maximianus, all wear the lion-skin on

their coins.²² Maximianus was in fact renamed Heraclius and described as Hercules.²³ Constantius I. was also named Herculis.²⁴ Indeed, Varro had long since declared that in olden days 'all doers of brave deeds were called Hercules.'²⁵ Nevertheless these examples of a human Hercules are comparatively late. Our search for the incarnate partner of Hera must proceed along other lines.²⁶

Now Herakles was not only the chief of ancient heroes: he was *the hero par excellence*—witness the glosses *ἥρωα τὸν Ἡρακλέα*²⁷ and *Ἡρακλῆς ὁ ἥρωας*.²⁸ Further, the combination *ἥρωας Ἡρακλῆς*²⁹ reminds us that *ἥρωας* is in all probability from the same root as *Ἥρα* and *Ἡρακλῆς*.³⁰ Lastly, the word *ἥρωας* according to Aristotle³¹ meant *οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ἀρχαίων*, while Istros³² asserted *μόνους τοῖς βασιλεῖς ἥρωας λέγεσθαι*. In view of these facts I would suggest that in early days the divine partner of Hera was Herakles, who was incarnate in the king or chief as *ἥρωας*. Thus Herakles would have a twofold aspect, divine and human. This suits the distinction drawn by Herodotus, who, after declaring that Herakles was an ancient god, proceeds: 'And those Hellenes in my opinion are acting most rightly who have established a double ritual of Herakles; to him as immortal and a so-called Olympian they make a burnt offering (*θύουσι*), to him as a hero they devote their sacrifice (*ἐνθαγίζουσι*).'³³ The same distinction is drawn by

²² De Witte *De quelques empereurs romains qui ont pris les attributs d'Hercule* Paris 1845 pp. 268 f.; 340, 361; 272; 272 f.

²³ Cl. Mamert. *gen. Max.* 10. 5, 14. 4, 16. 2, cp. 3.6, Duruy *Hist. Rome* vi. 539, Dessau 622, 632, 634, 659, 670.

²⁴ Cohen *Constance I Chlore* 54.

²⁵ Varro *ap. Serv. in Verg. Aen.* 8. 564. Myth. Vat. 3. 13. 8. p. 274 Mai. On Herakles as king of Egypt see Syncell. 18 c (*F. H. G.* ii. 531).

²⁶ Annianus in his supposititious work Xenophon *de aequivocis* says: Saturni dicuntur familiarum nobilium regum, qui urbes coniderunt, senissimi. primogeniti eorum Ioves, et Iunones. Hercules vero nepotes eorum fortissimi . . . idem quoque qui unis populis est Hercules, alteris est Iuppiter. nam Ninus qui Chaldaeis extitit Hercules fuit Assyriis Iuppiter (see Berosus *antiq. libr. quinque* ed. 1612 p. 109). Had Annianus any authority to go upon, or was it merely a brilliant guess?

²⁷ Hesych. ed. min.² p. 703 f. Schmidt = Kyrrillos *Lex.* 171. ²⁸ *Et. mag.* 435, 4.

²⁹ *Ap. Rhod.* 2. 969.

³⁰ Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb.* 2 p. 177, Roscher *Lex.* i. 2094 n., 2441 f. ³¹ Arist. *probl.* 19. 48.

³² Istros *ap. schol. Il.* 2. 110, 13. 620, 15. 230, 19. 34, cp. 12. 165. Cp. Hes. *O. D.* 126 γέρας βασιλῆιον of the δαίμονες . . . ἐσθλοὶ ἐπιχθόνιοι.

³³ Hdt. 2. 44, cp. Plut. *de mal. Hdt.* 13. On *θύουσι* and *ἐνθαγίζουσι* see Miss Harrison *Proleg. to Gk. Rel.* pp. 55 ff.

¹ B. I. Wheeler *Alexander the Great* pp. xiii f., G. Macdonald *Coin Types* p. 151.

² Curt. 9. 2. 29, Strab. 171, *Sen de ben.* 1. 13. 1 ff., 7. 3. 1, cp. 94. 63, *Sen. suass.* 1. 1.

³ Athen. 537 F

⁴ Niese *Gesch. d. griech. u. mak. Staaten* i. 191, 306 f., ii. 693.

⁵ Diod. 16. 44. Cp. *Ar. ran.* 428 ff. with schol. 501 on Kallias son of Hipponikos.

⁶ Athen. 289 B. ⁷ *Id. ib.* 289 F f.

⁸ A. de Longpérier in *Rev. num.* N.S. 1862 pp. 32 ff.

⁹ Cass. Dio 59. 26. ¹⁰ *Suet. Nero* 53.

¹¹ Cass. Dio 63. 20.

¹² Mart. 9. 64, 9. 65, 9. 101.

¹³ Fröhner, *Les méd. de l'emp. rom.* p. 41.

¹⁴ Lamp. *Comm.* 8 f., cp. 17, *Ant. Diad.* 7, Spart. *Ant. Car.* 5, Athen. 537 F, Cass. Dio 72. 15, cp. 72. 7, 72. 20, 72. 22, Herodian 1. 14 f., Dessau 400.

¹⁵ Lamp. *Comm.* 9. 2, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 592, 3. i. 583. 7.

¹⁶ Stevenson *Diet. Rom. Coins* pp. 450, 459, Macdonald *Coin Types* p. 210 f., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins Alexandria* p. 176 pl. 6, 1411.

¹⁷ Lamp. *Comm.* 9. 6, Herodian 1. 14. 8.

¹⁸ Cohen *Septime Sévère, Caracalla et Plautille* 1.

¹⁹ Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 593, 3.

²⁰ Spart. *Ant. Car.* 5, Cass. Dio 77. 5.

²¹ Jul. Cap. *Max. duo* 4, 6.

Pausanias, who states that Phaistos found the Sikyonians worshipping Herakles as a hero and bade them worship him as a god.¹ Similarly Diodorus says that Menoitios showed the people of Ópus how to honour Herakles as a hero—a practice adopted also by the Thebans, but that the Athenians set the example of sacrificing to him as a god.² Pindar combines both beliefs, when he speaks of Herakles as ἥρωες θεός;³ and the schol. vet. *ad loc.* records the oracle that bade the Greeks worship Herakles *νῦν μὲν ὡς ἥρωας, τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ὡς θεόν.*

It may here be objected that, if ἥρωες means an incarnate Herakles, we should expect to find the former like the latter closely related to Hera. But that is exactly what we do find. Isidore,⁴ following Augustine,⁵ has preserved the Greek tradition that Ἥρα had a son Ἥρωες, and that all ἥρωες, *i.e.* the souls of the great dead, derive their name from her. This remarkable testimony is not lightly to be set aside. It explains *e.g.* the intimacy between the 'hero' Jason and his protectress Hera.⁶ As the representative of Zeus dwelt beneath the sacred oak (Dodona, Ammonium, etc.)⁷ or was known as the mistletoe-man (Ixion),⁸ so the favourite of Hera travels in a ship made of a wood resembling the mistletoe-bearing oak and takes with him a branch of the Dodonaean tree.⁹

Two questions remain. When, and where, did the *ἱερὸς γάμος* of Zeus and Hera take place? Zeus at Dodona was a Pelasgian god,¹⁰ whose cult had come from a Pelasgian district of Thessaly.¹¹ An epigrammatist on Memnon's left leg rightly speaks of the Dodonaean Zeus as Διὸς [Πελασγί]κοῦ.¹² Herodotus virtually states that Hera and the heroes were worshipped by the Pelasgians.¹³ Certainly Hera the patroness of Iason was a Pelasgian goddess,¹⁴ as was Hera at Samos.¹⁵ Propertius rightly speaks

of *Iunonis Pelasgae*.¹⁶ It is therefore possible, indeed it is probable, that the union of Zeus with Hera goes back to Pelasgian times.¹⁷ I conceive that a matriarchal Pelasgian tribe worshipping Hera and Herakles was amalgamated with a patriarchal Pelasgian tribe worshipping Zeus and Dia or Dione, the resultant cult being that of Zeus and Hera. The *ἱερὸς γάμος* is traditionally localised in Euboea,¹⁸ Boeotia,¹⁹ Argolis,²⁰ Samos,²¹ or Knossos,²² *i.e.* in the chief centres of Pelasgian civilisation.²³

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

LECHAT'S ATTIC SCULPTURE BEFORE PHIDIAS.

La Sculpture attique avant Phidias. By H. LECHAT. Pp. viii+510. 48 Text-illustrations. Paris: A. Fontemoing. 1904. Fr. 20.

THAT M. Lechat has been able to devote a work of more than 500 closely printed pages to Attic sculpture before the time of Pheidias, is in itself significant of the advance that has been made by excavation and research in our knowledge of the earlier phases of Greek art. To this result no writer has given more ungrudging labour than M. Lechat, who, in virtue of his book *Au Musée de l'Acropole d'Athènes*, his articles in the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, and the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, and the substantial volume now under consideration, has come to be the authoritative exponent of the treasures of the little museum on the Acropolis.

The first section covers roughly a period of one hundred years, from B.C. 650 to B.C. 550, though the anterior date cannot be more than approximately accurate. M. Lechat is a firm believer in the autochthonous

¹ Paus. 2. 10. 1.

² Diod. 4. 39.

³ Pind. *Nem.* 3. 38.

⁴ Isid. *origg.* 8. 11. 98.

⁵ Aug. *de civ. Dei* 10. 21.

⁶ *Od.* 12. 72, Ap. Rhod. 3. 66 ff., *alib.*

⁷ *Folk-lore* xv. 295 ff.

⁸ *Ib.* xv. 425 f.

⁹ *Ib.* xv. 424.

¹⁰ *Il.* 16. 233, with schol. *ad loc.*, Eustath. 1057, 42. 51 ff., Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωδώνη, Eudoc. *viol.* 414 g.

¹¹ Strab. 329.

¹² Kaibel *ep.* 995. 9.

¹³ Hdt. 2. 50. Temenos, son of Pelasgos, erected three temples to Hera at Stymphalos (Paus. 8. 22. 2).

¹⁴ Ap. Rhod. 1. 14, with schol. *ad loc.*

¹⁵ Dionys. *per.* 534, with Eustath. *ad loc.*

¹⁶ Prop. 2. 28. 11.

¹⁷ It is to be noted that in an Athenian myth, which Gruppe (*Gr. Myth.* p. 904 n.) regards as Pelasgian, Hymenaeus the marriage-god is apparently clothed as a woman (Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 4. 99).

¹⁸ Mt. Ocha (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κάρυστος); Elym-nion (schol. Ar. *pac.* 1126).

¹⁹ Mt. Kithairon (Euseb. *prep. ev.* 3. 1. 3).

²⁰ Mt. Kokkx or Kokkygion (*F.H.G.* ii. 190 f. Aristot. *frag.* 287 ap. schol. vet. Theocr. 15. 64 = Eudoc. *viol.* 414 h., Paus. 2. 17. 4, cp. 2. 36. 1 f.).

²¹ Varro ap. Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 17. 8, Aug. *de civ. Dei* 6. 7, schol. *Il.* 14. 296, Eustath. 987, 7 ff.

²² Diod. 5. 72. In Ptolem. *nor. hist.* 6 p. 196, 11 ff. Westermann the union takes place in the cave of Achilleus the Earth-born.

²³ See Ridgeway *The Early Age of Greece* i. chapters 1 and 2.

nature of Attic art. It is perhaps inevitable that the absorbed study of one set of facts tends to their detachment from their surroundings, but there is an attractive chivalry in the author's championship of the pure descent of the ladies of the Acropolis. 'Quant à la sculpture attique,' he writes, 'elle n'a dû qu'à elle-même sa première croissance: elle est totalement coupée, dans l'espace, des sculptures égyptienne ou assyrienne; totalement coupée, dans le temps, de l'art des pré-Hellènes. Elle nous apparaît, prise à ses débuts, comme autochtone.' Of the poros pediments the author, in opposition to Dr. Wiegand who considers them contemporary works, attempts an elaborate chronological sequence. He treats at great length the question of early polychromy summarizing his conclusions as to its origin as follows. 'La polychromie dans la sculpture grecque n'a été, à l'origine, qu'une satisfaction donnée aux exigences d'un sens esthétique qui manquait encore de culture: elle n'est pas le résultat laborieux d'un calcul artistique, mais le fruit spontané d'un instinct: c'est à cet instinct qu'elle doit son existence, et c'est par cet instinct qu'a été déterminée sa façon d'être.'

The second section covers the period of Ionian influence. M. Lechat emphasizes the point that the earliest marble works 'n'ont différé des sculptures en pierre commune que par la matière, mais non par l'aspect extérieur et par les qualités d'exécution.' Of this period he considers the Moschophoros the most important and the most typical. In the decade following the middle of the sixth century he argues that Attic art had a well-established character of its own, holding the balance between Dorian and Ionian. 'Il semble que l'art attique soit dirigé, dès ses débuts, par un secret instinct de mesure qui le préserve des excès choquants et des étalages agressifs, et le conduit à occuper un juste milieu entre l'art de la Grèce orientale et celui de la Grèce occidentale.' He places a few years later the change due to Ionian influence reaching Attica by the island school of Chios and culminating in the time of the Peisistratids. 'Aux raisons d'ordre géographique et ethnique aux prédispositions de milieu et de mœurs qui désignaient l'Attique pour être plus aisément imprégnée d'ionisme, s'ajoutaient les effets de la politique des Pisistratides à l'extérieur comme à l'intérieur.' To this period he assigns the majority of the long series of the Acropolis korai, devoting to them the minute and assiduous study with which readers of his

articles in the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* are already in part familiar.

The concluding section is devoted to the growth of the other cogent factor in pre-Pheidian sculpture, the influence of Dorian art. The genesis of this should receive fresh light from the excavations now in progress on the site of ancient Sparta, but under whatever conditions it arose the familiar notion that at Athens it existed side by side with the earlier Ionian strain, the two acting and reacting upon each other, will probably need no modification. And we are still probably right in considering that of these two factors Pheidian art is the outcome and the synthesis. 'Cette harmonieuse conciliation,' our author concludes, 'est plus complète encore dans les sculptures de Parthénon où elle va sans effort jusqu'à une intime pénétration réciproque des éléments contraires.'

When due consideration has been paid to the author's erudition it remains to be said that the work, owing to its inordinate length and inadequate illustrations, is in its present form an unattractive volume. There are it is true some fair reproductions of the less well known subjects, but most of the works of art described are now familiar, and quite small cuts of these would have been sufficient to recall to the reader the precise poros pediment or kore under discussion. As it is, two-thirds of the work is unintelligible outside a library.

JOHN H. BAKER-PENOYRE.

ROBERTS' AND GARDNER'S GREEK EPIGRAPHY.

An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy.

Part II.: The Inscriptions of Attica.

Edited by E. S. ROBERTS, M.A., and
E. A. GARDNER, M.A. Cambridge University Press. 1905. Pp. xxiv + 602. 21s.

THE review of this scholarly book has been delayed too long. I welcomed the task when offered me, but kept waiting for leisure quietly to study these pages, with the enjoyment which comes always from visiting old scenes in new and enlightened companionship. Such anticipations have been amply fulfilled. The volume is a monument of exact and sedulous labour, such as Cambridge scholarship has taught us to expect; and it enables the English student to bring his information upon Attic epigraphy up to the level of the best knowledge.

The First Part, published by Mr. Roberts in 1887, dealt mainly with the history of the Greek alphabets in the period ending with the closing years of the fifth century B.C., and was illustrated by inscriptions from all parts of the Greek world. The volume before us has a different scope. It is confined to Attica, and is the outcome of a study of all the vast and multitudinous mass of Attic inscriptions as yet discovered. The editors have set before us specimens of every kind of document,—public or private, secular or sacred,—embraced within that wide compass. They explain to us the peculiarities of orthography, syntax, and even of lettering, both as indications of date and as phases in the development of the language. They also make the documents they publish reveal their secrets, and unfold the history—social or political—of the period to which they belong.

Few persons are really aware of the vast dimensions to which Greek epigraphy has by this time grown. It presents quite as wide and varied material for study as Greek literature itself. In fact the two—inscriptions and manuscripts—are really the complements of each other; the qualities required for the one branch of research are those which serve for the other. And it is worth observing how generally the scholars that have done most for epigraphy have also been distinguished in other fields of intellectual activity. Augustus Böckh, who first reduced the study of Greek inscriptions to a science and compiled his monumental *Corpus*, wrote also the *Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, and was a distinguished editor of Pindar. Adolf Kirchhoff, who planned the new Berlin *Corpus* and trained the younger school of epigraphists, was a notable lecturer on Aeschylus. Much the same might be said of his brilliant disciple, Ulrich Köhler, whose scholarship made the *Mittheilungen* of the German School at Athens famous. In Austria, Otto Benndorf was not only a careful epigraphist, but confessedly one of the ablest and most original Greek scholars of his time. In France, Dumont, the epigraphist, became a successful Minister of Education. Waddington, who did more than any man for the epigraphy and numismatics of Asia Minor, was best known as the French Ambassador. And the editors of this volume, minute students as they are of epigraphy, are both men distinguished for their great and varied services to learning and education. The very mention of these names (and the list could easily be extended) illustrates a real

difficulty in epigraphic study. Its field has become so great as to compel subdivision of labour, and limitations of area. Well do I remember spending two days in the *temenos* of Delphi, shortly after it had been cleared by the French explorers under M. Homolle. Apart from the indescribable interest of the remains of architecture and sculpture, there were (it seems) whole acres of new inscriptions to be read. It was as if one had entered a vast library, full of books uncatalogued, unread, unopened. The material in fact at hand for study, from every part of Greece, is enormous; and it is fast increasing. If to inscriptions be added the Greek papyri now so rapidly being published, we may say of the last half-century, that Greek learning has received accessions of material, enlargement in breadth of view and in thoroughness of method, without any parallel since the re-discovery of Greek. It is a privilege to have had any share, however small, in this new revival, and the present writers have deserved well of the republic of letters.

My only fear is that they have crowded too much within the compass of the volume. They have hardly left themselves space enough to set the documents plainly before the reader. The book is avowedly meant for beginners, and the untrained eye might be thankful for the light and leading afforded by more frequent and emphatic headings and plainer indications of date. One marvels at the compact and careful arrangement of material; but in reading, I have felt a sense of oppression. One wants more elbow-room. The student might sometimes hardly be able to see the wood for the trees. The brevity observed in matters of reference at times breeds obscurity. On p. 36 I hardly saw at first what was meant by 'Ro. i. 145 45'; nor did I recognize myself in 'H. 39,' especially as neither work is mentioned in the list of abbreviations on pp. xix., xx. If it be not presumptuous, I would say that the volume would have been hardly less interesting, if its scope had been chiefly confined to philology; if it had aimed at illustrating such works as those of Wecklein, Larfeld, and Meisterhans on the Grammar of Attic Inscriptions, just as Part I. illustrated Kirchhoff's remarkable study of the Greek alphabets.

However, the editors have given us far more, and we can but be grateful for their bounty. The student who masters this volume will know something, by selected samples, of all that Attic inscriptions have to teach about history, antiquities, and language.

Interesting documents abound, so that one knows not where to begin. On p. 9 we read the authentic history of the lovely little Temple of Victory which charms every visitor to the Acropolis. On p. 70 we read part of the name of Alcibiades in a contemporary decree, and on p. 309 find a list of his confiscated effects. On p. 91 we are enabled to correct the historians by help of the marbles. On pp. 54 and 262 we have to explain why the text of Thucydides varies from the inscribed text of a decree, and are helped by the editors to do so. Few things will come home to the modern reader more than the account of the consulting of the oracle on p. 96, or the specifications for the Arsenal of Philo on p. 364. The notes are excellent. Nothing could be better than the paragraph (*e.g.*) on the *phratries* (p. 229), save that one could wish it rather longer; or that on the *Ephebia* (p. 145), into which a whole chapter of Attic history is condensed. Few will quarrel with the conclusions drawn from documents (p. 33) as to the identification of the *Opisthodomos*. Bright little suggestions lighten our path through dull places again and again, as on p. 302, where in explanation of Ἀφροδισιακόν, Δημοτριακόν, Ἀθηναϊκόν, etc., as names for workings (ἐργαστήρια) in the mines of Laureion, the editors say: 'the names may have commemorated a vow or denoted neighbouring shrines.' On p. 180 in a good note upon Diogenes, the hero of the later Ephebi, it would have been well to quote also Köhler's original essay in an early volume of the *Mittheilungen* where he identified this personage as 'Ein Verschollener.'

It must be confessed that, as a rule, the interest of Attic documents shrinks greatly after we enter the second half of the fourth century. The earlier decrees, and indeed all the earlier Attic documents, are of imperishable value. But the later Attic inscriptions deal with subjects which are often more vividly illustrated by documents from other regions. The fact is, that while Athens was declining in political and commercial importance, other places, such as Rhodes, Cos, Halicarnassos, Delos, and many other towns and islands of the Levant, were entering upon a vigorous career, or even becoming important centres of art and letters. Athens affords us no example of Dikast decrees, nor anything like the famous sumptuary law from Gambreion which limits the expenses of funerals and reminds of some of Solon's rules. The best illustration of the sale of a priesthood and the specification of its perquisites is the inscription from

Halicarnassos cited on p. 232. The melting down and reconstruction of valuable *ex voto* offerings in a temple is best exemplified by the inscription from the Amphiraion at Oropos quoted on p. 360. The best ritual decrees are from Cos. So that, on the whole, I should incline to think that the best way of breaking up our unwieldy material into manageable portions and making its evidence available to the student, will be by dealing with separate aspects in separate monographs, and by making the subject and not the locality the principle of division. Scholars like Dittenberger and Michel have done all that can be done in the way of general selections. Larfeld, Meisterhans, and others have dealt with the grammar of inscriptions. Haussoullier and his colleagues have collected the documents that relate to law: Loewy those that deal with sculptors; Cauer and others have illustrated dialects; Swoboda has written on Greek decrees. Many other such monographs have appeared, and will appear. I had long desired to issue a volume of inscriptions to illustrate Greek Religion, and I hope some younger scholar will take up the task: I will gladly hand him my notes. Only in this kind of way do I think that the great task before us can be properly mastered. I am not for a moment disparaging the work of these two scholars: they have attacked an immense task, and I wonder at the success they have achieved.

On a few points I should venture to suggest a doubt or a difference of view. On p. 37 the authors hardly seem to have perceived how early, how strongly, and how lastingly Athens was possessed by the fatal ambition to extend her Empire in the West. The colonizing of Thurii, the support of Coreyra, the alliance with Rhegium and Leontini, were all steps in that policy of Western expansion which led to the Sicilian Expedition and the irreparable ruin of Athens. On p. 51, I cannot think that ἐπαινεῖσαι in the decrees is an 'imperative' use of the infinitive; it depends on ἔδοξεν or a like word expressed or understood. On p. 500 it would have been better to print the famous epitaph on the Potidaean heroes in three quatrains, as their author manifestly intended.

I had noted a number of other points for mention, but space forbids. The volume is packed with interesting things, and it closes (*mirabile dictu*) with an inscription—surely once the property of a teacher—which prescribed an early system of shorthand. There is a capital index.

EDWARD LEE HICKS.

FRAZER'S *EARLY HISTORY OF THE KINGSHIP*.

Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship. By J. G. FRAZER, Hon. D.C.L., Oxford, Hon. LL.D., Glasgow, Hon. Litt.D., Durham, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co., New York: The Macmillan Co. 1905. Pp. xi + 309. 8s. 6d. net.

THE remembrance of the lectures delivered by Dr. Frazer at Trinity College, in the Lent Term of 1905, is still fresh in the minds of many at Cambridge. These lectures are here reprinted substantially as spoken. They consist, we are told in the preface, of a series of extracts from the forthcoming third edition of *The Golden Bough*. Prompted largely by criticisms and suggestions made by Mr. A. B. Cook in his articles on 'Zeus Jupiter and the Oak' (*C.R.* 1903, 1904) Dr. Frazer has reconsidered the whole problem of the Arician kingship. The result has been not only that much light has been thrown on the peculiar ritual of Nemi but that Dr. Frazer has arrived at a theory of the origin of the kingship in general.

The king according to Dr. Frazer is the lineal descendant not of the 'strong man' of the tribe, but of the principal magician or medicine-man. By the dread he inspires, by the property he accumulates, the chief medicine-man gradually attains influence over his weaker brethren, influence mainly beneficent, because it stands for knowledge as against ignorance, expert skill as against brute force. The medicine-man with his perquisites is the first instance of the 'endowment of research.' But the medicine-man tends also to develop into a god; god and king are not to primitive man things sharply distinguishable; hence the divinity that 'doth hedge a king.'

Clear and convincing this and we long for the sequel. But, having named the word *magician* Dr. Frazer will not trust us to understand what is meant by *magic*, so three chapters are interpolated to explain 'sympathetic magic' with its two subdivisions 'Homeopathic' and 'Contagious' magic. Needless to say they are excellent chapters, happily combining amusement and instruction. They will be well in place, in the third edition of *The Golden Bough* and will then call for detailed consideration. But here we submit they tend to obscure the main contention.

The king then is half-god, half-magician: his main business is to make rain, to make

sun, to promote fertility generally. For this he needs a help-meet; hence the sacred ritual marriages all over the world; hence the King and Queen of the May; hence the Rex Nemorensis has his woman-counterpart in Diana Nemorensis. Direct evidence of a sacred marriage at Nemi, Dr. Frazer frankly owns (p. 169) there is none, but we think his contention is justified that 'analogy pleads in its favour.'

The king needs in modern, patriarchal parlance a help-meet, a Queen, but note that, if Dr. Frazer be right, this help-meet is a goddess 'Diana' wedded to a mortal king of the wood, mortal however hedged with divinity. This brings us to a curious and cardinal discovery, to our mind the most important new contribution to mythology made by the present book.

We all know Virgil's elaborate confusion or contamination of Virbius and Hippolytus. Diana revives the dead Hippolytus and sets him to dwell in Egeria's grove, there to spend an inglorious life

versoque ubi nomine Virbius esset.

Aen. vii. 777.

But what lies behind all this? The invaluable Servius tells us; yet his explanation, simple, illuminating as it is, once observed, escaped even Dr. Frazer in his earlier edition, *re vera autem . . . Virbius est numen conjunctum Dianae, ut Matri deum Atys Minervae Erichthonius; Veneri Adonis*. Virbius, Hippolytus,¹ Attis, Adonis, Erichthonius, and many another are *numina conjuncta* prince-consorts to goddesses, the King of the Woods was help-meet, prince-consort to Diana the Goddess-Queen.

But what evidence of this exists? Is it a mere 'matriarchal' hypothesis framed to account for mythology otherwise inexplicable? Not at all. We know now that man makes the gods in his own image. If then we assert that in countless instances the god was prince-consort to the goddess, we are bound to show evidence that in *human* affairs the king was prince-consort to the queen. This is just what for the early Italian kingships Dr. Frazer has brilliantly demonstrated. Here again we hope he will pardon us if we regret that this demonstration is seriously hampered by the inter-

¹ Dr. Frazer has elsewhere (in a paper published in the *Fortnightly Review*) examined the relation of Hippolytus as *numen conjunctum* to Artemis and has shown clearly I think that the relation of the ascetic to the maiden-goddess as we know it in the Phaedra-myth is a late development. The cult at the tomb of Hippolytus is in itself sufficient evidence.

polation of material only remotely relevant, we mean the sacrifice possibly with a view to marriage of women to water-spirits, the Perseus and Andromeda type and the, in itself, most interesting 'Privilege of St. Romain.' Needless to say that the thread of the argument is never lost by the writer, but for some readers we tremble.

The god is prince-consort to the goddess. Translated into terms of humanity this means kingship transmitted in the female line. Sudden significance is hereby given to the fact that not one of the Roman kings was immediately succeeded by his son, yet several left sons or grandsons. One, Ancus Martius, was descended from a former king through his mother not through his father, Tattius, the elder Tarquin, and Servius Tullius were succeeded by their sons-in-law of foreign descent. The succession to the kingship was determined, it would seem, in ancient Rome by customs such as those which have moulded many other early societies, customs known currently by the inaccurate term 'matriarchal,' by the custom *i.e.* of exogamy, *becna* marriage and female kinship. The royal princesses stay by the paternal hearth as Vestal Virgins, a prince of another house or even a stranger of low birth, but vigorous stock comes from without, approves himself by some deed of conquest or trial of strength, marries a princess and their child succeeds. This principle is frequently at work in heroic Greece. Aeacus reigns in Aegina, his son Telamon migrates to Salamis, marries the king's daughter and reigns there. Telamon's son Teucer, in like fashion, migrates to Cyprus, marries the king's daughter and succeeds his father-in-law. It is the same in the line of Peleus—Peleus himself, Achilles, Neoptolemos all seek other fortunes, fortunes abroad, so again with Pelops Atreus and Menelaos. Even Agamemnon according to the older lyric poets reigns not at Mycenae but in Clytemnestra's native land of Lacedaemon and is buried at its ancient capital, Amyclae.

Such are the human social conditions reflected in the mythology of the *numina conjuncta* and we no longer wonder that Numa has his Egeria and the Rex Nemorensis his Diana Nemorensis. The King of the Wood fighting for his kingdom is the last survivor of heroes who wrestled and raced to obtain a bride and with her a kingdom. So Pelops won Hippodameia, Ulysses Penelope, Alcidas Barce.

The king, once king was, as we have seen, divine, the final question remains what divinity did the King of the Wood embody.

The male correlation of Diana is Dianus and Dianus is, if Dr. Frazer be right and we cannot doubt it, but our old friend Janus writ long, Juno Diana Dione are, in origin and substance, identical. Janus like Jupiter, like Zeus, is the father-god, Juno-Diana-Dione not maiden but mother. The door *janua* did not give its name to the god, but, as is more becoming, the god to the door, for in no Indo-European speech save Latin has *door* the name *janua*.

The riddle of the Nemi kingship is read, all honour to the reader. Dr. Frazer is eloquent on the importance of the inductive method—we all of us recommend the inductive method to our pupils—but the best of us is but a dog, he cannot hunt until he has got the scent. Dr. Frazer is also eloquent on the duty of dispassionate inquiry, yet his book *is*, his lectures *were*, informed, aglow with a passionate propagandism. The anthropologist is the patient pioneer, we are told of a new and surer social revolution. He and he only forces us to see with clear eyes the stuff of which our customs and creeds our gods and kings for better for worse are made.—The Rousseaus of the past have dreamed their dreams, the sleeper is turning in his sleep and at the touch of anthropology awakes at last to reality.

JANE E. HARRISON.

DECHARME'S GREEK CRITICISM OF TRADITIONAL RELIGION.

La Critique des Traditions Religieuses chez les Grecs, des origines au temps de Plutarque. Par PAUL DECHARME. Paris: Picard. 1904. 8vo. Pp. xiv + 518. Fr. 7.50.

THIS book is a pleasant change from Greek Mythologies on the German plan—collections of facts, full measure, pressed down and running over, so much pressed down in fact that they are hard to digest. M. Decharme takes Greek mythology and religion from the philosophical side. He takes the facts largely for granted, analyzes their elements, and describes the points of view of the great writers—Homer, Hesiod, Plato, and so forth. Greek mythology as it appeared to the Greeks is his theme. There is evidence in him of a certain bias: he is too much inclined, I think, to rationalize: thus the story of Cronos (p. 13) becomes a subtle allegory, and the War with the Titans suggests a volcanic eruption (p. 18). Homer's point of view is not, I think, apprehended.

The author says : 'on chercherait vainement dans l'Iliade et dans l'Odyssée les premières traces du scepticisme grec à l'égard des fables des dieux.' But Homer seems to be definitely a critic of these stories, at least in those parts where he pokes fun at the gods. European folk-tales often poke fun at devils and ogres, sometimes at saints, but never at God or Jesus Christ; and the Homeric poems show signs of this mocking spirit. Homer's criticism may well be implied in his silence as to such myths as that of Cronos. When we come to historical times, M. Decharme is more in his element. Here he deals separately with the Historians, the Poets, 'Philosophes, Sophistes, et impies' (whom he unkindly groups together), Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle; he has chapters also on prosecutions for impiety (a good idea), and on the philosophical schools — the Academy, Epicurus, the Stoics, Pythagoras, with Euhemerism and realism. Lastly, a valuable account is given of Plutarch's religious views.

The chapters in which M. Decharme describes the attitude of educated men towards the Greek pantheon deserve the study of all who wish to understand the ancients. It is not easy for the average Christian to see how such men could keep any faith in their national religion; yet they did. The patronizing air which was common in discussing them thirty years ago is not so common now; but since Plato did not write a controversial treatise justifying the Greek religion against any other, and since his views are not aggressively put forward, they may be missed. Plutarch on the other hand, who lived after religious controversy had begun, formulates his own views clearly enough; but Plutarch is not generally studied. Those who are interested in the history of religious thought, and who are not biassed by prejudices, will welcome M. Decharme's analysis. Along with it they would do well to examine Minucius Felix. There is no doubt, in my opinion, that Christianity triumphed not for intellectual reasons but for moral; that the determining factor was the loss of faith, not intellectual difficulties, in other words that the educated Greek could find comfort in his own religion in spite of its inconsistencies and absurdities. The Greek is much the same now as he was in Plato's day: he has only changed the names of his gods.

M. Decharme has chosen his subjects well. The man of keen intellect and moral correctness probably takes the same views on the whole in ancient Greece and modern Eng-

land; and the chief types characteristic of ancient belief are fairly shown forth in the other chapters. We miss however both the Orphics and the Mithraists. Euhemerus is always with us; he even stands at the elbow of M. Decharme, as I have indicated above.

The book is delightful to read, and makes one marvel why so few English writers can escape the taint of the halfpenny press. Are there such things in France as—but perhaps it is better to name no names.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREECE.

Laconia.—At Thalamai on the W. Coast the spring near the sanctuary of Ino, mentioned by Pausanias (iii. 26. 1), has probably been identified. At Geronthrai a Bronze Age Settlement has been discovered, as well as a series of 6th–5th cent. marble sculptures of local work. At Angelona a Heroon has been excavated. Here were found an excellent marble relief of the 5th cent. representing a worshipper at an altar, a terracotta relief of an enthroned hero with kantharos and serpent, a bronze snake, and other objects.¹

Corinth.—During the past season the ground to the N. and E. of the so-called spring of Glauké has been thoroughly examined. Pottery fragments ranging in date from late Corinthian to *terra sigillata* have come to light. On the S. slope of the Acropolis the remains of the Asklepion have been uncovered.

S. RUSSIA.

Kuban District.—Several tumuli have been explored, but the results as a whole are somewhat disappointing, most of the tombs having been previously rifled. The most noteworthy objects found are a bronze jug with a fine relief under the handle representing a male figure, and a bronze bowl with a relief of a youth wounded by an Erinny and supported by a woman. The relief is fine Hellenistic work of the 3rd–2nd cent. B.C.¹

EGYPT.

Elephantine.—Several ancient houses of the poorer sort have been excavated. Of the finds, the most considerable are papyri. Especially noteworthy is a series of docu-

¹ *Arch. Anz.* 1906, part 2.

ments sealed with very fine seals of the Ptolemaic Period, representing a head of Medusa, Eros shooting with the bow, Artemis with torch, etc. Many household utensils and much late pottery—Roman and Coptic—have been found.¹

Alexandria.—At Tûch el Karamus in the Delta an important treasure of gold and silver objects has been found. These are now for the most part in the Cairo museum. They include an armlet, with richly decorated clasp surmounted by a figure of Eros holding his chlamys in his hands, another armlet in the form of a serpent with the eyes set with precious stones and a large ruby on its head, and a third armlet ending in the forepart of two winged sphinxes. There are also a chain necklace ending in the heads of lion-gryphons, and two gold pectorals ending above in hawk-heads ornamented with inlaid pearls, lapis lazuli, and turquoises. Several silver vessels were also found, the best of which is a silver-gilt rhyton ending in a gryphon's head. The find can be approximately dated by the coins of Ptolemy I and II discovered with it. It cannot be later than the 2nd half of the 3rd cent. B.C.¹

N. AFRICA.

Carthage.—The excavation of the theatre has led to the discovery of several statues, the most important being one of Aphrodite and Eros. On the hill of St. Monica a wall of amphorae has been discovered. They are stamped with inscriptions indicating the place of production and the name of the producer. Several Greek terracottas of the 4th–3rd cent. B.C. have been found, including a woman wearing a kalathos and holding a large round fan, and another woman wearing a curious variety of Phrygian cap.¹

Dugga.—A large wind-rose has been discovered, marked for twelve winds, viz. Septentrio, Aquilo, Euroaquilo, [Solanus], Eurus, Leuconotus, Auster, Libonotus, Africus, Favonius, Argestes, Circeus.¹

F. H. MARSHALL.

NUMISMATIC SUMMARIES.

Revue numismatique. Part 2, 1906.

O. Vauvillé. 'Monnaies gauloises de Suessions à la légende Criciru.' Many of these coins (bronze, silver, and gold) were found at Pommiers near Soissons (*Noviodunum* of the *Suessiones*). Criciru

is probably the name of the chieftain of the tribe.—Dieudonné. 'Emèse,' Coins of Emisa (*Homs*) in Syria. An interesting summary of its coinage under Elagabalus and other Emperors. Lenormant published a bronze coin on which he read *Dabel Malka*, and which he assigned to one of the regal high-priests of this city. Dieudonné doubts the reading, and even the attribution to Emisa. Some coins, of the Antioch type, period of Caracalla, hitherto assigned to Heliopolis, are, it is suggested, of Emisa. They have as mint-symbol a radiate head, the Sun-God.—J. De Foville 'Trois monnaies d'or romaines.' One of these pieces—recent acquisitions of the French Collection—is an aureus of Allectus found in France, near Samer, south of Boulogne-sur-Mer. The coin is of the London mint, ML, but the type of the rev. (*Provid. Aug.*) is new in gold and is not found in Mr. Webb's recent monograph.—E. Babelon. 'La trouvaille de Helleville (Manche) en 1780.' An interesting account of a find, made long ago in Normandy, of gold medallions and rare gold coins of Constantine I. and his family. These pieces were acquired for the French Collection, but at the time of the great robbery in 1831 were melted down by the plunderers, and shared the shocking fate of 2,000 other gold specimens of ancient currency. Babelon's descriptions and photographs are taken from plaster casts of the originals which have been fortunately preserved. This paper includes some remarks (pp. 183 f.) on the use of the *nimbus* on Roman coins; on the employment of the gemmed diadem; also, on large gold medallions (pp. 185 f.) given by the Emperors as presents to barbarian princes, and which have generally been found in places far from the chief cities of the Empire.

Rivista italiana di numismatica. Part 2, 1906.

Contains several articles on Roman numismatics, among which may be mentioned the continuation of Haeblerlin's article on aes grave; F. Gneocchi on the aurei of Probus and Gallienus inscribed *UBIQUE PAX*; G. Pansa, 'Le monete dei Peligni,' on coins inscribed *PALACNVS*, etc.; M. Piccione, 'Le due F dell'aureo di M. Antonio Figlio.'

Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Vol. xxv. Part 4, 1906.

G. F. Hill. 'Nochmals das Stabkreuz.' As to the 'staff' held by Nike on coins of Alexander the Great, etc. This object has been usually called a trophy-stand, but Babelon has seen in it the *stylis* (part of a ship). Assmann has recently declared it to be a standard used on Phoenician ships. Mr. Hill agrees that the object is 'of a nautical character,' 'probably some kind of standard,' but he shows that it does not closely resemble (as Assmann asserted) the standards found on Phoenician coins (Sidon, Aradus). The cruciform standard now in question resembles the object carried by Nike on a Panathenaic vase of B.C. 336, and 'there can be no doubt that this form of standard was known in Greece at least as early as 336 B.C., whether it was of Phoenician origin or not.'—H. Dessau. 'Die Entstehung der Äeren von Gangra und Amasia.' Year 1 of the era of Gangra (according to inscriptions, etc.) begins in the autumn of B.C. 6 and ends autumn of B.C. 5. The first year of the era of Amasia is supposed by Th. Reinach to be 1–2 A.D. The evidence of a coin of Caracalla is discussed by Dessau, who maintains (like Imhoof-Blumer) that the era began in B.C. 2. The eras of Sebastopolis (p. 379) and Sebastea (p. 342) are also referred to.

¹ *Arch. Anz.* 1906, part 2.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part 2, 1906.

G. Macdonald. 'Roman medallions in the Hunterian Collection.' A descriptive account of the medallions (Hadrian to Valens) illustrated by four plates. At the end of each description are placed a couple of arrow-heads, novel, but not unimportant appendages to a numismatic article, as they are intended to show the 'direction in which obv. and rev. dies have lain during the process of striking.' I may add that Mr. Macdonald has a paper on this subject of the direction of dies in the forthcoming volume of essays written in honour of

B. V. Head.—P. H. Webb. 'The Coinage of Allectus.' A much more complete list of the coins than any previously published. 'Allectus coined some 18 varieties of gold coinage and a large amount of bronze, but no true silver.' On p. 137 an explanation of the mint-letters is attempted, e.g. M.S.C. = Moneta Signata Camulodunensis (Colchester mint); M.L. = Moneta Londinensis; S.P. = Signata prima officina. For the further discussion of these difficult points, Mr. Webb's catalogue will provide useful material.

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 30. 1906. No. 1.

Graeco-Egyptian deeds of divorce, Jean Lesquier. The papyri, which are studied in detail, are formal business documents: they do not throw any light upon the grounds for divorce in Greek Egypt. *The law of the antepenultimate foot in the text of Terence*, Georges Romain. The law posited for Plautus (see C.R. p. 382) is maintained for Terence, and infractions of it considered. *The Lucian Lexicon*, Pierre Bourdreaux. The inaccuracies of Bachmann's account of this in his *Anecdota Graeca* are exposed in detail. *On some passages of Cicero's Letters to Atticus* (Books 9 and 12), Max Bonnet. Emendations of 9. 10. 7, 12. 3. 1, 12. 11, 12. 18. 1, 12. 25. 2, 12. 40. 2, 12. 45. 2. *On Juvenal* 1. 105, the same. *Quadringenta* refers to the equestrian fortune. *Rutiliana*, J. Vessereau and P. Dimoff. I. Rutilius was probably born at or near Narbonne. II. The date of his journey was 417 A.D. (=1169 of Rome by the reckoning of Cato). *Bulletin bibliographique*.

No. 2.

History of the Greek Language and Literature. Introduction, U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf. Translation of the beginning of *Die griechische Literatur und Sprache* by Mme. J. Weil. The text of Q. Curtius and metrical prose, René Pichon. Numerous passages are cited. For a historian C. keeps curiously close to the rules of metrical prose. *The δίκη ἐκούλης in Attic Law*, R. Dareste. Considered with special reference to Plautus *Rud.* 859. *Hirtius B.G.* 8. 4. 1, L. Havet. For tot read tota. *Aetna*, Georges Romain. Emendations of 65 leg. 'stant utrimque truces,' 119, 395. Facsimile of an inscription from the Piræus. *Tertullian de Idololatria* 8, Aug. Audollent. *Meilichides' Delian accounts*, A. Dieudonné. Transcript, with facsimile and comments, of an inscription in the 'Cabinet des Médailles' (No. LXII in Homolle's catalogue of inscriptions in *Archives de l'Entendance sacrée à Delos*). *The Commentariolum in Artem Eutychii of Sedulius Scottus*, M. Roger. On the authenticity of two poems of Fortunatus de exordio Thuringiae and Epist. ad Artachin, wrongly attributed to St. Rudegund, E. Rey. *Orphica περί Αἰδών*, v. 227 (Abel), C.-E. Ruelle. Read τὸν δέ for ζῶν δέ. *Tertullian ad uxorem*, 1. 4, R. de Labriolle. *Pomponius Mela* 3. 52, L. Havet. An archaic inscription of Cumae, B. Haussoullier. *Bulletin bibliographique. Revue des Revues*.

No. 3.

Fragments of an unknown Greek philosopher or rhetorician, J. Bidez. A mutilated papyrus, No. COLXXV of the British Museum, is published and restored. *Phaedrus* 3. 4. 6-7, L. Havet. For et—et read ut—ita. *Studies on Terence's Eunuchus*, the same. Thirty-four pages of criticisms on the text of the first 300 lines. *A commonplace of the Second Sophistic*, Louis Méridier. Lucian 'Πρωτων διδασκαλος' § 18 is a fling at the Panathenaica of Aelius Aristides. *Horace and Tibullus*, A. Cartault. *Hor. Ep.* 1. 4 (referred, like *Carm.* 1. 33, to Tibullus) is interpreted to mean: 'Have you gone into retreat to write poor epics like those of Cassius Parmensis? Better obey the natural promptings of your heart and return to a life of pleasure.' In the last line *ridere* is used in the sense of 's'amuser.' Speculations on Tibullus iv. 13 conclude the paper. *The works of Petilius, Donatist bishop of Constantina*, Paul Monceaux. The text of the letter 'ad presbyteros et diaconos Donatistas adversus Catholicam' is put together from the polemic in St. Augustine. *Bulletin bibliographique. Revue des Revues*.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1906.

4 July. G. Macdonald, *Catalogue of Greek coins in the Hunterian Collection*. III. *Further Asia, Northern Africa, Western Greece* (H. v. Fritze). Fr. Seiler, *Griechische Fahrten und Wanderungen* (O. Weissenfels), favourable. Th. Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften*. I. 2. *Juristische Schriften*, 2. Band (E. Kornemann). W. Wäger, *Rom. Geschichte der römischen Völker und seiner Kultur*. 8. Aufl. von O. E. Schmidt (R. Oehler). Der illustrierte lateinische Aesop in der Handschrift des Ademar. Introduction and description by G. Thiele. Codices graeci et latini photographice depicti, Suppl. III. (H. Draheim).

11 July. J.-H. Breasted, *Ancient records of Egypt. Historical documents edited and translated with commentary*. 1. *The first to the seventeenth dynasties* (A. Wiedemann), favourable. O. Weissenfels, *Aristoteles' Lehre vom Staat* (O. Döring). A. Bloch, *Le praefectus fabrum* (Fr. Fröhlich). 'A great advance on Mau's work of 1887 on this subject.' Nägelsbach, *Lateinische Stilistik*. 9. Aufl. von Iw. Müller (C. John).

18 July. O. Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*. 3. Aufl. I. *Zur Geschichte und Methode der linguistisch-historischen Forschung*

(O. Weise), favourable. Sophocles *Antigone*, denuo recens. F. H. M. Blaydes (H. G.). 'Goes further in conjecture than can be approved.' *Der Obergermanisch-Raetische Limes des Römerreiches*. Lief. xi-xvi (M. Ihm). *Florilegium patristicum*, dig. G. Rauschen. IV. *Tertulliani liber de praescriptione haereticorum* (accedunt S. Irenaei adversus haereses III, 3-4). V. *Vincentii Lerinensis communitoria* (J. Draeseke), very favourable.

25 July. G. Macdonald, *Coin types, their origin and development* (H. v. Fritze). 'Good, but not always convincing.' H. Brunn, *Kleine Schriften*, gesamt. von H. Bulle und H. Brunn. II. *Zur griechischen Kunstgeschichte* (A. Körte), favourable. *Die hellenische Kultur*, darg. von Fr. Baumgarten, Fr. Poland, R. Wagner (O. Weissenfels), favourable. W. v. Christ, *Griechische Nachrichten über Italien* (Fr. Matthias). K. Lehmann, *Die Angriffe der drei Barkiden auf Italien* (Fr. Reuss). 'The claim here made to have settled the route of Hannibal cannot be sustained.' W. Bauer, *Die Verfasser—und Zeitfrage des Dialogus de oratoribus* (G. Wörpel). E. Bacha, *Le génie de Tacite, la création des Annales* (F. Gustafsson), unfavourable. H. Kleingünther, *Quaestiones in Astronomicon libros qui sub Manili nomina feruntur pertinentes*. (Breiter), very favourable. G. Harendza, *De oratorio genere dicendi, quo Hieronymus in epistulis usus sit* (C. Weymann), favourable.

8 Aug. Chr. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (F. Solmsen), very favourable. E. v. Mach, *Handbook of Greek and Roman Sculpture* (Th. Schreiber), favourable. *Horatius*, erkl. von A. Kiessling, II. *Satiren*. 3. Aufl. von R. Heinze (O. Weissenfels).

15 Aug. M. Moore, *Curthage of the Phoenicians in the light of modern excavation* (O. Meltzer), favourable. J. Sitzler, *Ein ästhetischer Kommentar zu Homers Odyssee*. 2. Aufl. (Chr. Harder). M. Boas, *De epigrammatum Simonideis*. I. *Commentatio critica de epigrammatum traditione* (L. Weber), favourable. J. Dietze, *Komposition und Quellenbenutzung in Ovids Metamorphosen* (K. P. Schulze). 'Rather incomplete.' J. Samuelsson, *Studia in Valerium Flaccum*. II. (R. Helm). H. Gummerus, *Der römische Gutsbetrieb als wirtschaftlicher Organismus nach den Werken des Cato, Varro und Columella* (B. Kübler). K. Zangemeister, *Theodor Mommsen als Schriftsteller. Ein Verzeichnis seiner Schriften*. Continued by E. Jacobs (E. Kornemann).

29. Aug. R. Encken, *Beiträge zur Einführung in die Geschichte der Philosophie* (O. Weissenfels). Hitzig, *Die Bedeutung des altgriechischen Rechtes für die vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft* (J. Pfaff), very favourable. *Aristophanis Pax*, ed. J. van Leeuwen (J. Wagner). A. Rüegg, *Beiträge zur Erforschung der Quellenverhältnisse in der Alexander Geschichte des Curtius* (Fr. Reuss), unfavourable. H. Krüger, *Kurze Anleitung zur Erlernung des Neugriechischen für solche, welche Altgriechisch können* (G. Wartenberg), favourable.

5. Sept. Ph. Champault, *Phéniciens et Grecs en Italie d'après l'Odyssée* (Chr. Harder), unfavourable. H. Jordan, *Der Erzählstil in den Kampfszenen der Ilias* (Chr. Harder), favourable. A. Castiglioni, *De nonnullis Arriani anabases locis disputatio* (Fr. Reuss). B. Niese, *Grundriss der römischen Geschichte nebst Quellenkunde*. 3. Aufl. (E. Kornemann). C. Bretschneider, *quo ordine ediderit Tacitus singulas Annalium partes* (Ed. Wolff), favourable. H. Joachim, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*. 3. Aufl. (O. Weissenfels).

12. Sept. T. Zanghieri, *Studi su Bacchilde* (J. Sitzler), favourable on the whole. Sophocles. *The*

Philoctetes, with a commentary abridged from the larger edition of Sir R. Jebb by E. S. Shuckburgh (H. Steinberg), favourable. *Anonymous Kommentar zu Platons Theaetetus* (Papyrus 9782) nebst drei Bruchstücken philosophischen Inhalts unter Mitwirkung von J. L. Heiberg bearb. von H. Diels und W. Schubart [Berliner Klassikertexte II.] (F. Jacoby). E. Schwartz, *Christliche und jüdische Osterfesten* (F. K. Ginzel). M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*. III. *Die Zeit von Hadrian 117 bis auf Constantin 324*, 2. Aufl. (Fr. Harder), very favourable. R. Preiswerk, *De inventionis orationum Ciceronianarum* (J. Tolkiehn), favourable.

19. Sept. H. Schultz, *De elocutionis Pindaricae colore epico* (J. Sitzler), favourable, 'but the title is too wide.' A. Furtwängler, *Die Aegineten in der Glyptothek König Ludwigs I. nach den Resultaten der neuen bayerischen Ausgrabung* (C. Wattinger). M. V. Grootte, *Die Entstehung des ionischen Kapitells und seine Bedeutung für die griechische Baukunst*, unfavourable. R. Maisch, *Griechische Altertumskunde*, neu bearb. von Fr. Pohlhammer, 3. Aufl. (Schneider). F. Knoke, *Begriff der Tragödie nach Aristoteles* (Chr. Muff), favourable. P. H. Edwards, *The poetic element in the Satires and Epistles of Horace*. I. (O. Weissenfels), favourable. J. P. Waltzing, *Studia Minuciana* (Boening), 'Goes too far from the MS.' Th. Gsell Fels, *Röm und die Campagna*, 6. Aufl. (H. Belling).

26. Sept. P. Menge, *De poetarum scaenicorum graecorum sermone obscuritates selectae* (H. G.), favourable. W. Gemoll, *Bemerkungen zu Xenophons Anabasis*. V. (Fr. Reuss). W. A. Merrill, *On the influence of Lucretius on Horace* (O. Weissenfels), favourable. *Suetonii, De Vita Caesarum libri VIII.*, rec. L. Preud'homme (Th. Stangl), 'A great advance on Roth's edition.' G. W. Botsford, *On the Distinction between Comitia and Concilium* (E. Wolff), unfavourable. Ch. Diehl, *Figures Byzantines* (G. Wartenberg), favourable. G. N. Hatzidakis, *Die Sprachfrage in Griechenland* (G. Wartenberg).

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Vol. lxi. 2. 1906.

F. Marx, *De Sicili cantilena*. Inscription in Jan., suppl. ad nos. script. Graec. p. 38 explained. W. Vollgraff, *ΑΒΡΥΣ*. Lists of local names in *λαβρυ* (*υ*), *λαβρυ* (*υ*), *λαβ* (*υ*), *λαβ*, *λαβμ*, *λαβ*. The author believes that all (or most) are connected with the name of the pre-Hellenic god worshipped at Labranda and given the emblem of the double axe. Cp. Etruscan names in Lar, etc. E. Norden, *De uitis Vergilianis*. The interpolations of the 2nd Berne MS. belong to the Renaissance. The 'Servian' life is an abridgement of the genuine work of Servius. The Probus life is a forgery—the only statement not found elsewhere, that as to the distance of Andes from Mantua, is incorrect. R. Meier, *De Pseudo-Heronianis*. M. Pokrowski, *Zur lateinischen Etymologie und Wortbildungslehre*. *Acutum, celeber, haruspex, Fontinalia, Frutinal, uiduertas, ignosco, serenus*. W. Banner, *Zu den attischen Rechnungsurkunden des 5. Jahrhunderts*. The older documents arranged for the whole year, the later ones for prytanies. The change began between Ol. 89² and 90¹. P. Cauer, *Zur Abgrenzung und Verbindung der Theile in Horazens Ars Poetica*. A. v. Mess, *Untersuchungen über die Arbeitsweise Diodors*. Examination of Books 11-15 (mainly based on Ephoros). A. Elter, *Eine Elegie des Tibull*. I. 3. ll. 53 sqq. are addressed to Messalla, *quod si* meaning 'if then,' where 'then' refers to the general probability of death implied in ll. 1-8 and partly resumed in the preceding couplets. E.

Hefermehl, *Menekrates von Nysa und Die Schrift vom Erhabenen*. The Alexandrian Ammonius is discussed, and Menekrates assumed to be the authority for the section dealing with differences between *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. An appendix deals with Porphyry's teacher Apollonius. *Miscellen*: F. Reuss, *Megasthenes*. A fresh point in favour of his birth in Asia Minor; G. Némethy, *Ad Ovid*. A.A. iii. 783. Phylleia mater = Thessala bacchantes; P. Menge, *Zu Caesar B.G. 7, 35, 4*. Defends the old conjecture *carpitis*; F. Buecheler, *ΝΕΟΥΦΩΝ*. Interpretation of Suet. Ner. 39; F. B., *Deferebant grandioribus*; K. Tittel, *Noch einmal die Pigna*.

Vol. lxi. 3. 1906.

A. Roemer, *Einige Interpolationen der Odyssee und Aristarch*. J. E. Kirchner, *Beiträge zur attischen Epigraphik*. 1. Priests of Asclepius. 2. Potamii Deirodiotae. F. Rühl, *Herakleides von Mylasa*. His manoeuvre described by Sosylus must have been practised against the Phoenicians, off C. Artemisium in Caria, not at the celebrated battle against the Persians. A. v. Mess, *Untersuch. über Ephoras*. Traces his use of Ctesias in combination with (1) Xenophon (2) Herodotus as main authorities. F. Reuss, *Der Leichenzug Alexanders des Grossen*. Rejects Petersen's view of the πόλος in favour of Six's, except that R. thinks the freedom of movement may have extended to the hind wheels, not merely to the pole and front wheels. G. Crönert, *Lectiones Epicureae*. H. Raeder, *Ueber die Echtheit der platonischen Briefe*. If genuine, their date would fall in the years 366-352. An exam. from the point of view of hiatus and vocabulary reveals many points of agreement with just those dialogues which are generally regarded as later ones—*Laws*, *Sophist*, *Politicus*, *Timaeus*, *Philebus*. *Miscellen*: F. B., *AKPONTYXA* (probably from *ἀντ*), and has to do with practice of athletes for breaking in bulls; F. Rühl, *Die Zeitsätze für Hellanikos*: A. Körte, *Anaximenes von Lampsakos als Alexanderhistoriker*. Didymos cites from *ἡ δ' τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον*, but there are difficulties in the way of believing that An. devoted 9 books to that king. We know he dealt with the history of Philip, and the last book quoted from the work is the 8th; possibly the Alexander books were numbered as if they were continuations of the work.

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. Vol. xvii. 5. 1906.

G. Finsler, *Das homerische Königtum*. 1. Banquets. 2. The King in the *Odyssey*. The *Iliad* reveals the existence of banquets (1) given by the King, (2) shared by the *ἐταῖροι* in common. In Hom. A. 185 the invitation to the banquets is no part of the royal *γέρας*, only recognition of membership of the aristocracy. The poet of the *Odyssey* depicts the political conditions of his time from the standpoint of the ruling class, and the picture is of an aristocratic state quite different from that represented in the *Iliad*. G. Kettner, *Der Monolog Marfas in Schillers Demetrios*. R. M. Meyer, *Kriterien der Aneignung. Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*. Der röm. Limes in Oesterreich v., vi. reviewed by W. Ruge.

Vol. xvii. 6. 1906.

G. Finsler, *Das homerische Königtum*. (contd.) 3. Asia Minor and Athens. 4. The King in the *Iliad*. Investigation reveals in Aeolia, Ionia, and Athens a ruling house, whose members rule by grace of nobility and bear, as being supreme in religious matters, the old title of king, until (as at Miletus and Athens) their office ceases to be hereditary and life-long,

and the priestly powers, together with the title of king, pass into the hands of another person. There is no historical trace of the existence of real monarchy in these regions. In the *Iliad* as a whole, owing to its subject-matter, the traditions of the past mingle more freely than in the *Odyssey* with the conditions of the days in which the poem was completed. G. Wolf, *Die Kirchenpolitik Herzog Georgs von Sachsen*. K. Reuschel, *Chamisso's Balladendichtung. Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*. A. Furtwängler's *Die Aegineten der Glyptothek König Ludwigs I.* reviewed by J. I.

Vol. xvii. 7. 1906.

W. Wilken, *Hellenen und Barbaren*. Relations between Greece and the East. 'The more we learn about the old Oriental nations the more respect we feel for their achievements, but we are also the clearer as regards the limits and directions of their talent, and, to my mind, the Greeks come proportionately nearer to us.' F. Kuntze, *Der Hauptmann von Kapernaum und die alten Bibelinterpreten*. A. Döring, *Schillers Stellung zum Lebensproblem*. E. Stempelinger, *Parodien zur Lyrik des Horaz*. Imitations and parodies in the strict sense. *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: Brunn-Bruckmann's *Denkmäler griech. und röm. Skulptur* (parts CX-CXIX) reviewed favourably by E. Petersen (with a good summary of the contents).

Vol. xvii. 8. 1906.

T. Zielinski, *Der antike Logos in der modernen Welt*. Appreciative, though critical, notice of *Die griech. und lat. Literatur und Sprache*. Thinks that the relation of the subject to modern culture is hardly so full as might be expected in view of the fact that the book is one of the volumes of *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*. F. Studniczka, *Die beiden Fassungen der Tyrannenmördergruppe*. Attempts, with help of a recently published *onochoe*, to shew against Hauser that Critius and Nesiotes followed closely the work of Antenor, the later age appearing only in some finer points, such as the treatment of Harmodius' sword-arm. A. Müller, *Die Strafjustiz im röm. Heere*. I. Punishments. II. Offences and their punishments. The soldiers largely at the mercy of their officers. A. Werminghoff, *Die Briefe Dantes aus der Zeit von Heinrichs VII. Romzug. Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*. J. Oeri, *Hellenisches in der Mediceerkapelle* interprets the reclining figures in the light of Plato's Phaedo: Crepusculo and Aurora represent *Sterben* and *Wiederaufleben*, *Notte* and *Giorno* *Death* and *Life*; H. Brunn's *Kleine Schriften* 3. Bde, noticed by E. Petersen; Ad. Schulten's *Yumantia*, noticed by E. Lammert. 'Appian's account of topography so accurate as to point to a good source, namely Polybius. Excavation necessary, and likely to be as productive as at Alesia.'

Archiv für lat. Lexicographie und Grammatik. xv. 1. 1906.

K. Brugmann, *Senex, iuvenis*. E. Wölfflin, *Die Sprache des Claud. Quadrigrarius*. Not much more archaic than was to be expected in Sulla's time, adopted poetic diction freely, extended the use of the abl. abs. H. Peter, *Zur Textgeschichte der Scriptorum hist. Aug.* Patzig's attempt to find a tradition independent of P a failure. F. Vollmer, *Lexicodisches aus Horaz*. F. Skutsch, *Zur lat. Syntax*. The adjective *vetus*; *victoria arma*, etc.; nom. for voc.; partitive gen. depending on such advbs. as *aiufatim*, *largiter*; *fortis*, *fortis*; *refert* = *res fert*, the use of *tuā*, etc. being due to mistaken belief of the Romans that the first syllable was the abl.

O. Hey, *Aus dem Kaiserlichen Kanzleistil*. E. W., *Fatidicus*. M. Ihm, *Die Apicius-Excerpte im cod. Salmas.* Text, commentary. T. Birt, *Einiges was uns die Handschriften lehren*. Esp. *et-quis* and a dative form *quo* in e.g. Varro, Cicero. F. Marx, *Fefellit sum*. *Perperitum fuisse* in a papyrus, *peperitum fuerit* in Lucifer. R. Heinze, *Supplicium*. In Plautus means the fine paid to an injured party voluntarily and after negotiation with him by the wrong-doer. So in sacred matters the offering to offended heaven. E. Hauler, *Lepturgus, chirurgus u. ä. bei Fronto*. W. Otto *Mania und Lares*. M. Pokrowskij, *Zum Thesaurus gloss. emend.* E. Lommatzsch, *Zur lat. Orthographie*. EI for I in Inscriptions of the Empire. Idem, *Zu Carm. Epigr.* 2. Notes the spelling AASTUTIEIS. A. Brinkmann, *Simpulium—simpulum*. The latter a mere Ms. corruption. *Miscellen*: W. M. Lindsay, *Hercules*, 5. Dekl.; F. Skutsch, *Persona*; A. Becker, *Zur Aussprache des C. Literatur*: Schlossman's *Persona und ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ in Recht und in christlichen Dogma*, A. Souter's *Study of Ambrosiaster*.

Mnemosyne. xxxiv. 3. 1906.

S. A. Naber, *Ad Callimachum*. Conjectures. P. H. D., *Cicero*. Gloss contained in Verr. iv. 55. P. H. Damsté, *Ad lib. de bello Africano*. Conjectures. v. L., *Ad Hom.* X 126 sqq. Puella audaciam uirilem uerita e tuto loco, eminus cum eo verba serit: mihi comminus adloquendus est qui in me inruit. J. v. Leeuwen, *Homerica* (from last part). 27. De heroum Homerorum curribus bellicis. 28. De thoracis in carm. Hom. usu. 29. De Thetide Pelei uxore. 30. De nomine Achillis. 31. De Iunone Troianis infesta. Id., *Ad Terent. Eunuch.* iii. 5. 40. *In imbrem for in hominem*. J. J. Hartman, *De Plutarchi studiis Latinis*. Tac.'s *Histories* was the work which induced P. to study Latin, and to this refers the *τάχος* of Vit. Dem. 2. He was familiar with Livy, Nepos, Val. Max., Sall., Cicero (esp. *de Senectute*), and in the Lucullus (39) cites Horace. H. v. Herwerden, *Platonica* (contd.) Conjectures on Protag., Euthyphro, Theaetetus, Sophist, Politicus. Id., *ΦΑΛΒΙΟΣ—ΦΑΒΙΟΣ*. H. J. Polak, *Varia*. On inscriptions, etc. in *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 28. P. H. Damsté, *De Hymno quodam*. v. L., *Ad. schol. Hom.* K 515.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

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The size of Books is given in inches: 4 inches=10 centimetres (roughly). They are un'own't unless the binding is specified.

* * Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.

Abbott (Edwin A.) Silanus the Christian. 9"×5½". Pp. 368. London. Adam and Charles Black. 1906. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.

Aristophanes. The Frogs of Aristophanes. Edited with introduction, commentary, and critical notes by T. G. Tucker, Litt.D. 6½"×4". Pp. lx+276. London, Macmillan and Co. 1906. Cloth, 3s. 6d.

Clemens Alexandrinus, see Gabrielsson (Johannes). Deonna (W.) Les Statues de terre-cuite en Grèce. 9½"×6½". Pp. 74. Paris, A. Fontemoing. 1906. 2s. 6d.

Favorinus, see Gabrielsson (Johannes).

Gabrielsson (Johannes) Ueber die Quellen des Clemens Alexandrinus. Erster Theil. 9"×6". Pp. x+233. Upsala, Lundström; Leipzig, Harrassowitz. 1906.

— Ueber Favorinus und seine *παραδοχή ιστορία*. 9"×6". Pp. 67. Same publishers and date.

Hersman (Anne Bates) Studies in Greek Allegorical Interpretation. I. Before Plutarch, II. Plutarch. (*Chicago Degree Dissertation*.) 9½"×6½". Pp. 64. Chicago, The Blue Sky Press. 1906.

Isleib (Walterus) De Senecae dialogo undecimo qui est ad Polybium de Consolatione. (*Marbury Degree Dissertation*.) 8½"×5½". Pp. iv+76. Marpurgi Cattorum, typis Fr. Scheel Cassellani. 1906.

Lawton (Frederick), see Rodocanachi (E.).

Moulton (James Hope) A Grammar of New Testament Greek. Vol. I. Prolegomena. Second

Edition, with corrections and additions. 9½"×5½". Pp. xx+284. Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark. 1906. Cloth, 8s. net.

Plato, see Schneider (Dr. G.).

Plutarch, see Hersman (Anne Bates).

Ramsay (W. M.), see *Studies in the History and Art*, etc.

Renkema (E. H.) Observationes criticae et exegeticae ad C. Valerii Flacci Argonautica scripsit E. H. R. 9½"×6½". Pp. 90. Trajecti ad Rhenum apud Kemink et filium. 1906.

Rodocanachi (E.) The Roman Capitol in ancient and modern times. The Citadel—The Temples—The Senatorial Palace—The Palace of the Conservators—The Museum, by E. R. Translated from the French by Frederick Lawton, M.A. 6½"×4½". Pp. xvi+264 with 50 illustrations and a map. London, William Heinemann. 1906. Cloth, 4s. net. (5 Fr.)

Schneider (Dr. Gustav) Schülerkommentar zu Platons Apologie des Sokrates und Kriton nebst den Schlusskapiteln des Phaidon und der Lobrede des Alkibiades auf Sokrates aus dem Symposium. Von Dr. G. S. Zweite Auflage. 7½"×5. Pp. 94. Leipzig, G. Freytag; Wien., F. Tempsky. 1906. Steifbrotschirt 80 Pf.=1K.

Seneca, see Isleib (Walterus).

Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire written for the Quatercentenary of the University of Aberdeen by seven of its graduates, edited by W. M. Ramsay.

- (*Aberdeen University Studies*, No. 20.) $10\frac{1}{4}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$.
 Pp. xvi+392. Aberdeen, University Press.
 1906.
- Tucker* (T. G.), see *Aristophanes*.
- Vergil*. P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos, liber x, xi,
 xii. Edited by S. E. Winbolt, M.A. (*Blackie's*
Latin Texts.) $7'' \times 4\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. xiv+30, xiv+30,
 xii+32. London, Blackie and Son. 1906.
 Cloth, each 6*d.* net.
- Walters* (H. B.) *The Art of the Greeks*. $10\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$.
 Pp. xvi+278 with 112 plates and 18 illustrations
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 Cloth, 12*s.* 6*d.* net.
- Winbolt* (S. E.), see *Vergil*.
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The Classical Review

DECEMBER 1906.

A VALEDICTORY LECTURE.

THE experience of twenty years, personal for eight of them to the present writer, should contain some lessons of utility both for the editor and the readers of the *Classical Review*. The former we reserve for home consumption: the latter we now offer to our public by way of a valediction.

Generosity is generally regarded as part of the natural character of the Englishman; but its exercise is so clogged by caprice and narrow-mindedness that a discreet parsimony would be preferable. Of the government and the people both Science and Learning have great and long-standing reason to complain—the former however somewhat less, because its tangible ‘results’ appeal more directly than those of culture to that material imagination whose vision is as limited now as in the olden days: ἵππον μὲν ὄρω ἱππότητα δ’ οὐχ ὄρω. The stigma, which the foundation and the continuance first of the *Journal of Philology* and later of the *Classical Review* has removed for the present from the classical studies of Great Britain, may, or rather will, again be with us unless the recognised organs of these studies are accorded a constant and liberal support.

This support they ask from all who at school or college have imbibed the love of the ancient learning, and who, even if they have not the leisure to read or to contribute, have at least the means to subscribe. Their patriotic pride will feel the indignity of the apathy which provoked Spengel’s wondering exclamation, when he learned from Chandler that England possessed no journal in which

the Oxford scholar could publish his Platonic researches: ‘Think, gentlemen! In the country of Bentley!’ To these then the new twin journals make their first appeal.

The class next to be addressed is not less accessible to the motives of pride and patriotism than the former; and in addition it should have special incentives of its own—the spurs of self-interest and of professional zest and zeal. And seeing that it is brought into daily contact with the humanities, one might presume that as a whole it would take a larger and more liberal view of its responsibilities. Unhappily this presumption stands still in need of proof. If the aversions, never too slow to find expression, of various advisers had been regarded in the past, the *Classical Review* would have been plucked as bare as the bird in the fable. A objects to disquisitions on syntax; B dislikes metrical and rhythmical investigations, C dissertations on manuscripts and their discoverers; D disapproves of the *Review’s* short and infrequent incursions into the realms of pedagogics; E dislikes its etymology, F its textual criticism. But why prolong the painful list? These critics of details perhaps may be swayed by the consideration that journals which faithfully represent vast and widely ramifying subjects must of necessity contain much of no special interest to an individual, and they may be soothed by the assurance, tendered in all sincerity, that the *Classical Review* has but reflected the spirit and interests of the time. But what is to be said to those who reprobate research in

the mass, and insist that knowledge impairs enjoyment,

Good scholars who sit still in easy chairs
And damn the world for standing up,

to adapt words from *Aurora Leigh*? We shall not sit and wonder that these avowed enemies of learning are among its professed exponents in a land where the dangerous spirit of independent thought has so long been confined in the strait-jacket of examinations. But we shall point out that truth is the most powerful solvent, and its pursuit the most potent motive, that the world has known; that studies decay the moment that they cease to grow; and that there is a doom awaiting the intellectual as surely as the moral Sybaris.

Day by day we are drifting further from antiquity. Harder and harder does it become to learn the lessons which it alone can teach us. And of the current fallacies there is none more mischievous than that which insinuates that we can dispense with the motive, the practice, and the fruits of research in any department of its study.

Most mischievous of all is it when it is dangled before a class which circumstances have already predisposed to receive it. The suggestion to the hard-worked and ill-paid teachers of Classics in our schools, that their duties do not comprise the acqui-

sition of fresh knowledge, and that they may subsist upon their original capital, however scanty it may be, is one of the most noxious errors that complaisance has ever presented to its victims. If these will reflect why their experience and capacities should become unmarketable at an age which in other walks of life is held to be most ripe for preferment, they will see that, when the old fires, unfed by fresh interests, have burned to extinction, when the mind's agility has been crushed by drudgery and its keen edge dulled by routine, what is left is not a teacher but a teaching machine, which perhaps has a claim to be tolerated but which can have no hopes of promotion.

It is then, we conceive, no part of the functions of Classical journals to provide diversion for an unamused and unamusing generation. But those who desire that both for themselves and others the Classics shall remain a thing alive will, it is trusted, find in the new departure a satisfaction of real wants perhaps insufficiently regarded in the past, and that the *Classical Review*, in one or both of its branches, will be found worthy of encouragement by the new friends whom it seeks to attract and the old ones whom it desires to retain.

*Cras amet qui numquam amavit quique
amavit cras amet.*

J. P. POSTGATE.

ON PLANTS OF THE ODYSSEY.

I.—μῶλυ.

THE attempt to identify the magic 'moly, which Hermes once to wise Ulysses gave,' has lately been responsible for two very elaborate and learned pieces of investigation. M. Bérard in *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssee*, ii. 288 ff. discusses the plant at length and ends by identifying it with the *atriplex halimus*, for which he finds strong support in one of his favourite Semitic roots. More lately M. Champault, *Phéniciens et Grecs en Italie d'après l'Odyssee*, pp. 504 ff. discusses it at still greater length and decides positively for the *peganum harmala*. That the Homeric description

ρίζη μὲν μέλαν ἔσκει, γάλακτι δ'εἰκελον ἄνθος
(κ 304) is not of itself likely to carry one far on the road to deciding the question, most people will agree. The attempt to find a

third characteristic in the following line:
χαλεπὸν δέ τ' ὀρύσσειν | ἀνδράσι γε θνητοῖσι
has been shown by M. Champault to be a false scent. His quotation from Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* vii. 6, 3) on the difficulty of procuring the magic *baaras* is on the right track. The difficulty of pulling the plant is purely imaginary: it is a magic plant and, according to the magicians, dangerous to procure unless for some one who understands the proper ceremonies. It is strange that neither scholar seems to be aware of the light that is thrown upon the passage by the Magical Papyri. It may seem hazardous to illustrate Homer by a literature composed in Egypt during the Christian era. But to any one who understands the fanatical persistence of magical ideas and practices such a parallel will carry considerable weight. We can illustrate the magic of the pre-Christian era

from the *Grimoire du Pape Honorius*, and find the same practices persisting unchanged for a thousand years.

Thus in the great Paris Magical Papyrus (ed. C. Wessely in *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Vienna, 1888) l. 2967 we read παρ' Αιγυπτίους αἰ βοτάναι λαμβάνονται οὕτως· ὁ ριζοτόμος καθαίρει πρότερον τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα, πρότερον νίτρω περιράνας καὶ τὴν βοτάνην θυμιάσας ῥητέην ἐκ πίτνος εἰς ᾧ περιενέγκας τὸν τόπον. εἰτα κῆφι θυμιάσας καὶ τὴν διὰ τοῦ γάλακτος σπονδὴν χεάμενος μετ' εὐχῶν ἀνασπᾷ τὸ φυτόν, ἐξ ὀνόματος ἐπικαλούμενος τὸν δαίμονα ᾧ ἡ βοτάνη ἀνιερῶται κτλ. Then follows the invocation of the plant (ἐπικλήσις) in which it is, among other epithets, addressed as ἡ καρδιά τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ; and again αἱ δὲ δυνάμεις σου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ εἰσὶν . . . συνοπλίσθητι ἐπ' εὐχῇ καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν δύναμιν ὡς ὁ Ἄρης καὶ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ· ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἑρμῆς. This last phrase will concern us later.

In the same Papyrus ll. 286 ff. we have a βοτανήρσις· χρῶ πρό ἡλίον λόγους λεγόμενος (i.e. 'the formula is as follows') αἶρω σε ἥτις βοτάνη χεῖρι πενταδακτύλῃ ἐγὼ ὁ δαίμων καὶ φέρω παρ' ἑμαυτὸν ἵνα μοι ἐνεργήσῃς εἰς τὴν τινάκρειαν· ὀρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ ἀμιάντον ὀνόματος τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐὰν παρακούσῃς, ἡ σε τεκοῖσα γαῖά τε οἰκέτι βρεχέσθεται πώποτε ἐν βίῃ πάλην, ἐὰν ἀπορηθῶ τῇσδε τῆς οἰκονομίας μου θαβαρ (here follow five 'words of power') τελέσατέ μοι τὴν τελείαν ἐπαοιδήν. Evidently the proper culling of these simples was a task demanding trained skill.

Now the *moly* was hard for mortal men to get, θεοὶ δὲ τε πάντα δύνανται. It will be noted in the above formulae, that in the first the magician expressly identifies himself with the deity on whose authority he is acting. This is too common a practice with magicians to call for detailed illustration. One may compare the Egyptian magical texts in which the deceased identifies himself with Osiris. In the second he uses the language of divine authority and threatens the recalcitrant plant with divine vengeance. One cannot help comparing οὐ μηκέτι ἐκ σοῦ καρπὸς γένηται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· καὶ ἐξηράνθη παραχρῆμα ἡ σικῆ (Eu. Matth. xxi. 19). In the case of the *moly*, Hermes himself plucked it up for Odysseus; but any magician who knew the proper way to proceed, and the words necessary to identify himself with Hermes, could have produced the same effect. Further the 'gods' call the plant μῶλυ. 'Gods' must here be taken in the same extended sense. The magician in such cases used the same 'large language' as the gods. What language is meant?

In the Leyden Papyrus J 384 we find the following (xii. 17 ed. Dieterich, Leipzig 1888). Ἐρμηνεύματα ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν μεθρημνεύμενα, οἷς ἐχρῶντο οἱ ἱεροὶ γραμματεῖς· διὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν περιεργίαν τὰς βοτάνας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οἷς ἐχρῶντο εἰς θεῶν εἰδῶλα ἐπέγραφαν, ὅπως μὴ συλλαβούμενοι περιεργάζωνται μηδὲν διὰ τὴν ἐξακολούθησιν τῆς ἀμαρτίας· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς λύσεις ἡγάγομεν ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν ἀντιγράφων καὶ κρυφίμων πάντων. There follows a list of plants and other 'medicine' with the names by which they were known in magic. The list has been drawn from two sources, to only one of which (those containing the names of gods) the opening description applies, e.g. γόνος Ἑρμοῦ = ἄνηθον. But there are others in which no god is named, e.g. αἶμα ὄψεως = ἀνδράχη. We have the same thing in Pap. Leyden J 395 where ζυῖρνα and κρίνινον μύρον are referred to by their magic names (xxv. 21 ed. Dieterich). That these names were often borrowed from foreign languages, e.g. Hebrew, we know from other passages. In Pap. J 395, we find (viii. 1) in a recipe τὸ καλούμενον βαλλαθὰ τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων· in the line before we have a substance called βιεβενησι, the derivation of which is unknown. To such a class of words μῶλυ evidently belongs and we must look for its derivation in either Phoenician or Egyptian. As to M. Bérard's derivation, I am not competent to express an opinion.

II.—Λωτός.

The same two scholars have given considerable attention to the identification of the λωτός. M. Champault (*op. cit.* p. 400 n. [2]) decides for the date: M. Bérard more cautiously leaves the exact fruit an open question, but has no doubt that a tree-fruit is meant. He admits indeed (*op. cit.* ii. 102) that the Greek word λωτός as used in Od. iv. 603-4 denotes a different thing—a kind of clover: and he even quotes Strabo xvii. 829 A who speaks of a tribe inhabiting the Mauretanian desert who σισοῖντο διὰ λωτῶν, πῶαν τινὰ καὶ ῥίζαν ἀφ' ἧς οὐδὲν δέοντο ποτοῦ. But then he regards the *lotus* of the Lotus-eaters to be a Semitic word. There are two definite statements made about the lotus; it is called an ἄβινον εἶδος (Od. ix. 84) and it is called μελιθδὴς καρπός (*ib.* 94). The first does not seem a very apt description of a tree-fruit, and the latter does not suit the taste of the jujube (according to M. Champault) nor of the date. If Strabo's πῶα had the proper taste it would satisfy both requirements. Now Sulpicius Severus (*Dialogi* i. 4, 4) tells of a friend of

his who being storm-bound on his way from Carthage to Alexandria put in at the *extrema Cyrenorum ora*: he was entertained by a hermit who had not much to offer him in the way of food but *fasciculum herbae intulit, cuius nomen excidit, quae menthae*

similis, exuberans foliis, saporem mellis praestabat. If this be Strabo's πῶα, might it not be Homer's λωτός?

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ON DIODORUS: BOOKS XVI.-XVIII.

It is well known that Greek MSS. are sometimes corrupted by the substitution for the right word of another word suggested by the context, a mistake which we are all conscious of making from time to time in writing and in speaking. In this *Review* I have many times tried to explain a difficult passage by the hypothesis of such corruption; and I think it worth while now to publish the following notes on the fourth volume of the new Teubner Diodorus, without waiting to put into shape others which I have by me on the earlier volumes, because so many of them turn on the same point. In book 17 especially occur a remarkable number of passages, the text of which may be explained in this way, and which are not uninteresting in themselves.

16. 1. 1 γένεσθαι should be γίνεσθαι. A 'gnomic' or 'frequentative' aorist infinitive has—in spite of Goodwin—no existence.

ιβ. 6 ἐπὶ τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς ἱστορίας πορευσόμεθα, βραχέα τοῖς χρόνοις προαναδραμόντες.

In this and some other passages (see the references to Polybius 1. 12. 8, etc. in Liddell and Scott) it seems clear that προαναδραμόντες should be written. In all of them the writer gives first a brief account of earlier events and then goes on with τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς ἱστορίας. πρὸς would be unmeaning.

16. 22. 3 Should καθ' ἑαυτούς be καθ' ἑκάστους? The two words do get confused. But ἑαυτούς may very well be right, though the other would be clearer.

16. 35. 4 πεζῇ βοηθήσαντος μετὰ πεζῶν διαγνῆναι.

πεζῇ. *Del. Reisk.*; fort. scribendum δξέως (Fischer). πεζῇ is obviously due to πεζῶν. I suggest σπονδῇ as the original.

16. 44. 1 τὴν φιλίαν ἔφασαν τὴν πρὸς Πέρσας τηρεῖν, συμμαχίαν δὲ ἀποστέλλειν ἀντίπαν.

ἀντίπαν cannot be used thus with an infinitive in the sense of *refused*. It means

probably *answered*. It would be possible to read οὐκ ἀποστέλλειν ἀντίπαν, but I incline to think that οὐκ ἔθελειν has been lost. This would help τηρεῖν too.

16. 45. 1 τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν πολιτῶν ἑκατὸν ὡς συμβούλους.

Perhaps <εἰς> ἑκατόν. ΕΙC and ΕΚ are very like one another.

16. 59. 2 καὶ <ὀλίγον> τὸ τῶν μισθοφόρων ἔχοντα πλῆθος? Or some such word.

16. 92. 3 ὁ μὲν τεχνίτης κρίνας οἰκεῖον ὑποληφθήσεσθαι τὸ ποῖμα τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπιπλῆξαι βουλόμενος τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως, καίπερ οὖσαν μεγάλην καὶ περιβόητον, ὅπως μεταπέσοι? ἂν κ.τ.λ.

There seems no reason for Fischer's doubt of διαβάσει. It is a perfectly suitable word and occurs again 17. 16. 1 προῦθκε βουλὴν περὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβάσεως. On the other hand ἐπιπλῆξαι, which he does not question, can hardly be right. (1) It is not a suitable word. εὐδαιμονία, *prosperity, power*, etc. is not a fault to be rebuked. A man may be found fault with for pride, harshness, injustice, and so on, not for being very prosperous. (2) ὅπως κ.τ.λ. cannot follow properly on a verb of *rebuking*. If it is wrong, we may safely conclude that D. wrote ἐπιδείξαι, which goes perfectly with ὅπως μεταπέσοι? ἂν, and in which δ is the λ (Δ Λ) of ἐπιπλῆξαι. ἂν with the future optative is of course doubtful.

17. 7. 5 δρᾶσθαι δὲ τὸν ἥλιον ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης ἀνατέλλοντα, τὰς ἀκτίνας οὐκ ἐν κυκλοτερεῖ σχήματι τετραμμένον, ἀλλὰ τὴν φλόγα κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους ἔχοντα διεσπαρμένην.

On τετραμμένον, which is clearly impossible, Fischer notes *ita R^X, μένοντα F*; συνεσπαρμένον *vel συνέχοντα conl. Herl.* II. 2 p. 3, πέμποντα *Dind.*; fort. *τετορνευμένον* (cf. *Plat. Tim.* 33 b).

Remembering how easily Γ and Τ get confused, we may, I think, confidently

conjecture περιγεγραμμένον, which gives exactly the right sense. In Aesch. Ag. 1328 I have suggested σκιᾷ τις ἂν γράψειεν for σκιᾷ τις ἀντρέψειεν. μένοντα would seem a remarkable instance of the termination (-μενον) surviving the body of the word and forming a new one.

17. 9. 4 ἡδέως ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς προσεδέξατο τὰς ἐντεύξεις (petitions) καὶ πάντ' ἂν ἀξιούμενος συνεχώρησεν.

Probably αἰτούμενος should be read for ἀξιούμενος, which hardly admits of the required meaning, *entreated*, *besought*. For similar confusion of ἀξίος and αἷτιος see this *Review* xiv. 101 and xvii. 10.

17. 38. 6 οἱ πλείστοι γὰρ διὰ τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἐπαίρονται μὲν ταῖς εὐπραξίαις, ἐπερήφανοι δ' ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις γινόμενοι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης καὶ κοινῆς ἀσθενείας ἐπιλανθάνονται· διὸ καὶ τοὺς πλείστους ὁρᾷ τὴν εὐτυχίαν ὥσπερ τι βαρὺ φορτίον φέρειν ἀδυνατοῦντας.

It is pretty plain that the word εὐτυχία must not occur three times in these few lines, and particularly that in the first part of the sentence διὰ τὴν εὐτ. and ἐν ταῖς εὐτ. can never have been meant to stand in one sequence of words. Scholars appear to have generally pitched upon the first (εὐτυχίαν) as wrong, conjecturing such words as εὐήθειαν and βραθυμίαν. I should rather suppose εὐτυχίας to be in fault and would substitute for it ἐξουσίας, a word used in the same phrase (ὁ ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις . . . ἐλεος) in the immediately preceding sentence.

17. 65. 3 πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης ἡγεμονίας ἐπὶ μεγάλας ἐξουσίας ἀναβιβάσας.

Another case, as Fischer points out, of a word repeated or anticipated. μεγάλης is obviously due to the coming μεγάλας. I should suggest μέionος or ἥττονος, or again οὔσης (ἐπαρχούσης).

A very clear case of the same kind occurs in 74. 3, where Cobet has restored ἀπέδωκε for the second ἀπέλυσε: a less obvious one in 76. 4, where ἐπιμένον or ὑπομένον must be due to ὑπέμενον just preceding and has been altered to various words giving the necessary sense of *attack*. Cf. also 82. 3, where ἔχουσιν and ἐχούσας tell the same tale (Fischer).

17. 75. 7 The same phenomenon perhaps presents itself again, when D. speaks of the winged creature ὃ καλεῖται μὲν ἀνθρηδών, λειπόμενον δὲ μεγέθει μελίττης μεγίστην ἔχει τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν. He goes on to mention its points of similarity to the bee and makes

it plain that ἐπιφάνειαν has taken the place of some other word. Reiske conjectured ὁμοιότητα; Fischer follows Dindorf in adopting ὠφέλειαν. From the context I have no doubt Reiske was right in principle, but why did he not think of ἐμφέρειαν? That word (= ὁμοιότητα) is so like ἐπιφάνειαν—φαῖνον and φέρω are often confused—that the mistake perhaps requires no further explanation. But ἐπιφάνειαν does as a matter of fact occur four lines before.

17. 82. 8 (invaders in snow). σαφὲς δ' οὐδὲν ἐκ διαστήματος ἦν ἰδεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνῃ τῷ καπνῷ δηλουμένων τῶν κωμῶν ἐλάμβανον οἱ Μακεδόνες οὐ κατοικοῦσιν ἐφιστάμενοι.

Madvig conjectured ἐλάνθανον for ἐλάμβανον, which seems possible enough, though not necessary, and τοῖς for οὐ. οὐ κ. can not very well be right, but why should τοῖς have been altered to οὐ? οὐ κατοικοῦσιν suggests to me something like οὐ κατιδοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀκούουσιν, οὐ κατακηκούσιν. The snow interfered with seeing and hearing.

17. 105. 7 δρομάδης καμήλους καὶ τὰ νωτοφορεῖν εἰωθότα τῶν φορτίων.

The absurd φορτίων looks again due to φορ in νωτοφορεῖν. Besides ζῶων (Wesseling and Madvig) and Wesseling's φοραδίων (not φοραδίων, as it appears in Fischer, who has allowed a good many misprints to pass) we have Fischer's own suggestion of ὀρεικῶν <ζευγῶν>. But why anything more than ὀρέων, affected by the -φορεῖν close by?

17. 110. 2 τῇ καινότητι τῆς καινοτομίας is only another instance of the same thing, so common in this book. The first word is due to the second. Many alternatives might be suggested, as of course the last word need not resemble καινότητι very closely. δεινότητι would give fairly the probable sense, but so would many other words.

17. 114. 1 καὶ γὰρ ἡγάπησεν αὐτὸν τῶν (or ταῖς τῶν) ἐν στοργῇ φίλων δοξαζομένων καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐτίμησεν αὐτὸν ἀννπερβλήτως.

‘μάλιστα τῶν Reiske; πλείον aut μᾶλλον Wess.; <ζῶντα μάλιστα> conicio’ Fischer.

I would suggest ἐν τοῖς πρώτον τῶν. Possibly ἐν was lost in -ον preceding it; τοῖς appears as ταῖς by some accident; πρώτον, expressed perhaps by α', has disappeared, unless αὐτὸν (which is weak with another αὐτὸν following) represents it, for αὐτὸς and πρώτος get confused.

17. 116. 5 ἄλλο σημεῖον περὶ τῆς βασιλείας.

As Fischer says, βασιλείας seems to be a pure blunder for τελευτῆς, *his death*. After the many blunders of repetition or anticipation noticed above, it is curious to find here a mistake for which there is really nothing in the context to account. No cognate word occurs within many lines.

18. 33. 3. Perdicas φονικὸς ἦν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων περιαιρούμενος τὰς ἐξουσίας καὶ καθόλου πάντων βουλόμενος ἄρχειν βιαίως· ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος τοῦναντίον εὐεργετικὸς καὶ ἐπεικὴς κ.τ.λ.

φονικός is much too strong here. φορτικός and καταφρονητικός (Madvig) have been conjectured. Is not φθονερός more likely? φ and θ together often go wrong.

18. 41. 7 Antigonos τοῦ χωρίου τὴν ἱκανὴν φυλακὴν ἀπολιπὼν ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πορευομένους ἡγεμόνας τῶν πολεμίων καὶ δυνάμεις ἔχοιτας.

πορευομένους is of course wrong. Fischer adopts the old, obvious, but not at all convincing emendation ἐπιπορευομένους, while citing πλανωμένους and ὑπολειπομένους as suggested by Unger. The latter word is supported, as he shows, by οὔτοι γὰρ ὑπελείποντο . . . ἡγέμενος in 44. 1, but in form it has so little in common with πορευομένους that the mistake would be difficult to explain. Can we find a word giving similar sense and nearer in form? περιγενομένους would seem to be such.

18. 55. 3 There is no reason to think Diodorus could be guilty of ἄν with a future infinitive. In οὕτως γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα . . . ταπεινώσιν, we may omit ἂν with Dindorf or read γὰρ δὴ. ταπεινώσαι is improbable from considerations of hiatus.

18. 72. 5 Such a combination as ὑπέλαβε μηκέτι τολμήσιν . . . ναυμαχήσιν is unlikely in the extreme. Read ναυμαχῆσαι or ναυμαχεῖν.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

PROHIBITION IN GREEK.

IN this discussion it seems to have been fairly shown that μή with aor. subj. forbids some act in the future, but in face of the numerous and striking examples produced by Mr. Naylor it is difficult to maintain that μή with the pres. imperat. necessarily involves a reference to the past as well as to the future. I bring forward another instance from the *Apology* (30 c), μέλλω γὰρ οὖν ἅττα ὑμῖν ἐρεῖν καὶ ἄλλα, ἐφ' οἷς ἴσως βοήσεσθε· ἀλλὰ μηδαμῶς ποιεῖτε τοῦτο. Clearly ποιεῖτε refers only to the future. Socrates is afraid they will exclaim when he has said something which he is about to say. Perhaps it may be said that here μηδαμῶς ποιεῖτε τοῦτο like μή ἄλλως ποιεῖ is phraseological. I do not know. With a view however to make such cases seem less exceptional may it not be maintained that some of these present imperatives are due to the meaning of the verb used, *i.e.* is it not natural to use the pres. imperat. when the verb refers to a state or a course of action rather than to a single act? Thus, in some of the passages in Demosthenes quoted by Mr. Naylor, μή πιστεύετε, μή ἐπιτρέπετε, μή εἰσρέετε, may not the use of the pres. imperat. be thus explained? Others, I admit, resist this explanation.

With regard to the passage in the *Apology* where μή θορυβήσητε is followed soon by μή

θορυβεῖτε (20 E and 21 A) this is a pretty example *when we have once got the rule* but it does not in itself go far to prove the rule. From the use of the aor. subj. followed by the pres. imperat. we can hardly in the first place infer that θορυβήσητε is said *before* clamour has begun and θορυβεῖτε *after* it has begun and then, in the second place, treating this inference as a fact, use this alleged fact to show the difference of usage between the aor. subj. and pres. imperat. In order to establish a rule by this passage we require some evidence *aliunde* that θορυβήσητε was said *before* the clamour began and θορυβεῖτε afterwards. And this evidence is of course not forthcoming. Taking the passage as it stands the easier inference is, I think, that there is very little, if any, difference here between the aor. subj. and pres. imperat. Indeed if we press the point it comes to this: Socrates says, please do not make a clamour if in what I am about to say you think I say something boastful (τι μέγα). Before however he actually does say anything that could be considered boastful he says again καὶ, ὅπερ λέγω, μή θορυβεῖτε. The aor. subj. θορυβήσητε appears to be due to the future conditional clause which immediately follows it.

R. C. SEATON.

CHANGE OF METRE IN PLAUTUS.

THIS is a large subject, but I propose to deal with only one point, *i.e.* the change of metre in the *middle of a sentence* which we find in Amphitruo 1005 f. and Most. 407 f. The former passage has generally been left severely alone by editors, though Ussing brackets 1006-1008 with the comment 'mutati metri nulla causa est.' I think I have discovered the cause. Most. 407 f. has fared worse at the hands of editors since Ritschl. All modern editors have found an insuperable difficulty in the change of metre, and have therefore supposed that 407 must be the end of a scene or of a sentence. But this makes the words that follow (*Homini quoi nulla in pectore est audacia*) unintelligible and leaves the sense of 407 incomplete. Prof. Lindsay does not help us. He too puts a full stop at 407 and his suggestion in *Ancient Editions of Plautus*, p. 42 note, has no salvation in it. There is no recasting of the sentence; for there is nothing in what follows to complete the sense of 409, which is 'to a coward.' The key to the difficulty lies in the proper interpretation of the change of metre in the middle of a sentence. When Plautus, in a scene written in septenarii or octonarii, introduces a passage which stands *extra actionem*, it is a common practice of his to change the metre; so when a letter is read aloud (Bacch. 997) or an oath administered (Rud. 1338). Now I think the same principle applies when one of the actors ceases to speak in his proper rôle and *addresses the audience*. Amph. 1005 is an excellent instance. There Mercury at the end of a long speech (984-1004), catching sight of Amphitruo, who is about to enter the stage, turns to the audience in a familiar way:—

Sed ecceum Amphitruonem aduenit. Iam ille hic deludetur probe—(1005)
Siquidem uos uoltis auscultando operam dare (1006).

'Here comes Amphitruo; he shall be finally mystified in a moment, *if you, ladies and gentlemen, will kindly lend me your cars. I will step inside and change my clothes* (1007), etc.' Cf. Bottom, as Pyramus in Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, v. i. 186: 'You shall see: it will fall pat as I told you. Yonder she comes.' The situation in Most. 407 f. is precisely similar. There Philolaches and his party are leaving the stage, as Amphitruo in the other passage

is entering it, and the words *Homini quoi nulla* etc., which are a hit at Philolaches, are intended for the ears of the audience only: clearly Philolaches must not hear them. 407, on the contrary, is part of the conversation between Tranio and Philolaches.

It seems therefore that the assumption of a lacuna is wholly unnecessary. It is true that in the MSS. there is a line left vacant after 407; but this may be simply a means of indicating to the eye the commencement of a new metre, as Ritschl himself admitted. Indeed as Philolaches and his party leave the stage at this point, the iambs *do* in a certain sense begin a new scene. At any rate an actor who knew his business would pause before delivering the next line.

The only change that I would make in the MS. reading would be a—after 407, or before the next line. Of the alternatives *proprior*, *propior*, given by the Palatine MSS., or *probius* suggested by Scioppius, or possibly *potior* ('preferable') or *potius* ('rather,' cf. Trin. 230, 307), it is not quite clear which is the best. Any of them gives a conceivable sense:

*Pluma haud interés patronus an cliens
 proprior siet
 —Homini quoi nulla in pectore est
 audacia.*

I feel inclined to defend *proprior* in the sense 'better-suited (cf. *agnus proprius*, 'a suitable lamb,' Capt. 862). 'It does not make a feather's weight of difference (= it's a toss up, there's nothing in it) whether a patronus (protector) or a client (protégé) is more appropriate to a man who has no pluck in his heart,' *i.e.* to a coward like Philolaches neither patronus nor cliens is of any use. The comparative *proprior* from *proprius* does not occur in our present texts of Plautus. It is however quite correctly formed, cf. *industrior* (Most. 150) from *industrius*, *sobrior* (Laberius) from *sobrius*, *strenuor* (Epid. 442) from *strenuus*. Moreover I am inclined to suggest an emendation in Cas. 378, whereby the neuter *proprius* would be restored to that passage instead of the MS. reading *prius*. Paleographically there would be little difference between them (*Prius* or *Ppus*). I propose to read there CHAL. *Iniquomst: qui* (for *quia* MSS.) *isti proprior* (for *prius* MSS.) *quam mihi est?* This

seems to give exactly the sense that is wanted. Chalinus is complaining that a *sors* bearing the number 1 has been given to Olympio, and he says it is unfair: 'why (on what principle) is that lot more appro-

priate to him than to me? *i.e.* you have given him the lot which I ought to have had.

E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN.

THE DOG OF THE *MOSTELLARIA*.

THE mosaic found under the east portico of the temple of Zeus at Olympia belongs to the first half of the fourth century B.C., according to Sandys in Seyffert's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, p. 399. But even if mosaics were not introduced into Greece until the third century B.C., that would not exclude the possibility of their being referred to in the *Φάσμα* (and therefore in the *Mostellaria*); for the Greek original must have been produced between the years 289 and 262, if, as seems probable, it was the work of Philemon. The former date is determined by the mention of Agathocles in line 775.—However, I have long ago given up the idea that the dog in question was a mere mosaic dog. The proof lies in lines 851 f. *Nil periclist: age modo. Tam placidast quam feta quacuis: ire intro audacter licet.* The speaker

is Simo, the owner of the house, and he is not here assisting Tranio to deceive Theopopides ('the man that faces the show'); on the contrary he is himself one of the victims (cf. 780 f.). I do not see therefore how it is possible to suppose that he pretends to see an imaginary dog, whether represented in mosaic or, as Professor Knapp thinks, in a fresco. The dog was either a real dog or the nearest approximation to a real dog which the Plautine stage could produce, in other words a 'stuffed property dog,' as Mr. E. S. Thompson has suggested. Such a one was used in the performance of the play at University College, Liverpool, in 1890. With most of Part I. of Professor Knapp's article I agree, and I shall refer to his views in my forthcoming second edition.

E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN.

ON THE FRAGMENTS OF VARRO DE VITA POPULI ROMANI I PRESERVED IN NONIUS XVIII.

NONIUS in Book XVIII De Generibus . . Potionum cites passages from Varro's textbook of Private Antiquities in illustration of early names of beverages. Dr. Wessner, the editor of Donatus' commentary on Terence, has recently shewn (in *Hermes*, vol. xli, pp. 460 sqq.) that these passages are consecutive, or nearly consecutive, portions of Varro's account of the 'dulcia,' or non-alcoholic drinks, in fashion with Roman matrons in early days; further that Varro, like Verrius Flaccus and (perhaps following him) Pliny, touched on the question that had been raised by students of Plautus regarding the nature of the drink called *murrina*. The question was whether *murrina* was a 'vinum' (as suggested by Plaut. frag. 2, 143) or a 'dulce' (as suggested by Plaut. Pseud. 740). Wessner rightly points out that some of the Varro-citations seem to be out

of their proper place; but he makes, I think, the same mistake as Lucian Mueller so often made, of charging Nonius with errors for which the Carolingian scribes or editors of Nonius were responsible. For Wessner holds that a line has dropped out of the text through Homoeoteleuton (*i.e.* in the Carolingian period or, at all events, after Nonius' death) and that this omission has facilitated the transposition of a passage from p. 551, 17 Me. to p. 551, 10. But somehow or other he seems to charge Nonius himself with the transposition.

In the preface to the small Teubner edition I have given (on p. xii) some examples of Carolingian tampering with the lemmas and the text of Nonius' Dictionary (cf. *C.R.* xvi. 51). Wessner's discovery seems to me to supply a new and striking example; although the facts admit of a simpler ex-

planation than Wessner's. For, I take it, Nonius wrote the concluding portion of Book XVIII in some way like this:—

MURRINA, potio confecta. Varro Anthro-
popoli: non modo vinum dare, sed etiam,
ut Plautus ait, 'murrinam, passum,
defrutum.'

PORTULACA. Varro Disciplin. lib. viii:
manducata portulaca cito tollit.

LORA, confectae potionis genus, grandaevus
aptum. Varro de Vita Populi Romani lib. i.:
antiquaemulieresmaioresnatu bibebantloram
aut sapat aut defretum aut passum, quam
(? quod) murrinam quidem Plautus appellare
solet (?ri putat), tum autem muriolam. loram
dicebant in vindemia, cum expressissent
acinis mustum et folliculos in dolium con-
cieissent.

SAPA, quod nunc mellacium dicimus,
mustum ad mediam partem decoctum.
DEFRETUM. Varro de Vita Populi Romani
lib. i: sapat appellabant quod de musto ad
mediam partem decoxerant; defretum si ex
duabus partibus ad tertiam redegerant defer-
vefaciendo.

PASSUM. MURIOLA. Varro de Vita Populi
Romani lib. i: passum nominabant, si in
vindemia uvam diutius coctam legerent
eamque passi essent in sole aduri; vino
addito vel lora, passum vocare coeperunt;
muriolam nominabant quod (? quom) ex uvis
expressum erat passum et ad folliculos
reiculos et vinacia adiciebant (? adiecerant)
sapat.

TURUNDAM, ut libum, sacrum quoddam ex
farre genus panificii. Varro Cato vel de
libris educandis: alii adferunt libum ac
turundam.

A copy of Nonius, the parent of the
archetype of our MSS., was, I take it, used
as a Latin Dictionary in some Carolingian
monastery. Amongst other corruptions
which the text of this part had suffered, the
words (under the lemma LORA) *tum autem
muriolam*¹ *loram* had become (through

¹ Buecheler's proposal to insert the mention of
muriola before *quam murrinam* is favoured by

Haplography) *tum autem mur loram*. This
'vox nihili' *mur* was corrected by the super-
scription *murrina*, and the same correction
was perhaps, by a common practice, also
inserted in the margin. This marginal entry
murrina suggested to some scribe or corrector
that this clause would find a fitting place
under the lemma MURRINA. Hence it has
come about that in all our MSS., under the
lemma MURRINA, there is this extraordinary
extra-quotation:

Varro de Vita Populi Romani lib. i:
tu < m > autem † murrina †; loram dice-
bant . . . cum coniecissent. (*Loram*, by the
way, was made into a new lemma by the
corrector of the archetype.)

The same scribe or corrector was offended
by the double lemmas² SAPA . DEFRETUM and
PASSUM . MURIOLA. He simplified them by
omitting DEFRETUM in the first pair and by
separating the other pair. In the separation
he made a rough and ready division of the
quotation, breaking it up into two after the
word *aduri*. The result of all this was
that these paragraphs stand in our MSS.
thus:

SAPA, quod nunc mellacium dicimus,
mustum ad mediam partem decoctum, Varro
de Vita Populi Romani lib. i: sapat ap-
pellabant . . . defervefaciendo.

PASSUM, Varro de Vita Populi Romani
lib. i: passum nominabant . . . aduri.

MURIOLAM. Varro de Vita Populi Ro-
mani lib. i: vino addito . . . sapat.

Walde in his excellent Latin Etymological
Dictionary derives *muriola* from *murra*.
Wessner rightly regards it as the Diminutive
of *muria* 'brine.' The word was possibly
a playful name given by the Roman women
to their 'partickler wanity.'

W. M. LINDSAY.

Paul. Fest. 144. 9 M. and may be right. It is not
inconsistent with my theory.

² Perhaps LAPATIUM . TISANA was another lemma
of this sort in Nonius' setting of 550, 12 sqq. But
this is uncertain.

THE PRONUNCIATION OF θ AND δ.

FROM notes taken during a visit in the
summer of 1906 to Astypalaea and other
islands, where kindred dialects are spoken,
I should like to amplify Dr. Rouse's state-
ments in *Glass. Review*, xix. p. 441, about

the modern pronunciation of θ and ζ and
the *spiritus asper* in Astypalaea.

Θ is pronounced τ' not universally, but
only under certain conditions. Initially
(except before ι, or when a closely preceding

word ends in *v*) and between vowels, it has its usual spirantal value; after *σ*, *χ*, and *φ* (i.e. *φ*, *ευ*, and *αυ*) it is sounded *τ*, as always in popular Mod. Greek; after *ρ* also as *τ*, as generally in the S.E. dialects (*λθ*→*ρθ* in Mod. Greek); only after *ν* and before *ι* is it sounded *τ'*:—e.g. τὸ κολοῦντ'ι (τὸ κολοκύνθιον), τὰ κολοῦντ'ια, (τὰ κολοκύνθια), ἐτ' ἐλώ (δὲν θέλω), βατ'σα (βαθεία). Some speakers pronounce *τ'*, *θ'* rather than *τ'*, *τ'*. I found similar pronunciations in other islands:—

Nisyros: *νθ* as *τ'*, *νθι* as *τ'*, but *θι* as *θ'*.

Cos: *νθ* as *θθ*, with the lengthened consonant of the S.E. dialects, but *νθι* as *ττσ*, and *θι* as *τσ*. This is at Antimachia; at Kephalos *τθ* is heard instead of *ττσ*, *τσ*.

Kalymnos: *νθ* as *τθ*, *νθι* and *θι* as *τ'*.

Chalki: In Astypalaea I was told it existed in this island.

In Astypalaea alone, except Kalymnos in certain phrases, I noted this pronunciation in Sandhi, e.g. τῆτ' ἰάλατσα (τὴν θάλασσαν), with -τ' τ' for the usual S.E. -θ θ-. The nom. is ἡ θάλατσα.

Explosive pronunciations of *νθ* exist according to printed sources in other neighbouring islands:—

Syme: e.g. βρόττος (γρόνθος), Ζωγ. 'Αγ. p. 232.

Ξαττά, ξεράττηκε (ξεράνθη).
Σύλλογος. 1Θ. p. 227.

Karpathos: e.g. Ξαττή, Ζωγ. 'Αγ. p. 276.

γρόθος (ιονθος), ib. p. 320.

Amorgos: τὰ λύττια, wild figs (*δλύνθια), in a glossary in 'Η νήσος Ἀμοργός, N. Γ. Γασπαρή.

Ikaria: ψαφαμίτι, Meyer. Neugr. Studien, ii. p. 96, a kind of lizard. Cf. σαμιάμινθος, Ducange, and Karpathian σαπομίττα, Ζωγ. 'Αγ. p. 335. But Hatzidhakis (Idg. Forsch. ii. p. 391) gives *θθ* or *π*. (387) *σσ* for *νθ*.

Telos: see Dieterich, Untersuchungen, p. 284. But the examples he quotes from Ζωγ. 'Αγ. are really from Karpathos.

West Coast of Asia: for this Dieterich (ib. p. 284) quotes from the Anatolian's speech in the comedy Βαβυλονία. This region has been much colonised by islanders.

Kretschmer (Der heut. Lesbische Dial. p. 169) quotes examples from the allied dialect of Terra d'Otranto, where however *θ* is never *th*, but *t*, *d*, or *s* (Morosi, Studi sui dialetti greci della Terra d'Otranto, p. 107), and these pronunciations thus seem very widely spread in this dialect-group, the

ancient character of which is one of Dieterich's conclusions. In Rhodes *θθ* is heard (Hatzidhakis, Idg. Forsch. ii. p. 392).

It occurs also in Zakonian (Deffner, Zak. Gram. p. 99), and it is notable that ancient Lakonian, whilst in other cases making *θ* a spirant, kept an explosive sound, not only after *σ*, like Mod. Greek in general, but also after *ν* (Meister, Dorer und Achäer, p. 29).

The only other *θ* I could hear of with explosive sound is in the word παραμύθι, a story, always pronounced as if with ancient *νθ*. It has probably been altered under the analogy of the words ending with -νθι, κολοκύνθι, ῥοβίθι (ἐρέβινθος) and ἄλνθι (*δλύνθιον).

In the tales from Astypalaea in Pio, Contes Populaires, no account is taken of this pronunciation, or even of *τ* for *θ* after *ρ*, except in such a word as γαρτόνεται (διωρόνεται), which the writer probably did not recognise, and so normalise. He does sometimes, as Dr. Rouse says, write *τ* for *θ*, but only after *σ* and *φ* (ευ, αυ) as always in popular Mod. Greek. A native gave me a manuscript folk-tale, in which *νθ* appears always as *τθ*h, *ττθ* or *ττθ*h, and in no other case does *τ* appear to render partly or fully the sound of *θ* except after *σ* and *φ*. Of *ρθ* no case occurs.

Parallel with this is the less common pronunciation in these dialects of *δ* as *d*. Usually in Mod. Greek this is only after *ν*, e.g. δένδρο(ν) or δέδρο(ν), but in Kos, Nisyros, and parts of Karpathos I have noted *d* also after *ρ* and *γ*, and in Cos also before *ι*. It probably exists unrecorded elsewhere, as Mod. Greek has no sign for *d*. In the dialect of Terra d'Otranto *δ* is as a rule *d*, and never *dh* (Morosi, p. 106).

By the side of the pronunciation of *ζ* as *dz*, or as I think rather *ndz*, noticed by Dr. Rouse, is the pronunciation of *σσ* whether internal or in Sandhi as *τσ*. In Sandhi *σσ* results not only from -ς σ-, but also from -ν σ- and -ν χ-, the *ν* being first assimilated to the following *σ* or *χ*, which is always pronounced *s*. Thus ἡ θάλατσα, ἐτ' σοῦ λέω (=δὲν σοῦ λέγω), τὸτ' σεμῶνα (=τὸν χειμῶνα). These pronunciations of *ζ* and *σσ* I have noticed also in Karpathos (B.S.A. x. p. 85) and *τζ* is written for *ζ* in the texts from Syme in Ζωγ. 'Αγ. pp. 224 sqq.

The *spiritus asper* noticed by Dr. Rouse in Astypalaea has, I think, no connexion with the ancient *spiritus asper*, but occurs when a word is shouted, as the greeting ὦρα καλή often is, or in exclamations and at the beginning of exclamatory sentences

expressing annoyance or amazement, e.g.
 ἡ ἐ κακόμοιρε, *Oh poor fellow!*

R. M. DAWKINS.

θ is also pronounced τ' in the word θέλω, so that I cannot quite accept Mr. Dawkins's notes; but I have no doubt that they are substantially accurate. I have a considerable collection of Astypalitic stories etc. in manuscript which I hope to publish. From them many other peculiarities of this dialect will appear: e.g. the intrusive sibilant in groups like πουλτάα = πουλιά. σσ is sounded σσ in Cephalos, an isolated district of Cos, which has a peculiar dialect. This pronunciation may possibly be ancient: see Mr. Foat's note on T in the current *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

ON *Malazo* and *μαλάσσω*.

THE evidence adduced above for a pronunciation of σσ as ts (the existence of which in the Greek world I have long held and taught, though I have never published my belief) encourages me to offer my explanation of the correspondence in the words which head this note. *Malazo* is one of the older borrowings of Latin from Greek: for the compound *commalazo* shows that the sense of its foreign origin was lost. Now *malazo* cannot have come from *malasso*. For ss is a stable Latin group and *lassus fassus* etc. would have helped to keep the correspondence true. But take the hypothesis that the word borrowed was *malatso* and all is in order. ts differs but slightly in sound from cs or x, and c, as we all know, has replaced t in the sound group tl.

J. P. POSTGATE.

MORE UNCANNY THIRTEENS.¹

IN the *Classical Review* of December 1905, p. 437, I suggested that thirteen in Greek (and Latin) writers was not, as Mr. J. Elmore had said, used simply for an indefinite number, but that it had, as I expressed it, a sinister tinge. To put the matter in a word ἀνὴρ τρισκαίδεκάπηχρος 'a man of 13 cubits' in Theocritus 15. 17 does not so much mean, we might say, a lumbering guardsman, but a misbegotten Goliath.

Since I made this suggestion I have come across some passages which appear to gain in point if the popular associations of this number were malign.

One of the most formidable mutinies in the army of a successful general was that which was quelled by the promptness and address of Alexander in the year B.C. 323. In order to strike terror into the hearts of the army, Alexander ordered certain of the ringleaders to be arrested and executed. Arrian and Plutarch do not state the number; but Quintus Curtius (x. 2) and Justin (xii. 11) give it as thirteen.

Another place in which the number may be not only actual but significant is Suetonius *Gaius* 38, where one of Caligula's monkey tricks is related.

Aucone proposita reliquias omnium spectaculorum subiecit et uenditauit, exquirens per se pretia et usque eo extendens ut quidam immenso coacti

quaedam emere ac bonis exuti uenas sibi inciderent. Nota res est Aponio Saturnino inter subsellia dormitante monitum a Gaio praeconem ne praetorium virum, crebro capitis nutu nutantem sibi, praeteriret, nec licendi finem factum quoad tredecim gladiatores sestertio nonagies ignoranti addicerentur.

There is an added grimness, quite worthy of the imperial madman, in this deadly jest, if the thirteen gladiators were a fatal number.

The last incident to which I shall refer was brought under my notice by Dr. A. J. Kronenberg of Rotterdam. It is recorded by Diodorus Siculus xi. 92. 5, but I give the narrative in the words of Grote's *History*, Part II. ch. 90.

'Statues of the twelve gods, admirably executed, were carried in solemn procession into the theatre: immediately after them, the statue of Philip himself as a thirteenth god.' [The sequel is given thus] . . . 'Unconscious of the plot Philip was about to enter the theatre, already crowded with spectators . . . At this moment Pausanias, standing near with a Gallic sword concealed under his garment, rushed upon him, thrust the weapon through his body, and killed him.'

All will agree with Dr. Kronenberg's comment 'is numerus si ominosus est, parum prudenter fuisse putandus est Philippus.'

J. P. POSTGATE.

¹ Read before the *Cambridge Philological Society* on October 25, 1906.

REVIEWS.

PRAELECTIONS DELIVERED BEFORE THE SENATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, JANUARY 25, 26, 27, 1906.

QUINQUE sculptores in arte sua principes in certamen venisse Plinius tradit, cum Amazonis statua in Dianae Ephesiae templo erigenda esset. Quinque philologos Britannos praelectione publice habita de solio regii professoris Cantabrigiae concertasse hoc nitidum ostendit volumen. Quod qui componendum curavit, nae ille singularem philologis omnibus paravit delectationem, exteris fortasse etiam suaviorem, cum nullo partium studio occupati elegantissimorum simul et doctissimorum virorum orationibus aurem praebere possimus. Quamquam ea tenus quidem quasi sodalicii iure coniuncti sumus quicumque Atticam Musam colimus, ut sciamus, quanti sit in cathedram ascendere, quam nuper tenuit cui soli contigit ut lyricam poesin vere Graeca arte exerceret (quis enim superare possit Leopardii Italiam a R. C. Jebbio Graece expressam?), cuius obtinendae gratia Ricardus Porsonus unicum illam quae de Euripidis Hecuba est orationem habuit, lege coactus, nam severae ille disciplinae signifer tacito nutu malebat docere, ne persuadendi artificii aut importunae eruditionis ostentatione vincere videretur. Itaque invitus legi paruit, candidoque animo quam non honorifice de oratione sua sentiret professus est. In qua sane et acumen et leporem facundissimi viri frustra circumspicimus. Memini me hanc orationem adulescentulum legisse, cum saluberrimo Ottonis Jahnii praeceptoris mei iussu fundamenta studiorum in Porsoni et Elmslei libris collocarem. Tunc comparatis et Adversariis Porsoni a Monkio et Blomfieldio editis et libro etiam iucundo, cui Kiddii pietas 'tracts and miscellaneous criticisms of R. P.' inscripsit, diligere quidem coepi etiam hominem Porsonum, sed fore ut orationem illam iterum legerem vix expectassem. Nunc vero, de his quinque praelectionibus referre iussus, relegi eam, adsumptis etiam Bentlei nonnullis, ut animum quodammodo redderem Cantabrigiensem. Ergo nunc vel Cantabrigiae Latinus sermo patrio cessit; sed inter summa ipsius Bentlei merita numeramus quod vernaculo sermone philologica tractare coepit. Itaque dicendi et vi et gratia hae praelectiones Porsonianam superant omnes, superant etiam copia eruditionis, sive in inti-

ma philosophiae nos deducunt, sive religiones aut iura Graecorum ab ipsis generis humani primordiis repetunt. Tamen vereor, ne Porsonus, si censorem eum fingimus, subinde acerbo illo sale usurus fuerit, quo Brunnium et Wakefieldium et ipsum Hermannum haud immerito perfreuit. Qui cum Hermanno in eo consensit, simplicem esse veritatis viam, neque ullis doctrinae aut sagacitatis artibus effici, ut versui Graeco aut insit aut subsit quod poeta Graecus nec sentire nec dicere potuerit. Nec difficile nec iniucundum esset, pluribus ita in universum disputare; sed ad singula transire officium est.

Agmen ducit HENRICUS JACKSON Cratylus, Platonis dialogo, breviter enarrato. Quod eo consilio fit ut simul et quando fere Cratylus scriptus sit appareat et quam gravia ad ipsius Platonis philosophiam cognoscendam conferat. Refutari Cratylus philosophi doctrinam, profectam eam quidem ab Heraclito, sed minime mere Heracliteam; irritum enim esse, quod ille docuerat, res ipsae et nominibus rerum cognosci; proficiscendum enim in omnibus esse a formis aeternis quibus singula quaecumque sensibus percipiuntur quamvis fluxa et mutabilia continentur. Quae doctrina cum eadem sit in Phaedone et Republica, nondum sit in Phaedro et Symposio, non iam sit in Timaeo, natales Cratylus artis terminis circumscriptos esse. Quae mihi omnia verissime videntur esse disputata. Ipse enim dudum mihi persuasi, vulgari opinione, quam ultimus Raeder exposuit, nec tempora nec pondus Cratylus recte aestimari, quem prope a Theaeteto abesse arbitratus confirmari hanc sententiam subtili Jacksoni dissertatione maxime laetor. Cum enim Graeci artis logicae, imperiti res cognoscere studerent, facere non poterant quin temptarent, num naturam rerum e vocabulis et nominibus rerum elicerent. Quod cum Platoni, novae dialecticae auctori, refutandum esset, et sapienter fecit et pie, cum Cratylum, quo adulescens ipse usus erat praeceptore, induceret patronum doctrinae haud minus seriae et gravis quam veritas Protagorae erat, quam in Theaeteto refutat, inducto Theodoro, item praeceptore suo. At Antisthenem vulgo iactant in Cratylus carpi. Ne verbum quidem Jackson de hac

opinione facit. Nihil magis admiratus sum eloquentissimo hoc silentio; nec verbum addi opus. Spirat autem omnino per hanc praelectionem festiva illa brevis, genio Britannico-propria. Quale hoc est de Platone 'I very much fear that he would have mistrusted some of the results of modern philosophical inquiry.' But perhaps I am doing him a wrong: for he was a man of an open mind,' aut illud de Xenocrate 'an amiable moralist who out of piety taught Plato's philosophy, but did not understand it.'

JACOBUS ADAM edisserit, quid Graeci de caelesti animae humanae origine, de eorum hominumque cognatione, de divina mundi anima senserint. Commovemur sublimitate cogitationum, delectamur floribus poetarum dextre interspersis, captamur eruditione pietate eloquentia. Dicam breviter: alterum Plutarchum audimus. Magna laus; sed etiam Plutarchi eruditio amplior est quam accuratior. Iniuriam facit Euripidi qui ad eum refert quae Critias in Pirithoo dixit, iniuriam Paulo apostolo qui eius doctrinam cum Stoica confundit, quam Aetorum scriptor a Paulo Arcopagitis propositam esse finxit. Quid quod ipsa Pindari verba, quod Adam disputationi suae fundamentum esse voluit, a mystica ratione, quam Boeckhio duce illis subesse credit, alienissima sunt. Nolo de perturbatis Pseudoplutarchi (nam personatus Plutarchus Apollonium consolatus est) verbis nunc agere, id enim luculenter dicunt, alium Pindari threnum excerpti quam is fuit, in quo de inferis agebatur. Hic igitur omnino procul habendus est, nec profecto reconditi quidquam in perspicuis his verbis latet, animam per somnia ostendere *τερπιδὼν ἐφέρπονσαν χαλεπὼν τε κρίσειν*, scilicet eventum eorum quae sive grata sive ingrata imminet, per somnia portendi. Quis talia non ipse percussus est? quis nescit, quantum fidei Graeci somniis habuerint, etiam medici et philosophi. Iudicium vero post mortem animae imminens ne per vim quidem in simplicia haec verba inferri potest. Quod iudicium plerique Graecorum ne fando quidem norant, neque enim nisi per vatium aut mystagorum doctrinam, nedum per somnia, certiores de eo fieri poterant. Ceterum me iudice Pindarus inter mysticos referendus non est; qui Theronis mystae gratia de animae migrationibus, mortui cuiusdam Eleusiniis initiati gratia mysteriorum virtutes celebravit, ipse autem Delphicam, hoc est patriam profitebatur religionem.

Ab A. W. VERRALLIO praeclarum ingenium in causa victa et confecta frustra consumi aegre ferimus. Negat Minervam

in Aeschyli Eumenisin calculum urnae immississe. Verba enim ambigua esse, rationes autem e religione et arte Aeschyli petitas hoc poscere. At Minerva cum dicit *ψήφον τήνδε προσθήσομαι* calculum manu tenet, credendaque est urnae immississe, nisi aut vi praepedita est aut dolo malo mentita. Id tantum investigatione dignum est, cur Aeschylus Minervam solam ex omnibus iudicibus noluerit clam suffragium ferre, cur illa rationem sententiae suae proferat talem quae plerisque nostrum dea videatur indigna esse. Sed etiamsi Aeschylum fortasse non laudabit (ego laudo); nefas est argutando efficere, ut fecisse videatur quae nobis placeant. Verallius quidem dicit 'the idea to artist and audience is everything.' Creditis Porsonum haec fuisse probaturum? Sed acta est haec causa et confecta.

WALTER HEADLAM exorsus a cantico secundo de Agamemnonis compositione et arte verba facit, additis etiam versionis Anglicae speciminibus. De quibus iudicare meum non est: verum etiam in peregrino sermone commodissimam hanc enarrationis viam esse intellego. Deinde versibus suis Headlam nonnulla subiecit in universum disputata, e quibus liquido apparet, ab hoc praeceptore ductos in ipsa Musae Graecae penetrantia introduci tirones. Pauca adscribam: 'there was a body of ideas which the Greek race had adopted or evolved as conclusions reached by man's experience. These were accepted as established truths, and were the bases for the ordering of life. These ideas, already known, familiar for the most part as the Ten Commandments, the poets are constantly alluding to and founding metaphors upon; they are like themes on which a musician composes variations.' Profecto, hoc perspexerit oportet qui Bacchylidis Pindari Aeschyli carmina et intellegere et aestimare recte voluerit. Sicut enim sermo lyricus dictionum metaphorarum comparisonum colores cuivis poetae suppeditat, ita etiam sententiarum colores eidem praesto sunt, magisque in componendo et variando quam in inveniundo propria cuiusque poetae virtus conspicitur. Quae tanta splendet in Agamemnone, ut Headlam absolutissima novae musicae opera ad eam illustrandam advocet; poterat etiam architectura Graeca uti: Parthenon Oresteam aequiperat. Singula tractare non vacat; vereor autem, ne Headlam apicum traditorum nimis tenacem se praestet. Veluti *πένθεια* vocem Graecam non esse rectissime monuit Blassius, nec nominativum *ἀρή* aut genetivum *δήριος*, ab Attico sermone abhorrentes,

tolerare possum. Sed malo de una voce loqui, quam Headlam cum multis ita mutandam duxit, ut bubuleus oves pascere dicatur, quod nec in Graecia nec opinor in Britannia moris est. *ἐθρεψεν δὲ λέοντος ἰνὶ δόμοις ἀγάλακτον οὕτως ἀνήρ. οὕτως* in apologo exordio sollemne fuisse ostendit Aristophanes *Vesp.* 1182, *Lysistr.* 785, et Plato *Phaedr.* 237 b. *Faciunt βοῦτας*, nec videtur sequi *μηλοφόνουσιν ἐν αἵταις*.

Guilelmus Ridgeway de Supplicibus Aeschyli scripsit. Qui postquam rectissime exposuit Supplices omnium quas habemus tragoediarum longe esse antiquissimam (accuratiora autem scire velle male ludentis est), choreutes fuisse quinquaginta, nonnullaque alia, quae legenti mihi gratissima fuerunt, cum inter nos archaeologi quidam manifestae veritati obstrepere nondum desinant, sane gravem necdum solutam quaestionem aggreditur. Qui tandem fieri potest, ut Aegypti filii Danaidas quasi *ἐπικλήρους* sibi in matrimonium tradi iubeant; Danao patre superstitute? Certum est, ipsos Argivos, qui puellas a vi defendunt, Aegyptiis eas concessisse, cum iura sua per leges peterent. Ego quoque olim difficultati solvendae me imparem esse confessus sum (*Hermæ*, vol. xxii. 286). Itaque magna cum expectatione hanc praelectionem legebam. Qua tamen excidi; nam Ridgeway omnia a matris potestate repetit, concertare autem *ἐνδογαμίαν* et *ἐξωγαμίαν* quas anthropologi dicunt. Ego ex eis sum qui inter Aricas gentes umquam aliam atque patriam potestatem fuisse negant, cum ipsa lingua luculenter hoc

videatur docere. Sed quantum ad Graecos, testimonia examinare sufficit, quibus fretus Ridgeway Atheniensibus Aeschyli aetate maternum ius notissimum fuisse adfirmat. Duos testes adfert, Iustinum et Varronem, sed unde Romani homines ea sumpserint quae Dracontis legibus et Homero Hesiodoque praeferre iubemur, ne quaesivit quidem. Utraque fabula aetiologica est. Iustinus, pro quo saltem Clearnchus Solensis, Aristotelis discipulus, laudandus erat (apud *Athenaeum*, p. 555 d), Cecropem *διφνῆ* appellatum esse tradit tamquam matrimonii inventorem; Varroniana fabula quin his nugis a ludente grammatico superstructa sit, non dubitabit qui aetiorum Graecorum vicissitudines et origines persequi didicerit. De talibus pragmaticorum ineptiis serio agere piget, qui vel grammaticorum regulam, quae *Ἀθηναία* de femina Attica dici vetatur, a Cecrope repetunt. Sed fac, matrimonium institutum sit a Cecrope, quid hoc probat? Quis fuit ante Cecropem, quem primum Atheniensium regem terra edidit? Matris potestatem inter Praeadamitas valuisse equidem minime nego. Haud impune negligitur quam vocare consuevimus fontium investigatio, siquidem ex auctore fides eorum pendet quae a seris compilatoribus tradita accipimus. Sed ne ab Aeschyli quidem fontibus quaerendis manus cohibebimus, neque iam despero hac ratione ipsam eam quam Danaidum causa offert quaestionem solvi posse. Sed hoc longiorem requirit disputationem.

U. DE WILANOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF.

Berolini.

LINDSAY'S PLAUTUS (VOL. II).

T. Macci Plauti Comoediae. Vol. II. (Miles Gloriosus—Fragmenta). Edited by W. M. LINDSAY in *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis.* 6s.

THE second volume of Professor Lindsay's Plautus contains many interesting features and raises many difficult problems. For it is to the plays herein contained that the collation which he discovered in the margins of a copy of Plautus in the Bodleian Library mainly relates. From this collation he has been able to improve the text in a number of places. It is unnecessary to dilate upon the real advance which is thus achieved, because the readings commend themselves, and, resting as they do on undoubted MS.

authority, they will be sure to command the approval of all future editors. My own sense of their value is shown by the fact that I consider myself fortunate in being able to introduce those of them that relate to the Rudens in my 'editio minor' of that play.

Immediately connected with this discovery is another feature of Prof. Lindsay's edition, on which I must speak with some reserve. It seems to me that he is inclined to rest too heavily on this Bodleian collation, and to attempt to make it do more work than it is qualified to do. In other words, he regards it as a collation which may be trusted to represent faithfully, at least in its main features, the lost Codex Turnebi. I

am still sceptical as to whether the Bodleiana can be regarded as a collation, in the proper sense of the term, of any one MS. or of any two MSS. If it were, it ought to have led to an advance in our knowledge of the text analogous to that which was effected by the unearthing of the Ambrosian palimpsest. For we should be able to infer *ex silentio* that in passages in which there is no variant indicated in the collation the depraved text of the Gryphius edition (A.D. 1540), in the margins of which the collation is made, represents the lost Cod. Turn. The absurdities to which this would lead are obvious: I open the book at random and find in Rud. 390 ff. the lines ending at wrong places and an essential word (*eam*) omitted; *ibid.* 411 an impossible *nobis* inserted; 839, 841 two blunders; 853 *rapite hunc* for *rapi te*. Are we to suppose for a moment that such disfigurements of the text stood in the Cod. Turn.? On the contrary they date from the fifteenth century and were all got rid of in the first scientific text of the play—that of Camerarius, 1549. And are we to infer that the Cod. Turn. had *orationes* Poen. 55, *indoctor* 581, *utitur* 770,¹ *refert aio* 778, *Threcae sunt columnae* 1168¹? In these instances we have the express testimony of Turnèbe that his codex had *rationes*, *con-doctor*, *uritur*, *refert rario*, *Græcae sunt hae columnae* respectively; and there are many other cases of discrepancies between the Cod. Turn. as known from Turnèbe and the same MS. as represented in the Bodleian collation. That there are nuggets of gold in this collation I have recognized from the first; but if there is also an admixture of sand, it is necessary to adopt an eclectic method of procedure in dealing with its several readings and to try each one of them on its merits before employing it for the purpose of reconstructing the common archetype form which, in Prof. Lindsay's opinion, both the Codex Turnebi and the existing MSS. of the Palatine family were derived. I hope some day to contribute further observations as to the relation of these Bodleiana both to the Codex Turnebi, as known to us from Turnèbe's *Adversaria*, and to the readings reported by Lambin as found in his 'libri veteres'; but the question is too large and difficult to be dealt with in this review.

A few examples will illustrate the editor's *modus operandi*. In Rud. 650 the Bodleiana have *T. uis*, as a supplement of the defective

line *Quis istic est qui deos tam parui pendit?* Professor Lindsay draws the inference that *uis* was the reading of the archetype (preceded by the name of the speaker, *Tr.*). And so confident is he of this that his critical apparatus gives no hint that the extant MSS. have a lacuna (i.e. nothing at all) in this place. On the basis of this supposed archetypal reading he proceeds to emend: *TR. uis < diam tibi? >* But this is to ignore the fact (also mentioned in his critical apparatus) that Lambin quotes from his admirable 'libri veteres'—the source of so many indisputably good readings—the words *paucis expedi* as ending this line and forming part of the speech of Daemones. Whatever these 'libri veteres' may have been,² their reading is in the present instance of superior intrinsic merit to that of the Bodleiana and alone deserves consideration in any hypothetical reconstruction of the archetype in this passage. Moreover Prof. Lindsay is on the horns of a dilemma: either the Cod. Turn. had *uis*, in which case the 'libri veteres' of Lambin are not the same as the Cod. Turn. and there were other MSS. (now lost) in the field; or the Cod. Turn. had *paucis expedi*, in which case the Bodleian collation is convicted of including elements foreign to the Cod. Turn.

At the end of Rud. 457 *subita ueniam* is set up as the archetypal reading on the basis of the Bodleiana (the Palatine have a lacuna after *subit*) and Prof. Lindsay feels himself bound to follow whithersoever it may lead—even to what seems to me the impossible reading *subita uia*. It is to be noted that the Bodleiana contradict the Palatine at another point of this line (*me* for *res*): here then we are left in doubt as to what the archetypal reading was, if any weight is to be attached to the *me*. The difficulty of a double reading presents itself at numerous other places, e.g. Pers. 85 *oculus* (or *oculos*) and *ac ius*; Rud. 636 *uimeam* and *umerum* (*umerun?*). Often the editor recognizes the difficulty of deciding what the archetype had by the addition of the words 'ut videtur,' e.g. Poen. 898, Rud. 222, 580, 629 ('cod. ut vid.');

² Professor Lindsay has pointed out to me that in my review of his first volume (*Class. Rev.* xix. p. 312) I did him an injustice in implying that he had changed his opinion as to the source of the readings attributed by Lambin to his 'libri veteres.' This is quite true and I regret that I had forgotten the passage of his Codex Turnebi (p. 16) in which he says that Lambin probably had access to a transcript of Turnèbe's marginalia: i.e. that the 'libri veteres' are merely another name for the single Cod. Turn.

¹ These readings (Poen. 770, 1168) come from the collation, not from the text of the Gryphius edition.

as in Poen. 30, where *pertant* is put down as the archetypal reading without qualification, because it seems to explain the readings *pereant* CD and *peritent* T; though it would also be possible to argue from *peritent* cod. to *pertant* and *pereant*. In some cases the editor frankly confesses that no inference can be drawn, e.g. Poen. 266 '*reginas vel reliquias* cod.', Pseud. 802 '*avaritia vel hominum avaritia* cod.' These passages ought surely to teach us caution in dealing with all readings of the Bodleian collation.

It would have greatly enriched the critical apparatus, if the editor had given us a complete transcript of the Bodleiana, or of such of them as he judges to be derived from the Cod. Turn. These are not accessible to the general reader, and indeed they are often hard to decipher in Prof. Lindsay's facsimile. In the present edition they are merged, together with the readings of the Palatini, in the hypothetical readings which are put down as those of the archetype. For instance, in Rud. 457, the critical apparatus gives '*subita ueniam* ut vid. cod.' Who would guess from this that the existing MSS. have a lacuna after the letters *subit*? This method of procedure implies the use of another critical edition by a reader who desires to know the evidence not only as to the Bodleiana but also as to the Palatini, though Prof. Lindsay's *inferences* are exceedingly valuable as a supplement to any other critical apparatus.

In one respect the editor might easily improve his apparatus in future editions; instead of using 'codd.' (with double *d*) for the readings of AP, and 'cod.' (with one *d*) for those of A in the absence of P or P in the absence of A, and P for P^A in those parts of the plays in which we have the evidence of T, it would conduce to clearness to give in each case the sign of the MS. or MSS. concerned: i.e. AP, A, P, P^A as the case may be. As it is, a complicated process of thought is involved in interpreting each of the notes. I have noticed also a few passages in which the apparatus requires correcting or supplementing: in Rud. 481 no account is taken of the Palatini, in Rud. 1087 *exaequabitur* (the right reading, I think) is found in D as well as B; in Pers. 120 the Palatini have *cui*, not *qui*; in Most. 579 (*meri*) *diem* A ought not to have been omitted, nor the readings of A in 765 (*sub* . . . *o*), 981 (*heu*) of the same play; in 886a '*sis* P' would have indicated that *sies* of the text is a conjecture.

Apart from the question of the reconstruction of the archetype there are many passages

in this volume which challenge criticism. In some of them the editor seems to me to show ultra-conservative tendencies; but this may be explained by the conditions under which this edition was produced (see Preface to vol. I. p. 1). For example, in the following passages of the *Mostellaria*: 5 *nidoriscipi*; 328 *manus*, 594 *manum* (the accusative is surely impossible in both passages); before l. 467 a line of asterisks is absolutely necessary if *quoque terram* is retained in 469; 593 is marred by hiatus and violation of the accentual character of the third rise; 675 *euoca* with hiatus; 925 *unquam* is unintelligible after *quia* (read *numquam* with B², and delete the mark of interrogation at the end of the line); 1091 is metrically wrong; 1177 *unam noxiam unam* with aposiopesis won't do. In 63 *inhonestis* is to me incomprehensible: I propose to emend the passage (62 f.) as follows:

Eruom daturi <si> éstis, bubus quód feram,
Date; si non estis, ágite porro pérgite, etc.

(For the form of speech cf. Poen. 571, Cas. 831, Cist. 378, etc.) The following may also be cited from other plays: Poen. 331 *insecundo*, Rud. 304 *capsimús incendí* (how this can be scanned I fail to see), 455 *quam huc* (hiatus), Pseud. 132 *penitus*, 578 *prius*, Trin. 541 *haecst*; nor can Rud. 888 stand in the form here given (according to Priscian).

Less explicable are a number of passages in which the editor has rejected or suspected a reading which has MS. support and seems at least capable of defence: e.g. Most. 712 *ullum* (AB²; *nullum* B²CD is impossible after *nil erit*); Most. 504 *scelestae hae*; Rud. 485 requires only a slight emendation to make it a perfect line; so too several other lines which are obelized in this volume. In Most. 784 the reading of A *Theoropides* (ignored in the crit. app.) is the form of the name which suits the metre best, and not only in this line but throughout the play: the MSS. have either *Theoropides* (so A four or five times) or *Theuopides* (so P sixteen times), and the only trace of a *p* before the *r* is in two passages (784, 962). Here, however, Professor Lindsay agrees with all other editors, including myself in my first edition of the play; in the second edition I am restoring *Theoropides* throughout. Stich. 723 is offensive to the editor in point of metre, but his solution of putting *age* 'extra versum' is hardly acceptable. Stich. 502 is objected to on the ground of the hiatus at the caesura, and similarly Poen. 1051: in the former case emendation is employed (*auspicaui*, with *-ne* attached

to the third word in the sentence—a very doubtful expedient), in the latter the word *ergo* is obelized, and an ‘antiqua forma’ *erego* is suggested (‘*vix erego*’) in the note. If the editor has so strong an objection to this kind of hiatus, why should he even suggest the introduction of it in Rud. 1202 (‘*vix opino*’) and also in a passage where hiatus would be far more objectionable, Stich. 290? Does he hold that *opinor* is not a genuine Plautine form? Nor do I see justification for the suggestion of *minat* and *ludificemus* in Stich. 21, 578. In Truc. 91 *nudius* gives a better rhythm than *nudin’*. Why does the editor object to *siquis* in Stich. 182? Such forms are now generally recognized (cf. *siquidem* side by side with *siquidem*, etc.): in Stich. 715 Prof. Lindsay himself introduces it (with a protest) where it is not necessary in the opinion of other

recent editors. Nor do they agree with him in Most. 217, where he accepts Klotz’s conjecture; the scansion in *sênēcta* is unobjectionable in the first foot of the second colon of the iamb. septen.

I have noticed a few questionable spellings: *i* is a common error for *e* in the Ambrosian, and therefore may well have figured in P too; if so, the *mulieri* of B in Most. 256, the *virtuti* of Truc. 495 have no weight, and the *miis* of Pseud. 764 may not be an ‘antiqua forma’ but simply an error. Consistency in this matter is difficult, especially in a work of this compass; but I do not understand why Prof. Lindsay prints *perici*, Stich. 497 (A) but not *propino*, *ibid.* 425 (A), *uein* Pseud. (324 (A) but not *ei*, *ibid.* 326 (A).

E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN.

NÉMETHY’S *TIBVLLVS* AND *LYGDAMVS*.

Albii Tibulli Carmina: accedunt Sulpiciae Elegidia. Edidit, adnotationibus exegeticis et criticis instruxit GEYZA NÉMETHY, Academiae Litterarum Hungaricae Sodalis. Budapestini. MCMV. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 348, Sewed. Kron. 6.

Lygdami Carmina: accedit Panegyricus in Messallam. Edidit, adnotationibus exegeticis et criticis instruxit GEYZA NÉMETHY, Academiae Litterarum Hungaricae Sodalis. Budapestini. MCMVI. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 180, Sewed. Kron. 3.

THESE are two of a series of ‘Editiones Criticae Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum’ a Collegio Philologico Classico Academiae Litterarum Hungaricae publici iuris factae. They are welcome contributions to our knowledge of associated authors of whose entire remains no complete annotated edition had appeared since that of Ludolph Dissem, published in 1835, and no longer up to date.

The two volumes are, we are told by the editor, a *πάρρηγον* of a larger work written by him in Hungarian on Roman Elegy, during the preparation of which he had often wished that someone else had previously done what he thereupon undertook.

The first volume comprises what the editor considers the genuine remains of Tibullus, viz. Books I. II. and IV. ii.–vi.

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inclusive, xiii. and xiv. (according to the traditional division), to which he has added the Elegies of Sulpicia, Book IV. vii.–xii. inclusive, as being required for a right understanding of some of the others. The second volume includes the Elegies of Lygdamus, Book III., and the anonymous Panegyric on Messalla.

The editor has rearranged the poems of Tibullus and of Sulpicia in what seems to him to be their chronological sequence, a proceeding which he has endeavoured to justify in an Appendix of eleven Excursus. First, under the Heading ‘Marathus’ come I. iv, viii, and ix; under the Heading ‘Detestatio belli’ I. x; under the Heading ‘Delia’ I. iii, i, v, ii, and vi; under the Heading ‘In natalem Messallae’ I. vii; under the Heading ‘Ambarualia’ II. i; under the Heading ‘Sulpiciae Elegidia’ poems IV. viii, ix, x, xi, xii, and vii; under the Heading ‘Tibulli Elegidia de amore Sulpiciae’ IV. ii, iii, iv, v, and vi; under the Heading ‘In natalem Cornuti’ II. ii; under the Heading ‘Nemesis’ II. iv, vi, and iii; under the Heading ‘In natalem Messalini quindecimviri’ II. v; and, finally, under the Heading ‘De amica innominata’ IV. xiii, and xiv. In the Excursus three moot questions have been entirely ignored: viz. (1) ‘Was Tibullus the Albius of Horace?’—the ‘immitis Glycera’ of whose Ode I. xxxiii Mr. Némethy thinks

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may have been the 'amica innominata,' beloved after Delia and before Nemesis (he supposes); (2) 'Is Elegy xiii of Book IV. addressed to the "amica innominata" genuine?' and (3) 'Did Tibullus accompany Messalla to Aquitania?' The statement in the anonymous 'Vita Tibulli'¹ that the poet was a 'contubernalis' of the general in the Aquitanian Wars, and the words 'non sine me est tibi partus honos' of I. vii. 7 (where the writer is represented as complacently taking credit to himself for a share in the exploits of the man whom he is eulogizing) Mr. Némethy appears to have accepted unhesitatingly, notwithstanding that 'me' has been suspected by eminent scholars; and the geographical difficulties of I. vii. 3-4 and II. 12 he has passed by without comment, giving no explanation of why the Atax, the chief river of Gallia Narbonensis (which has been settled for many years) should tremble at the approach of the conqueror of Aquitania, and suggesting no reason why in connexion with the conquest of the latter province should be mentioned the Arar and Rhodanus which flowed eastward thereof. Mr. Némethy's arbitrary arrangements, instructive though they may possibly be to a stranger to their subject-matter, are not convenient for persons wishing to refer to particular passages either of the Text or of the Commentary; and, by alteration of the order in which (there can be little doubt) the contents of Books I. and II. had been arranged for publication by the poet himself, deface a literary monument.

The vexed question, Who was the author of III. i.-vi., Mr. Némethy does not discuss, merely stating as his opinion that 'Lygdamus' was a pseudonym of one who was certainly not a foreigner but a Roman, as he infers from III. i. 1-2, and a man of good family, because in iv. 60 the poet says 'nec gaudet casta nupta Neacra domo,'—'casta' being interpreted 'honesta' (a questionable interpretation)—and in vi. 59 sq. contrasts with himself a rival of low birth by using the words 'fugit nostrae conuiuia mensae Ignotum cupiens uana puella torum.' The supposition that 'Lygdamus' was a freedman, and possibly Propertius' freedman of that name,² is not mentioned.

The anonymous 'Panegyric on Messalla' Mr. Némethy attributes to Propertius as a youth of some eighteen years, an opinion for which he argues in a treatise entitled 'De

auctore Panegyrici in Messallam,' and here reprinted. This opinion he supports by an enumeration of instances of similarity (1) of use of abstract nouns for concrete; (2) of use of certain phrases and of certain words, e.g. of *ponere vestigia* for *ponere pedes*, of *addere* for *imponere*, of *deficere* for *desinere*, of *nare* or of *nature* for *navigare* with reference to the same person, Ulysses, and of *properare* (active) and of accumulation of negatives; (3) of sentiments sometimes expressed in similar words; (4) of treatment of the same mythological subjects; (5) of description of the stillness of the world during celebration of sacred rites; and (6) of lot in life and of reverse of fortune of either poet, as revealed by himself. The coincidences adduced³ are, no doubt, remarkable; and the work of the panegyrist, if viewed as a *youthful* production, may have been, as Mr. Némethy deems, somewhat too severely criticised; but, whether, when set side by side with the 'Cynthia, facundi carmen iuuenale Properti' (Martial xiv. 189), it shews any real trace of the true Propertian genius, is a problem which Mr. Némethy has not faced. If the poet Lygdamus, writing under his own name, was (as has been supposed possible) a freedman of Propertius, it is quite conceivable (the editor of this Journal has suggested) that he might have got possession of some unpublished or privately published juvenile hexameter verses of his former master, and have annexed them to his own elegies in the place in which the 'Panegyric on Messalla' is found in the MSS. of the Pseudo-Tibullian poems.

The Text is based on the codex Ambrosianus (A), but to whom Mr. Némethy is indebted for a knowledge of the tradition, is not stated. He gives no list of previous editions used by him; the name of Aemilius Baehrens, the discoverer and the original collator of cod. A occurs in the former volume only as that of an editor of the 'Poetae Latini Minores,' and in the latter volume only as that of a proposer of two conjectures; and the edition of Edward Hiller, who re-examined that MS., is mentioned only in a preface to the latter volume, and there in acknowledgment of the use made of its *Index Verborum*. Into the Text, whencesoever derived, Mr. Némethy has introduced several conjectures of his own, more than one of which, in the judgment of the present writer, are probably restorations of the words of the original.

¹ Referred to and partly quoted in the Excursus.

² I.e. formerly his slave, lent by him to Cynthia; see Propert. IV. (V.) vii. 35-6, viii. 37, 79, 80.

³ Several of which were pointed out by Dr. Postgate in his *Select Elegies of Propertius* and in his *Selections from Tibullus and Others*.

In I. i. 25 he reads

'*Hic modo iam possim contentus uiuere paruo,*'

from his own conjecture, all the MSS. having *iam* for the first word, except the *excerpta Parisina* which has *Quippe*. He considers this proved to be true by line 35 '*Hic, sc. in agro meo, ego pastoremque meum lustrare quotannis (soleo),*'—where, he says, 'interpretet hucusque adverbium *hic* non potuerunt explicare,' ignoring Dr. Postgate's simple correction '*Hinc*' = 'de meo pecore exiguo.'¹ In either line *Hic* is quite otiose; and here perhaps we ought to read '*Inque modo possim contentus uiuere paruo.*' Such a general expression as 'to live on a little' is rather out of place among a number of particular instances of the poet's limited means.

In I. i. 43, 44

'*Parua seges satis est, satis est requiescere lecto,*'

which is the reading of codd. AVGC,² the *excerpta Parisina* having '*Parua seges satis est uno requiescere lecto,*' he reads from his own conjecture '*tuto*' for the second '*satis est.*' The '*origo corruptelae*' is, he says, 'haplographia—*est tuto—est uto—est uno*; in archetype Ambrosiani certe fuit lacuna quam librarii suppleuerunt bis ponendo *satis est.*' This seems plausible: *lecto* wants an epithet such as *toto* in line 44 has.

In I. ii. 73, 74

'*Et, te dum liceat teneris retinere lacertis,
Mollis et inculca sit mihi somnus humo;*'

which is the reading of codd. AVC, cod. G having '*mollis in inculca,*' he reads *et in dura* '*ex mea coniectura*' he says, though it is that of Dousa, fil. But would Tibullus' companion have been satisfied with 'the hard ground' as a couch? May not '*inculca humo*' be ablative absolute, meaning that, the ancient Roman poet, like the modern Scotch bard while he had his 'arms about' his 'dearie, O,' would let such 'war'ly cares' as the tillage of the soil '*a*' gae tapsalterie, O'?

In I. iii. 7

'*Non soror Assyrios cineri quae dedat odores,*'

¹ See *The Journal of Philology*, Vol. xxviii. p. 152 (1901); and compare *Moretum* 16, 17 '*Fusus erat terra frumenti pauper acruus; Hinc sibi depromit quantum.*'

² V being the codex Vaticanus, G the Guelferbytanus, and C the Cuiacianus of Scaliger now in the possession of the present writer.

instead of '*dedat*' he reads *reddat*, '*mea coniectura*'—which is, he says, a conjecture of Heyne. *reddat* however (for which he propounds no '*origo corruptelae*' seems palaeographically unlikely; and *dedat* may possibly be (as Broukhuyzen suggested) a corruption of *fundat*, notwithstanding Heyne's objection '*Verum si hoc a Tibulli manu fuerat, quomodo tam obuium uerbum in illud deprauari potuit?*' Had *fundat* written *fūdat* happened to be immediately between *perusta* of line 6 and *sepulcra* of line 8 (its actual position in the codex Cuiacianus) the downstroke of *p* of *perusta* might have coalesced with *f* of *fū* and so have formed a character the lower part of which became merged in *l* of *sepulcra*, with the result that *fū* was misread *de*.

In I. iv. 43, 44

'*Quamuis praetextens picta ferrugine caelum
Venturam amiciat imbrifer arcus aquam;*'

So read by codd. AC (variants for *amiciat* being *annutiat*, *admittat*, and *annutet*, and variants for *imbrifer* being *nimbifer* and *nubifer*) he reads from his own conjecture '*Portendat pluuias imbrifer arcus aquas*'—supposing that in the archetype there was *Venturam annuntiat*, originally a gloss, *Ventura annuntiat*—for which he compares *Corp. Glossar. Lat.* (ed. Goetz) IV. p. 378, *portendit = uentura significat*, and V. p. 474 *portendit = futura nuntiat*; also *Plin. N.H.* II. lx. 150, and *Propert. III. v.* (IV. iv.) 32. This conjecture is more ingenious than probable.

In I. vii. 13, 14

'*An te, Cydne, canam, tacitis qui leniter
undis
Caeruleus placidis per uada serpis aquis;*'

in order to get rid of 'the intolerable pleonasm' of *tacitis undis* and *placidis aquis*, instead of *tacitis* he reads *tractis*, comparing *Curt. Ruf. III. iv. 8*: '*Cydnus . . . leni tractu e fontibus labens puro solo excipitur; nec torrentes incurunt, qui placide manantis alueum turbent; itaque incorruptus . . . ubique fontibus suis similis in mare euadit;*' and *ibid. i. 3* '*(Marsyas amnis) liquidus et suas dumtaxat undas trahens.*' This seems an almost certain conjecture: *leniter* requires a participle (as *Lachmann* perceived when he suggested '*tactis qui leniter uulvis*') and in *tractis* we have one both suitable and probable.

In I. vii. 33, 36

'*Illi iucundos primum matura saporis
Expressa inculcis uua dedit pedibus;*'

where *incultis* the reading of all the MSS. is not easy of explanation, he reads instead thereof *insuetis*,—comparing I. iv. 48. The ‘origo corruptelae,’ is (he says) *insuetis—insultis—incultis*. This seems a right remedy for a hitherto unsuspected corruption.

In I. ix. 25, 26

‘Ipse deus tacito permisit leue ministro
Ederet ut multo libera uerba mero;’

he reads *laeue*, a vocative very awkward here. Perhaps the proper correction would be *luce*, used complementary (as it were) to *nocte* implied in ‘somno domitos,’ v. 27. So Propertius IV. vii. 89–91, says ‘Nocte uagae ferimur, nox clausas liberat umbras . . . Luce iubent leges Lethaea ad stagna reuerti.’

In I. x. 37, 38

‘Illic percussisque genis ustoque capillo
Errat ad obscuros pallida turba lacus,’

which is the reading of codd. AVGC, the *excerpta Parisina* having *percissis*, he reads *per fossis*, supporting it by Ovid. *Pont.* II. viii. 66 ‘Et patiar fossis lumen abire genis’—the ‘origo corruptelae’ being, he says, ‘ex *per fossis* propter similitudinem litterarum *f et s, o et ci* in scriptura minuscula factum est *percissis*. Genae hoc loco caueas oculorum signat,’—ut Propert. III. xii. 26, “Exustaeque tuae mox, Polypheme, genae”; et IV. v. 16 “Cornicum immeritas eruit ungue genas.” This conjecture seems preferable to *Liuiineius’ pertusis*.

In I. x. 55, 56

‘Flet teneras subtusa genas; sed uictor et ipse

Flet sibi dementes tam ualuisse manus,’

instead of the ἀπαξ λεγόμενον¹ *subtusa* (which, as explained by Lexicographers to mean *paulum tusa* cannot, he justly remarks, have any appropriateness here) he reads *obtusa* meaning ‘manibus aut pugnibus uerberata,’ and cites Plaut. *Cas.* V. i. 8 ‘obtuso ore,’ and V. ii. 50 ‘obtundit os mihi’ To this however, long ago suggested by Scaliger, who cited Lucil. ‘obtuso ore pugil, piscinensis, reses,’²—it may be objected that, notwithstanding the passage cited from Lucilius and the two passages cited from Plautus (to which might be added Plaut.

¹ The statement of Lewis and Short that *subtusus* occurs in Boeth. *Geom.* i. p. 1180 as an epithet of *angulus* is false.

² At p. 135 of his ‘Castigationes in Catullum Tibullum Propertium, Lutetiae 1577;’ but discarded by him in favour of *subfusa*; ‘facile diuinatu,’ he wrote, ‘quare pudicitia expugnata erubescat.’

Amph. II. i. 59 ‘Sum obtusus pugnibus pessime’) *obtusius* ought to have meant in the time of Tibullus not so much ‘bruised’ or ‘thumped’ as ‘blunt’ or ‘dull,’ a meaning not suitable here. The true reading here may perhaps be *contusa*—i.e. the abbreviation *cō* was perhaps mistaken for the contraction *sb*. In a passage of Claudian, *De Bello Gildonico* 134 sqq., occur, along with other expressions reminiscent of expressions occurring here (e.g. ‘Rescissae uestes et spiccae passim Serta iacent’ and ‘uino calefacta Venus’), the words *contusa genas* used of ‘Africa,’ personified and represented as having her cheeks ‘bruised’ or ‘thumped’ by herself in her grief.

In IV. ii. 23

‘Hoc solemne sacrum multos hoc sumet in annos,’

which is the reading of codd. AVGC, the lost *Fragmentum Cuiacianum peruetustum* having (*teste Scaligero*) had *haec sumet* and some codd. deter. having *hoc fumet*, he reads from his own conjecture *huic fumet*. But, as was pointed out by Heyne, “fumare in multos annos” non bene diceretur;’ and the best correction is perhaps Scaliger’s *consummet* (= *consumet*, an overwritten horizontal stroke denoting a second *m* having been omitted, and an abbreviation or a contraction of *con* having been mistaken for an abbreviation or for a contraction of *hoc* or of *hec*). In Senec. *Herc. Fur.* 1039 (not cited by Scaliger) occur the words ‘*consumma sacrum*.’

In IV. vii. 2.

‘Tandem uenit amor qualem texitisse pudore
Quam nudasse alicui sit mihi fama magis;’

which is the reading of codd. AVGC, adopting *pudori* an alternative reading of cod. A, in which the line is repeated, he reads ‘sit mihi, Fama, magis,’ paraphrasing ‘qualem occultare magis pudori sit mihi quam alicui aperire;’ and for the allocation of Fame personified he compares Stat. *Silv.* I. ii. 28, 29. (In line 9 is printed ‘famae’ not ‘Famae.’) This view is not unlike that of Heyne, who suggested that the order of the words might be ‘fama me eum amorem texitisse sit mihi magis pudori quam me eum nudasse alicui.’

In III. i. 12 (Lydd.)

‘Indicet ut nomen littera facta tuum,

the reading of all the MSS.—instead of *facta* he reads from his own conjecture *rubra*—‘fastigia’ of the preceding line having (he

supposes) caused a scribe to write *fabra* afterwards 'corrected,' *rubra* would supply a good sense wanting in the vulgate.

In III. vi. 4 (Lygd.)

'Saepe tuo (sc. Liberi) cecedit munere uictus amor;'

he writes 'Amor;' comparing Propert. III. xvii. (IV. xvi.) 3, 'Tu(sc. Bacche).' This may be right.

In Pan. Mess. 21, 22

'Et uagus e terris qua surgere nititur aer
Huic et contextus passim fluat igneus aether,'

—which is the reading of all the MSS. except that cod. C has *a terris* and *ignibus* and codd. AV have *Hinc* and the codd. deterr. have *ut* in the second line—he reads 'Ut... *Hunc et complexus*' etc., *Ut* being, he says, a conjecture of Heins and *Hunc* a conjecture of his own. But has not he changed the wrong *et* into *ut*? Why did not he write 'Et... *Hunc ut complexus* passim fluat igneus aether'? *Hunc complexus*, in support of which are cited Lucret. II. 1066 and V. 470, and also might be cited Manil. I. 148 'Summaque *complexus* stellantis culmina caeli'—would be satisfactory if it could be shown how *plexus* became *textus*. Quære, read 'Huic ut coniectus,' for which might be compared Ovid. Tr. IV. i. 83 'coniectaque uincula collo'? Or was Broukhuyzen right in reading 'Hinc ut contextis passim fluat ignibus aether'?

In Pan. Mess. 142, of which there may be said to be two traditions, viz.—'Cretaeis ardet aut unda Caristia (or 'Charistia') campis' of codd. AVGC, and 'Ardet Arectais aut unda perhospita campis' of the lost *Fragmentum Cuiacianum peruetustum*, adopting Lachmann's 'aret' and Heyne's 'parum hospita' he reads 'Aret Chaldaeis ante undaparium hospita campis' sc. 'Gyndes, Chaldaeis and ante being conjectures of his own. 'Gyndes enim,' he says 'Babyloniam perfluit.' But did that river flow through Chaldaea properly so called, as known to the Romans? and does *ante* account for the false quantity of 'ardet aut,' or 'parum hospita' for the strange *Caristia* or *Charistia* of codd. AVGC?

In Pan. Mess. 149, 150

'Te manet inuictus Romano Marte
Britannus

Teque interiecto mundi pars altera sole;'

¹ Cited by Dr. Postgate in *The Journal of Philology*, xxv. p. 62 (1897), where he proposed to read here 'hinc ut praetextus.'

he reads *infra uecto*, which seems a right emendation of a corruption not hitherto suspected. 'Nam,' he says, '*infra uecto* recte significat solem *infra terras nostras antipodibus lucentem*, ut *supra*, uers. 67, "*Seu supra terras Phoebus seu curreret infra*."'

In Pan. Mess. 175

'Et ferro tellus, pontus confunditur aere,'

which was the reading of codd. AVGC, the codd. deterr. having 'confunditur,' he reads from his own conjecture *proscinditur*. This may be right: a contraction of *pro* may possibly have been mistaken for a contraction of *con*.

Mr. Némethy suggests² two other changes.

In Tib. I. i. 47, 48

'Aut gelidas hibernus aquas cum fuderit,
Auster

Securum somnos igne iuuante sequi,'

which is the reading of codd. AVC, cod. G and the *excerpta Parisina* having *imbre*, he would read *imbre sonante*. This was proposed by Baehrens in 1878 and was cited as his proposal by Hiller in 1885. Nearer however to the tradition would be *igne micante*.

In Pan. Mess. 205

'Seu matura dies celerem properat mihi
mortem,'

which is the reading of the *Fragmentum Cuiacianum peruetustum*, all the other MSS. having *fato* instead of *celerem*, he would read *fati*. The same suggestion had *teste Dissenio* been made by Huschke. Quære, is *celerem* a misreading of *certam*, to which, taken as a participial adjective *fato* might have been a gloss?

In I. v. 39, 40 for

'Saepe aliam tenui; sed iam cum gaudia
adirem

Admonuit dominae deseruitque Venus;'

Mr. Némethy has printed 'sed, cum iam,' without any note of explanation, thus, maybe inadvertently, placing these words in the order in which one expects to find them. The construction however of *admonere* with a genitive of the thing and without any case of the person reminded is very rare, except with the accessory notion of *admonition*, and *deserere* is used absolutely elsewhere perhaps only in military or in legal phraseology. It may therefore be suggested that here *iam* i.e. *id* is probably

² In Addenda to Vol. II. pp. 176 and 179.

due to a misreading of *me*, i.e. *m'*; and that what Tibullus wrote was 'Saepe aliam tenui; sed *me*, cum gaudia adirem,' etc.

Mr. Némethy's Exegetical Commentary is (as might be expected) based mainly upon that of Dissen, of which it might be called both an abridgement and an enlargement, many lengthy disquisitions having been omitted, and many new illustrations having been added to what therein appeared, and herein re-appear without any acknowledgement of their sources. Information given to the literary world seventy years ago may perhaps be considered to have ere now become common property; but this would hardly apply to illustrations which appeared for the first time in the year 1903 in a book entitled 'Selections from Tibullus and Others, edited by J. P. Postgate, Litt.D.' and published in London. Some of these added illustrations may have occurred independently to Mr. Némethy; but, whether such is the case with all, any person, who shall have compared the notes in both works on (to particularise only a few passages) I. iii. 80; vii. 40; x. 43; II. i. 55; v. 79; vi. 2, 11, 12, 36; III. i. 26; ii. 18; iii. 10; and IV. xiii. 12, can judge for himself.

Among passages, Mr. Némethy's treatment of which deserves special notice, are the following.

In I. iii. 11, 12

'Illa sacras pueri sortes ter sustulit, illi
Rettulit e triuiis omnia certa puer;'

Mr. Némethy follows Scaliger in joining *e triuiis*, like an epithet, with *puer*, and compares I. v. 56, 'post agat e triuiis aspera turba canum,' which he takes as 'canes qui in triuiis esse solent.' It might be objected that *pueri* of the hexameter has no *e triuiis* epithet, and that Tibullus could have written, had he so wished, '*E triuiis pueri*.' Quære, did he? *sacras*, surely a strange epithet for the '*sortes*' of a street fortune-teller, the *ductus litterarum* would allow of having been a mis-reading of *triuiis* and *Illa* might possibly have been a correction of *Et*, either a mis-reading of *E* or a result of *haplography*. 'omnia' of cod. V, not 'omina' of cod. A *in rasura*, Mr. Némethy adds, is the right reading here, 'nam oraculum sortis,' he observes, 'non uocatur *omen*,' cf. Cic. *de diu.* II. 83 and 85, 'ubi sortes et omina optime discernuntur,'—an observation made by H. Belling, whose name is not mentioned.

In I. iii. 17, 18

'Aut ego sum causatus aues, dant omina dira,
Saturniue sacram me tenuisse diem;'

reading thus with codd. AVGC *dant* (in support of which is appositely compared Petron. *Sat.* cxxii. 177, 8 'omina laeta dedit') rather than *aut* of the other codd., and *Saturniue* (an old conjecture mentioned by Broukhuyzen) instead of *Saturni* or *Saturni aut* of all the MSS., Mr. Némethy takes *dant omina dira* as a parenthesis,—a construction to which the present tense of the verb is an objection. Quære, may not '*aves dant omina dira*' be taken as the actual words of the *causatio* so far as it refers to *aves*?

In I. vi. 42

'Stet procul aut alia stet procul ante uia;'

so read by all the MSS. except that cod. G has *atque* instead of *aut*, Mr. Némethy reads ('ex coniectura Rabi,' he says) '*Stet procul aut alia se occulat ante uia*.' The true reading is perhaps '*Stet procul aut alia se ferat ante uia*'—*se* having been mistaken for *st* a contraction of *stet*, and *ferat* for *procul*, i.e. *fe* for a contraction of *pro*, *r* for *e*, *a* (open) for *u*, and *t* for *l*, common errors.

In II. i. 13, 14

'Casta placent superis; pura cum ueste
uenite,
Et manibus puris sumite fontis aquam;'

following Dissen Mr. Némethy takes *puris manibus* as datives, and explains '*puris* per prolepsin "ut purae fiant."' A more correct explanation is that of Dr. Postgate, who comparing Soph. *Oed. Col.* 469, cited by Schulze, *πρώτον μὲν ἱερὰς ἐξ ἀειπύτου χοῆς κρήνης ἐνεγκοῦ, δι' ὁσίων χειρῶν θιγῶν*, says 'the hands must be clean before the holy water for the lustration is touched; the water now mentioned is used not to cleanse but to sanctify.'¹ It would be strange if *puris* in the pentameter were proleptic and not *pura* in the hexameter, no more here than in I. x. 27, where the same phrase '*pura cum ueste*' occurs.

In II. ii. 17–22

'Vota cadunt; utinam strepitantibus aduolet
alis
Flauaque coniugio uincula portet Amor,
Vincula quae maneant semper dum tarda
senectus
Inducat rugas inficiatque comas.
Hic ueniat Natalis auis prolemque ministret
Ludat et ante tuos turba nouella pedes;'

¹ J. P. Postgate's *Selections from Tibullus and Others*, p. 105.

which is the reading of codd. AVGC, except that codd. VGC have 'uincula que et maneant' in line 19 and cod. G has 'Hec' in line 21, Mr. Némethy explains 'uota cadunt' to mean 'uerba uotorum ex ore Cornuti nouentis excidunt, i.e. uota nuncupantur;' and 'utinam strepitantibus aduolet alis . . . Amor' he explains to mean 'poeta optat ut Cornuto uota nuncupanti boni auspicii (bonae auis) loco Amor alatus appareat.' This explanation of 'uota cadunt'—different from that usually hitherto given by editors, viz. that *cadunt*=*eueniunt* (in support of which no better parallels have been cited by them than I. vi. 85 'haec aliis maledicta cadant' and Ter. *Adelphi* IV. vii. 22 'si illud quod maxime opus est iactu non cadit')—has the merit of not requiring 'uiden' ut' of the codd. deterr. to be substituted for 'utinam'; and with it the words 'utinam . . . comas' might be understood as the wishes of Cornutus himself,—the poet's wish in that case being expressed in the concluding distich, which adopting Heins' conjecture *Hac . . . aui* Mr. Némethy reads as 'Hac ueniat Natalis aui prolemque ministret Ludat et ante tuos turba nouella pedes.'

In II. iv. 37, 38

'Hinc fletus rixaeque sonant; haec denique
causa

fecit ut infamis hic deus esset Amor;'

Mr. Némethy reads from the conjecture of Broukhuyzen *nunc* for *hic*, but omits to state that he also conjectured *erret* (as in II. v. 106). Similar statements of only half the emendation (it is curious to observe) appear in the editions of Bachrens and of Hiller.

In II. v. 30

'Garrula siluestri fistula sacra deo,'

Mr. Némethy takes the 'siluestri deo' to be 'Pani—inuentori fistulae' comparing Virg. *Ecl.* iv. 32, 33 'Pan primos calamos cera coniungere plures Instituit.' Pan however has already been spoken of by name, and after him Pales; and the better opinion perhaps is that the god here alluded to is 'Siluanus, tutor finium' (Hor. *Epod.* ii. 22), 'aruarum pecorisque deus' (Virg. *Aen.* viii. 601) ¹ 'a Roman deity to whom many of the attributes of the Greek god Pan were transferred.'¹

In III. ii. 17, 18 (Lygd.)

'Pars quae sola mei superabit corporis,
ossa

Incinctae nigra candida ueste legent,'

¹ J. P. Postgate's *Selections from Tibullus and Others*, p. 127.

'Incinctae' Mr. Némethy explains as *discinctae*, *non cinctae*, *tunicis recinctis*. 'Nihil enim,' he says, 'in sacris nexi aut uincti esse debebat;' cf. Seru. ad Verg. *Aen.* ii. 134, 'piaculum est in sacrificiis aliquid esse religatum'; and he cites Tib. I. v. 15, 16, Ovid *M.* vii. 182, 3, Suet. *Aug.* 101. 'Incinctus igitur,' he continues, 'hoc loco non significat succinctum, sed discinctum, cuius significationis hucusque unum exemplum erat notum apud Isid. *Orig.* x. 151, de muliere grauida: "*Incincta*, i.e. sine cinctu, quia praecingi fortiter uterus non permittit," unde Gallice mulier grauida uocatur *enceinte*. Ego addo Ouid. *Fast.* v. 675 "Huc uenit *incinctus* tunicam mercator," ubi agitur de mercatore festo Mercurii sacris operante et ob id ipsum discincto, quod fugit interpretes.' This explanation, probably the right one (will Mr. Némethy be surprised to hear?) was assigned to *incinctae* here by Dr. Postgate in his *Selections from Tibullus and Others*,² and was suggested for *incinctus* in the Ovidian passage by F. A. Paley in his edition of *P. Ouidii Nasonis Fasti* published in 1860,³—a suggestion subsequently quoted by G. H. Hallam in his edition of *The Fasti of Ovid*.

In III. iv. 35 (Lygd.)

'Ima uidebatur talis inludere palla;

Namque haec in nitido corpore uestis
erat;'

Mr. Némethy, in common with previous editors, takes *talis inludere* as 'de ueste longa pedes feriente;' but he does not explain

² Dr. Postgate's words are: '*incinctae*, with their robes ungirded. Suet. *Aug.* 101 tells us that Augustus' ashes were gathered up by the principal members of the equestrian order in ungirded tunics, "tunicati et distincti pedibusque nudis" . . . This word has usually the sense of "girded," and so most edd. take it here. But the evidence of facts and probability tends another way. The Romans would be well acquainted with the ceremonies which Lygdamus is describing; and, even if the negative compound had never been used before, it would have no ambiguity for them. Compare Lucret. viii. 787 "et *lausti* ossa medullis," where no one could fail to see that "*inustus*" means "*unburnt*," though it occurs nowhere else in this sense. But there is reason to believe that *incinctus* "ungirdled" was in vulgar use, as Isidore assigns this sense to explain *incincta*, a pregnant woman, whence is derived the Fr. *enceinte*.'

³ F. A. Paley's words are: '*incinctus* Gierig takes here for *cinctus*, and Keightley compares "*incinctos* Lares," ii. 634. Perhaps it means "*ungirt*," with the tunic allowed to fall low, for so the *institores* or pedlar-merchants dressed, as we know from Prop. V. (IV.) ii. 38, "*mundus demissis institor in tunicis*." As in the middle ages, the Roman merchants had a distinctive dress; and are said to have carried a purse at their girdles.'

why it is not *talīs alludere*, as in Stat. *Theb.* ix. 336 'extremis alludunt aequora plantis,' and elsewhere. For that purpose neither of two passages compared by him, viz. Tib. I. vii. 46 and Propert. III. xvii. 32 is to the point; nor is a third passage, where, he says, Lygdamus is imitated, viz. *Ciris* 144, 'suspensam gaudens in corpore ludere uestem.' *Talīs inludere* does not mean the same as *in talīs ludere*. In another passage sometimes cited, viz. Hor. *Sat.* I. iv. 138, 9, 'ubi quid datur oti Inludo chartis,' the early editors Baxter Gesner and Zeune and (alone perhaps among recent editors) the late Arthur Palmer rightly explained *inludo chartis* as being equivalent to the paraphrase of an ancient Scholiast '*perdo chartas scribendo*,' i.e. 'I mock paper' by scribbling on it and so disappoint, as it were, the paper when I tear up my abortive attempts, it being impossible to get out of *inludo chartis* Orelli's rendering 'quasi ludens conicio in chartas.'¹ That being so, it might be contended that here the meaning of *talīs inludere* cannot be 'to play on (or against) the ankles,' but must be 'to mock, trick, make game of the ankles' by now concealing now revealing them, and so to disappoint, as it were, the ankles, by failing to cover them as the *palla* would if it reached the feet, as in Val. Flac. i. 385, or swept the ground, as in Ovid *M.* xi. 166. But here probably we ought with Cyllenius to read *talīs alludere*, what it has been stated he had found in a MS. of his own. The distich was suspected by Heyne²; and certainly *namque* looks suspicious.

A few places which present difficulties of

¹ See R. Y. Tyrrell's review of 'Wickham's Horace, Vol. ii.' in *The Classical Review*, Vol. v. p. 170.

² 'Pallam,' he wrote, 'expectabam in Apolline; quandoquidem is proprius deo amictus (cf. *supra* II. v. 8) olim omnino uatibus, hinc citharoedis communis. Verum in ea describenda laborare adeo Tibullum' [Lygdamum] 'aegre fero. Pentameter saltem friget uel maxime.'

construction or of sense have been passed by without comment, e.g. I. ii. 31 'non labor hic,' I. iii. 9 'Delia non usquam,' I. iii. 26 'memini,' I. iv. 63 'carmina nī sint,' II. vi. 10 'et mihi facta tuba est,' III. iv. 39 'ueniens,' III. v. 3 'autem,' a prosaic conjunction found nowhere else in the Tibullian sylloges, only once in Propertius, viz. at II. xxxii. (III. xxx.) 29 (where possibly it is a corruption of *aliter*, and only once in Virgil, viz. at *Aen.* ii. 101 (where possibly it is a corruption of *animo*).

The two volumes do not show that Mr. Némethy has taken as much pains as presumably he might have taken to ascertain and to recognise the views of others on points of doubt or of difficulty. On the whole however the result of the Hungarian scholar's 'labor sane iucundissimus,' notwithstanding some drawbacks, will to many be of real value for elucidation of the poems of authors who have been long undeservedly neglected.

It is much to be regretted that, whereas in the second volume there is an 'Index Lygdami' and an 'Index Panegyrici,' both avowedly adapted from Hiller's 'Index Verborum' of the whole sylloges, the editor did not add to the first volume an 'Index Tibulli' and an 'Index Sulpiciae.'

The books (badly sewed) are printed in clear type on good paper with wide margins; but the revision for the press has been inadequate, and there are numerous errata besides those noted in the *Corrigenda*.

The length of this article will, it is hoped, be deemed justified by the consideration, that the Editor of this Journal, for reasons which can be appreciated, has suffered to go unreviewed in it some important contributions to the subjects treated—such as his *Selections* to which references have been made, and also his edition of *Tibulli Aliorumque Carminum Libri Tres* in the new Series of Oxford Classical Texts with brief critical annotations.

SAMUEL ALLEN.

PHILLIMORE'S TRANSLATION OF PROPERTIUS.

Propertius. Translated by J. S. PHILLIMORE, M.A., Professor of Greek in the University of Glasgow. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906. 12mo. Pp. xii + 184. 3s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR PHILLIMORE in his preface to this translation points out that the text

which he has here followed differs in some respects from that which he issued from the Clarendon Press in 1901. The variation consists mainly in the larger number of conjectures now admitted into the text. This change he defends (if it needs defence) adequately, by insisting on the difference

between the position of the editor of a text in a series and that of a translator.

As to principles of translation Prof. Phillimore says he has studied before all things to be faithful in his version and adopts as his maxim the words of the astrologer Horus: *inque meis libris nil prius esse fide*. But what after all, he asks, is faithful translation? In particular can the conditions of faithful translation be fulfilled by a translation from verse into prose? The great desideratum of the translator, he says, is adaptability in the language he uses. From this point of view two epochs in our literature have been favourable to translators. One is the period of youth when the language is still elastic and receptive. Then comes the time when great literary models assert their tyranny and fix a standard to which translators as well as other writers are expected to conform, to the loss of all individuality. To-day these fetters on the translator have weakened and 'the incipient senile ataxy of English restores us something of the receptiveness which in the Elizabethans was an effect of juvenile elasticity.' These views come to their natural and logical conclusion in the assertion that 'a faithful translator is in duty bound to be faithful in absurdity where, to the best of his appreciation, the Latin is absurd.' Translation in fact is a sort of transplantation, and the plant will thrive in its new surroundings the better the more of the original soil you leave adhering to it. This is the spirit in which Hobbes, reading in Thucydides (viii. 38) that the Spartan Therimenes ἀσπλέων ἐν κέλῃτι ἀφανίζεται, represents him as sailing off 'in a light horseman.'

Against this view in the abstract it is difficult to argue. And yet there is another side to the question. It has been said with much truth that style in a translation should never be an End-in-itself: the greatest merit of a translation is that the style should not attract attention to itself. Local colour is good, especially when you get it right, but after all transparency is best. The work of a translator is in any case merely an approximation. He must sacrifice much, and so it is all the more important that all he sets down shall help the mind on the right track. There must be no discordant note, nothing to distract the mind by alien associations. There is the danger, no doubt, of smoothing down all translations to one dead-level, but there is also the danger of over translation. To parody Lessing's dictum on drinking, it is impossible to get *enough* into a translation, but you may easily get *too much*.

In the translation of an ancient author modernisms form one frequent source of distraction to the reader; and from false steps in this direction Prof. Phillimore's translation is not free. Take for instance the rendering 'Nay, many times have I spun thee a sonnet of fresh verse' (*at tibi saepe novo deduxi carmina uersu* i. 16. 41). The term *sonnet* has definite and rather strong associations with a literary form and a literary age far removed from Propertius, and its introduction, so far from helping in the effort to revive the Propertian world, is a hindrance and a stumbling-block. Perhaps the worst example of a modernism not only unnecessary but distracting is at i. 3. 5: *assiduus Edonis fessa choreis* 'an Edonian Bacchante wearied out by the pauseless saraband.' Why need *choreis* be rendered by the name of any particular dance, ancient or modern? If the dance must be particularized, why choose one so singularly inappropriate? Fancy Maenads engaged hour after hour in dancing the solemn saraband! You might just as well imagine Calliope dancing a hornpipe. Compared with this, such mere superfluities as 'the Phthian paladin' for *Phthii viri* may be passed over.

Nearly allied to the topic of modernism is that of colloquialism. No doubt there is much colloquialism in Propertius. *Nam bene nostis eum* looks much more like Terence than Ovid. Still, occasions are rare when slang is positively called for, and one shies a little at such a phrase as 'I was down among the dead men' (iii. 16. 9). Nor are we quite satisfied when we find that all there is in the original to evoke this is the simple *pulsus sum*. Nor can we regard as fortunate the rendering of *ebria* by 'fuddled' (i. 3. 10) or of *ei mihi* (*ibid.* 38) by 'ugh!' Nor yet the rendering of *latrantem Anubin* (iii. 11. 41) as 'snarling Anubis.' It is true that the word is used here in a depreciatory sense; but still *latro* neither by its usage nor its sound suggests 'snarling,' for which Latin has another word, but rather a deep-mouthed baying, as the voice of one of Theseus' hounds.

Again, Propertius abounds in mannerisms, and a certain amount of mannerism in rendering Propertius may well be allowed. But there are mannerisms in Prof. Phillimore's translation that do not correspond to any mannerism in Propertius, and seem to some extent unmotivated. The word 'sluice,' for instance, noun and verb, receives special favour: *Pactoli liquor*, for instance (i. 6. 31), becomes the 'sluice of Pactolus,' and there

are several other instances. Why, again, should *Niobae bis sex ad busta* (ii. 20. 7) become 'Niobe at her *six* pairs of graves'? *Bis sex* means *twice six*, and who ever thinks of Niobe's children in pairs? May not the mere English reader be staggered at reading (ii. 25. 26) of a chariot driver who claims the prize because 'his *seventh wheel* has grazed the turning-post ahead,' and perhaps even turn up the Dictionary of Antiquities to see whether after all the ancient chariot had more wheels than a modern express locomotive? This case however differs from the former, as Propertius certainly did write *septima rota*.

Lastly, Propertius, no doubt, is occasionally obscure; and perhaps the canons of 'fidelity' demand that where the original is obscure the translation shall be obscure too. But still in regard to any particular translation the question remains 'Is it ever *unnecessarily* obscure?' I do not feel that in regard to Prof. Phillimore's translation this question can always be answered in the

negative. One certainly sticks a little over such sentences as 'I have often praised you by a confusion of divers charms that passion might deem you to be what you were not' (iii. 24. 5, 6). I suspect misprints at iii. 23. 17, 18

*et quaecumque dolens reperit non stulta
puella
garrula, cum blandis ducitur hora dolis*

'and much pleasant wit besides such (? such as) a girl can invent when she is on thorns and (? and has) a long hour to wile away in fond slynesses.'

The criticisms here offered are grounded for the most part on a difference of view as to principles of translation. To praise the care and fine scholarship that characterize the work is quite superfluous, and Prof. Phillimore may well claim our thanks for bringing us several stages nearer this genuine but difficult poet.

E. SEYMER THOMPSON.

LEASE'S LIVY.

Titī Livi ab urbe condita Libri I, XXI, XXII. Edited with Introduction, Commentary, and Index, by EMORY B. LEASE, the College of the City of New York. University Publishing Co.: New York, Boston, and New Orleans, 1905. Pp. lxxii + 438. \$1.40.

THIS is a book which is difficult to review fairly and not easy to review at all. Its author, as readers of this journal are aware, has devoted much time and trouble to the minute investigation of Livian and Latin expression. The preface gives evidence of wide and industrious study of much that bears, more or less indirectly, on the interpretation of the text; and it presents, especially in the Introduction, a great deal of information which may well be useful to the teacher. The notes are terse. The printing is good and clear, and there are eight respectable maps¹ and plans. Lastly it is procurable at what for an American book is a very moderate price.

¹ These I cannot stay to examine. I will only note that imperial sites such as the Villas of Domitian and Hadrian seem out of place in the map of *Latium Antiquissimum*, where too *M. Catillus* should be *M. Catili*.

So much is evident on the surface; but when we probe a little deeper, we strike on questions by no means easy to answer to our satisfaction. To begin with, what brings Books I and XXI and XXII within the cover of the same volume? What has legendary Rome to do with the events of the Hannibalic war? What Prof. Lease has without explanation tied together, I shall take the liberty of separating, and confine my remarks upon details to the ample field presented by the first third of his book.

Prof. Lease's attitude towards the text is non-critical. It is significant that he has accomplished his task of editing three books of Livy with never a mention of Madvig's *Emendationes Livianae*. His commentary on each book is pinned to a single edition as sermon to scripture, and for him and his readers the text of a German editor, M. Mueller or E. Wölfflin, has to count as verbally inspired.

This is no exaggeration. Here are the words in which on p. 246 Mr. Lease speaks of the authority of the Corpus of Latin Inscriptions and of M. Mueller's text: 'Livy's usage as exhibited by the third decade is decisive for his preference regarding the form of this word. In M. Mueller's edition

"isdem" is used 16 times, "eisdem" 6 times, and "iisdem" only 3 times. *C.I.L.* vol. vi. is no less decisive, "isdem" being found 96 times, "eisdem" 4 times, but "isdem" only once.' (Italics are mine.)

I have found it very difficult to picture to myself what Mr. Lease had in view when he composed this book. But I learn from the Preface firstly that it is intended for 'the student,' and secondly that

'The aim of the editor has been to call attention to those peculiarities of style that have given the prose of Livy its characteristic quality and its enduring fame.'

And for this purpose

'The various synthetic and stylistic phenomena that appear scattered here and there in the three books selected for annotation have been collected and arranged, together with other correlated constructions, under their proper categories in the Introduction.'

Some thirty-eight pages alone of the Introduction are taken up with this subject. If they were its sole or chief *raison d'être* they might easily, and more appropriately, have been published as an article or a small pamphlet, and accordingly I must conclude that Mr. Lease had in view in his Introduction and Commentary other wants of the student. Having no light from the editor¹ I must find a standard for myself, and I shall therefore lay down that an annotated edition for a 'student' should give him all the help that may reasonably be expected from a commentary for the complete understanding of his text; and no more. Does Mr. Lease's book fulfil the first, the positive condition? I cannot honestly say that it does. On the contrary I am unable to find a single passage of the first book where the text presents corruptions or special difficulties in which he will get help from Mr. Lease. I would not require from the editor that he should abandon his plan of avoiding all textual problems; but he might have shown by note illustration or translation how he would deal with the difficulties which critics had found in the tradition.

I. 4. 4 'forte quadam diuinitus super ripas Tiberis effusus lenibus stagnis nec adiri us-

¹ From the character of some of the notes I should think his student was a very young one. Here are the first two on i. 13. 'Tum Sabinæ mulieres . . . crinibus passis scissaque ueste, uicto malis muliebri pauore, ausae se inter tela uolantia inferre' 'malis: distinguish between the various meanings of *mālis* and *mālis*. cf. § 38e uicto—pauore: the cause of ausae.'

quam ad iusti cursum poterat amnis, et posse quamuis languida mergi aqua infantes spem ferentibus dabat.' More advanced students than those who have to be warned not to confuse *mālis* and *mālis* would like to know if Livy meant *poterat* to be personal or impersonal, and, if personal, what is to be said about the expression 'Tiberis adiri poterat ad iusti cursum amnis.' Their only clue is the irrational comma after *amnis*.

8. 3 'alii ab numero anium . . . eum secutum numerum putant.' Mr. Lease says on *secutum* 'se. esse Romulum.' The difficult use of *secutum* itself is left unnoted. Similarly in the same section the use of *habuisse* in 'ita habuisse Etruscos.'

ib. 6 'eo ex finitimis populis turba omnis sine discrimine, liber an seruus esset, auida numerum rerum perfugit, idque primum ad coeptam magnitudinem roboris fuit.' Comment I should think was required on the construction of *liber an seruus esset* in semi-dependence on *discrimine* and on the sense and phrasing of the last clause; and so does the German commentator on whom Mr. Lease draws largely for his notes. But Mr. Lease has nothing but extracts from Lactantius and Minucius Felix and references to classical authors on the miscellaneous character of the refugees in general, and the following note on *roboris*: 'depends on *primum*; cf. Gell. xviii, 12, 7, *eo res auxit*.' This was wholly dark to me till I referred to the source and read in Weissenborn '*roboris* s. Gell. 18, 12, 7 M. CATO IN ORIGINIBUS (my capitals) eodem conuenae complures ex agro accessitauer, eo res *eorum* (my italics) auxit.'

13. 6 'ex bello tam tristi laeta repente pax cariores Sabinas . . . fecit.' Mr. Lease notes that *ex* is temporal and *repente* is used adjectivally; but a student should also be warned that the subject of the verb is the whole of the first seven words, which are conjoined, as it were, by hyphens.

14. 3 'seu ob infidam societatem regni, seu quia haud iniuria caesum credebat.' Mr. Lease illustrates the thought. But it is quite as necessary to point out that here too the separate words represent a single notion, 'the fact that partnership in royalty is never to be trusted.'

18. 2 'Pythagoram . . . quem . . . circa Metapontum Heracleamque et Crotona iuuenum aemulantium studia coetus habuisse constat.' If the collocation *-que et* and the Greek accusative *Crotona* required notes, surely something should have been said about the words following.

32. 12 'fieri solitum ut fetialis hastam

ferratam aut sanguineam praeustam ad fines eorum ferret.' These words present a notorious difficulty. Mr. Lease's comment on *hastam ferratam* is 'Among other nations also a spear tipped with iron and dipped in blood was a symbol of war' (italics are mine).

39. 4 'inde puerum liberum loco coeptum haberi.' For the gen. in *-um* Mr. Lease refers to the section of his Introduction on the Archaisms of Livy but has nothing on the use of *liberi* of a single child, which is much more puzzling to a student.

As I have had to mention this portion of his literary criticism, I will add something about its contents. He says (p. xxx) 'The prose of the Silver Age is characterised chiefly by the extensive use of Archaisms, Poetical Words and Constructions, Colloquialisms, Grecisms, and Neologisms.' (This sentence, which I cannot stop to criticise, will cause some dismay to investigators of Silver latinity.) 'The following treatment will show to what extent each of these elements enters into the style of Livy and will set forth the relative importance of each... Archaisms were used more frequently in the first decade, and more sparingly later, except in quoting laws and ancient documents. The following words and forms are found chiefly in earlier writers.' 'Archaic words' (8) are then cited from places in Book I, and 'Archaic Forms' (11) are cited from the same Book. Out of these only 5 of the former and only 3 of the latter, together less than half the whole number, are Livy's. The rest are avowedly citations from Old Latin, and as such are no more archaisms of the historian than the words which occur in Cicero's quotations from Ennius and so forth are archaisms of the orator.

Amongst archaisms is placed *nec procul* (for *non* or *haud procul*) in c. 25. 11 'alter qui nec procul aberat.' It is not conceivable that Livy should have used an archaism in this place; and there is corruption in the passage though *nec*, which must be for *ne quidem*, seems sound. *nec ipse* would set the passage right.

57. 7 'id cuique spectatissimum sit quod necopinato uiri aduentu occurrerit oculis.' The difficulty of seizing the precise meaning of *spectatissimum* is recognized in Seeley's note on the passage, to which I would refer. Weissenborn gives no help, and all that Mr. Lease has is: 'applied to things, first in Livy; see § 35,' the section of the Introduction in which it is stated that Livy used neologisms.

Difficulties in the narrative and topo-

graphy are similarly passed over. Thus in 8. 5 the place of Romulus' *asylum* is said by Livy to be *inter duos lucos* 'as you go down.' Romulus' city was on the Palatine, but the Asylum was on the Capitoline. No notice is taken of the discrepancy which Livy has slurred over. In the same section Livy's statement about the refugees directly contradicts that of Dionysius; but Mr. Lease notes nothing. Again, the account in 37. 1 of a Roman stratagem in the elder Tarquin's war with the Sabines is obscure and indeed unintelligible until it is compared with that of Dionysius 3. 55. But Mr. Lease is silent.

Mr. Lease's linguistic sense and acquaintance with Latin usage leave something to be desired. As (p. 181, note) he does me the honour to quote from my *Sermo Latinus* a perhaps somewhat obvious remark on the love of modern English for variety in expression,¹ I will note that his statements about *operatus* and *operari* (which he says on 31. 8 was a technical expression and in § 24 was coined by Virgil) might be corrected from the *Journal of Philology*, xxvi. pp. 314, sqq. and his statement that the 'omission' of *esse* with the future infinitive is the rule in Livy as in Caesar could be enlarged from *Idg. Forsch.* iv. pp. 252 sq., and pass on to some other matters.

2. 3 'tum *nimio plus* quam satis tutum esset accolis rem Troianam crescere ratus.' *nimio plus* is translated *altogether too much*, and is said to be a colloquialism. Livy was too good an artist to introduce a colloquialism here, nor is the diction of the *Odes* of Horace (I. 18. 15, 33. 1) colloquial.

5. 1 'in Palatio monte.' Note 'Palatio a substantive.' Does Mr. Lease think, or know of anyone who thinks, that it could be an *adjective*? What, then, is the use of his note? Its genesis is easier to discover. In 1861 Madvig (*Emend. Livianae*, p. 47) pointed out that the apposition of *mons* to *Palatium* was hard to parallel, and accordingly proposed to bracket it. Weissenborn subsequently wrote 'gewöhnlich sagt man *mons Palatinus* oder einfach *Palatium*,' and Mr. Lease derives from Weissenborn.

10. 7 'bina postea... opima parta sunt spolia.' Mr. Lease asks 'Why not *duo*?' *Spolia* is a word of the same class as *litterae* and *castra*, as may be seen from '*spolia ducis* hostium caesi' two sections above, and Gildersleeve-Lodge (§ 97, R. 3) or any grammar will give Mr. Lease the rule.

12. 1 'in aduersum Romani subiere.' |

¹ In the same sentence as he quotes from Mark Twain's immortal disquisition on the German language.

Note '(sc. montem): up the hill; cf. *adverso flumine.*' *adversum* is neuter as the opposition, in *aeguum*, shows; compare 7. 23. 9 where there is the same opposition. The phrase is understood by Weissenborn, though he translates 'auf den entgegenstehenden Berg (Mr. Lease's *montem*, the word in Livy's sentence being *collem*) von unten hinanrücken.'

24. 4 'iubente rege "sagmina" inquit "te, rex, posco." rex ait "puram tollito."' Note on *puram*, 'sc. *herbam*.' This ellipse also is impossible. *pura* must be read; *puram* has simply crept in from the following *puram herbam*.

ib. 7 'ut illa palam prima postrema ex illis tabulis ceraue recitata sunt.' Note on *tabulis ceraue* '= *tabula cerata*.' See § 67. The enclitic *-ve* as used here hardly means more than *-que*. This is all wrong. The plural *tabulæ* is correct, and the *-ve* is to be strictly interpreted. The treaty's terms are said to be read 'from the boards or the wax' to prevent any loophole by which the treaty could be denounced as informal.

35. 3 'se non rem novam petere quippe qui non primus, quod *quisquam* indignari mirariue posset sed tertius Romæ peregrinus regnum adfectet.' Mr. Lease says that the use of *quisquam* here is accounted for by the influence of the *non* preceding, and refers to 18 § 5 'neque se quisquam . . . præferre illi uiro ausi.' There the negative is in the *quisquam* sentence, here it is outside it. But Mr. Lease does not appear to have heard of Madvig's excursus in his edition of the *de Finibus*, p. 835.

The note on 3 § 3 "ubicumque et quicumque matre genitus," *quicumque* for *quilibet*, or *quivis*, is common first in Livy, is equally unfortunate. Ascanius was not born of any mother you pleased. Weissenborn says correctly that *ubicumque*, like *quicumque*, is often found in Livy *ohne verb. finit*.

Mr. Lease's discussion of Livy's poetical usages starts with a section on his use of hexameter and pentameter endings. 'A characteristic of his style is the frequent dactylic (— — — — —) close of his sentences.' A note adds that this usage was condemned by both Cicero (*Or.* 201, *De Or.* iii. 182, etc.) and Quintilian (ix. 4. 72). What these Roman critics wished to banish from prose were the recognized verse endings of their times, e.g. *placuisse* | *Catonē* (Quintilian). But Mr. Lease's examples are of another type: 'The last five feet of the hexameter were used in 15. 2 "prædam portantes Veios | rediere."' His 'pentameter' endings are similar. The

first is 9. 2 'nouo | populo | peterent,' and the second 12. 2 'Hostius Hostilius.'¹

On 9. 1 'prolis nec cum finitimis conubia essent' we have the comment 'if hiatus be allowed between the fifth and the sixth foot, a complete dactylic hexameter.' Had Mr. Lease investigated the question he has thus proposed, he would have cancelled his note.

A special feature of the edition is the number of statements on the relative frequency of words, usages, and idioms in Livy and in other Latin writers. These statements and statistics, except such as are based on the published papers cited by Mr. Lease, the majority even of scholars will not be in a position to check. An example will show that they cannot be trusted implicitly. 9 § 8 proximi quique 'the masculine and feminine plural of *quisque* is very rare and not used elsewhere by Livy.' See however 5. 8 *fin.*, 10. 35. 8, 37. 43. 8, 39. 31. 12. But granting their correctness, are they of utility to the student? What does he learn from the precise information (p. 202) that *haud dubie* occurs 80 times in Livy (25 in decade I, 26 in decade II, 25 in decade IV, and 4 in Books 41–45)? What does it profit him to know that *fulmine ictus* (3. 9) occurs 6 times in Livy and *de caelo tactus* 51 times, unless we know more? The student would have been much more grateful for help towards the meaning of that far from easy sentence 'Auentino fulmine ictus regnum per manus tradidit.'

Statistics, properly controlled and intelligently interpreted, have always a tale to tell; but crude enumerations like these are valueless in themselves and of no use for literary or aesthetic appreciations. You might as well estimate the worth of an Assumption by calculating the exact quantity of the different pigments which constitute its surface.

I am sincerely sorry to have to speak in these terms of this book. But its appearance, especially in a series under the direction of Professors Gildersleeve and Lodge, is a serious sign. I do not now lay stress on the inaccuracies which disfigure it, especially as Mr. Lease has shown by articles and criticism in this journal and elsewhere that he is alive to the importance of correctness in details. But the methods and principles of editing which it reveals call for vigorous protest. They are those of a school which,

¹ Will Mr. Lease tell us on what evidence he scans *Hostilius*?

with the best intentions in the world, is going the direct way to destroy the study of the classics by emptying it of all its value

and interest—the school of ‘rapid reading’ and mechanical dissections.

J. P. POSTGATE.

FOTHERINGHAM'S CHRONICLES OF EUSEBIUS.

The Bodleian Manuscript of Jerome's Version of the Chronicle of Eusebius. Reproduced in Collotype with an Introduction by JOHN KNIGHT FOTHERINGHAM, M.A., Lecturer in Classical Literature at King's College, London; formerly Senior Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905. 4to. Pp. vi + 66 + 242 Collotypes. £2 10s. net.

THE publication in complete facsimile of any early uncial MS. in Latin has its importance to the palaeographer. The standards of comparison for writing of this period are few in any one library and are themselves for the most part not dated or localised with any certainty. Photographs of specimen pages of many of the MSS. which cannot be gathered together by themselves are no doubt fairly accessible, but the character of uncial hands makes such specimens far less useful here than in the case of later handwriting. The student of uncials must pay attention to the exceptional even more than to the ordinary practices of a scribe, must be at pains to note the semi-cursive forms into which the letters degenerate where the scribe's hand is cramped or tired, and must classify abbreviations and take account of a multiplicity of detail which he can only gather by examining page after page of text. The admirable collotypes in which the Oxford Press has set before us the important MS. Bodl. Auct. ii. 26 are therefore most welcome even apart from the subject of the work contained in the book. The date of the MS. however will, it is to be feared, remain an open question. The opinion of Prof. Traube, who would place it in the fifth century, rather than the sixth, will command respect, but the attempt to prove the point, by insisting on the date at which the continuation of the chronicle stopped, breaks down, not merely because it is absurd to assume that it must have been continued up to the time of writing, but also, as Mr. Fotheringham acutely shows, because it is very doubtful whether the words upon which the argument is based, and which are assumed to have stood upon a page now lost,

really did stand there in the original hand of the MS. The general palaeographical interest of the volume however is but a small part of its importance. The weightiest reasons for the reproduction of the MS. lie in the character of the book it contains.

The *Chronica* of Eusebius consisted of two books. In the first he developed his thesis that Christianity, being founded upon Jewish history, so far from being an upstart religion unworthy of the attention of scholars, is superior in antiquity, and in the authority derived from antiquity, to profane history, including in the latter the remotest and vaguest mythological systems of Greece and Rome. In the second he adduced evidence for this in the form of elaborate chronological tables. Both books are unfortunately lost, but much of them may be recovered from various sources. These include, besides a Syriac epitome of book ii. and large quotations from both books in later Greek chroniclers, which do not concern us here, an Armenian version of both books, somewhat imperfect, and the translation and continuation of book ii. by St. Jerome, which is the most important. The Oxford MS. contains this, all except a few pages, and it is to the elucidation of questions connected with its text that Mr. Fotheringham's essay is directed.

The complexity of these problems is unusually great, and Mr. Fotheringham is, we believe, entirely justified in saying that an editor of Jerome's translation, or of Eusebius' original so far as it can be restored, will have to be equipped with complete photographs of all the more important MSS. of the former in order to solve these problems satisfactorily. If Mr. Fotheringham's own essay, although he has seen all these MSS. and examined them singly with much pains and acumen, falls short, as it seems to us that it does, of a demonstration of the original shape of the chronicle, it may well be due to the same lack of complete collected materials which rendered the efforts of Scaliger and Schöne unsatisfactory, and not to any failure to grasp the problem or the mode of dealing with it.

The special difficulty of the case lies, as the editor points out, in the necessity for determining, not merely the words contained in Jerome's original translation, but the position which they occupied on the page; the tabular arrangement in columns, the spacing and even the size of the writing, being of the essence of the book and dating back in all probability to Eusebius with little modification on the part of the translator. But the MSS. fall at once into two families, differing precisely in this respect, which Scaliger distinguished by the names of *prior*es and *posteriores*.

That the so-called *posteriores*—the existing representatives of the family—are in reality older than any of the *prior*es—are to be regarded as better representing the form which Jerome adopted for his text is Mr. Fotheringham's view, and the theory must, we think, hold the field for the present. The arguments which he employs in its favour cannot all be set out here, but the most convincing depends on the fact that the arrangement of events in two columns in the *posteriores*, as against a single column in the same part of the *prior*es, corresponds to a distinction of the original entries in Eusebius' tables into sacred and profane history, which is not only germane to the scheme of his work but is proved to have existed in the Greek by the evidence of the Armenian version, but which at the same time was neglected by Jerome in the additional entries which he inserted in his translation. Other arguments used by the editor seem to us much weaker, especially that derived from the number of MSS. (AMNPS) which agree in an identical page-arrangement of twenty-six lines. It is inferred that there is a presumption that the arrangement goes back to Jerome's own study; but as it would obviously be so much easier to copy such tables page for page, the presumption does not appear to go further than supposing a common ancestor for this group, such single ancestor not having necessarily a better claim to represent Jerome's arrangement than the ancestor of any other group. Indeed this counting by tale is slightly misleading if NP are admitted to be copies of S, which is the conclusion to which Mr. Fotheringham has eventually come on the evidence of more accurate collation—perhaps since the first writing (in 1901) of his introduction.

The chief representative of the *prior*es is L, the British Museum MS., and the greatest objection to regarding the *posteriores* as the only true witnesses to Jerome's

original lies not in the arrangement but in some details of the text of L. It is, as might be expected from its date, generally inferior to the so-called *posteriores*, but nevertheless has a number of readings which it is impossible to explain without reference to the Greek, and which may be naturally taken to be Jerome's first thoughts, as against the *posteriores* in which the readings look like his corrections. Upon these passages Schöne based his theory of successive recensions of the text by Jerome himself. That Jerome did make alterations in his version there is undoubtedly some evidence, both internal and external, the latter from the testimony of Rufinus; but that they can ever be described as definitely as Schöne seeks to plot them out is unlikely. Even with the most perfect collation of all the MSS. there will be too many uncertainties in the history of the text. In the first place we have but little idea of the probable amount of culture or apparatus for correction which may have been possessed by the scribes who joined the earlier links in the chain of transmission of our text. It is rash to assume that they never compared it with the Greek even if it be certain that they did not regularly do so. In the second place argument from the presence or absence of corrections is always rendered doubtful by the mode adopted by scribes for making corrections. If one MS. has *subuertit* (καθαίρει) and another *emundavit* (καθαίρει) there is always a possibility that a common archetype had *subuertit* with *uel emundavit* interlined. Such a reading does not necessarily imply any doubt in the corrector's mind as to which was the true reading, and certainly in such a case it is little more than chance which decides the reading adopted by the copyist. Again, the deletion of passages was often indicated only by such signs as *va—cat*, which might easily be overlooked. Schöne's theory of a gradual evolution by which the size of the pages became reduced from the long form of L to the square shape of the 26-line MSS. is still more difficult to prove or disprove. On the whole we think that the balance of probability is against it; for if Mr. Fotheringham is right in believing the arrangement of columns in L to be a corruption, and in this, for the reason stated above, we believe him to be right, then L's witness to the size of the page is seriously invalidated. But when Mr. Fotheringham seeks to show that L must have had a 26-line ancestor on the evidence of a transposition in the text of the preface his assumption that the lines

contained the same amount as in the 26-line MSS. is at least a partial *petitio principii*. The transposition could equally well be explained by the inversion of a single leaf in a minuscule MS. which would contain (within, say, 8 per cent.) much the same amount of text as a leaf of L itself.

Besides the text itself other matters of interest contained in the MS. receive elucidation in this edition. Mr. R. L. Poole has spent much labour upon the curious fifteenth-

century scholia, which contain quotations from a singularly wide range of literature, though nothing very definite can be made out as to their author. A sixteenth-century owner, Jean du Tillet, is the subject of a long appendix by Mr. C. H. Turner. Lastly, we must not omit to mention facsimiles from the Udine and Paris MSS. which serve to supply the portion of the text which is missing in the Oxford MS.

J. P. GILSON.

MOULTON'S GRAMMAR OF NEW TESTAMENT GREEK.

A Grammar of New Testament Greek based on W. F. Moulton's edition of G. B. Winer's Grammar. By JAMES HOPE MOULTON, M.A. (Cantab.), D.Lit. (Lond.). T. and T. Clark, 38 George Street, Edinburgh, 1906. 8vo. Vol. I. Prolegomena. Pp. xx+274. 8s. net.

AMONG serious students of the New Testament, scarcely one probably could be found in England to-day who does not owe an inestimable debt to Winer's Grammar, and in particular to the English translation or rather revision of it by the late Dr. W. F. Moulton. Only in the backwaters of solitary studies have earlier works kept their place. Two generations have benefited by what in its special province marked an epoch as much as Liddell and Scott's Lexicon. Now a son sets forth to do for this age what his father did for the last.

His success may be measured by the appearance, within seven months, of a second edition, with corrections and additions running to ten pages of matter. From the title-page of this edition the claim to connexion with the old book has been rightly deleted.

It is not without reason that Dr. J. H. Moulton on his very first page speaks to his readers of 'a change in our conceptions of the subject nothing less than revolutionary.' The importance of this change, and of justifying it, is in reality what has called this preliminary volume forth. Following Deismann, the author has abandoned the conception that the Greek of the New Testament writings is in essence Hebraic or Aramaic: he believes it to be merely 'Common' or 'Hellenistic' Greek of the non-literary kind. Readers of the *Classical Review* will be not unprepared for this

pronouncement. A number of invaluable papers, it will be remembered, have appeared from Dr. Moulton's pen, tracing in the various volumes of papyri which have been already published, parallels to nearly every construction hitherto explained as 'translation' or 'Biblical' Greek. That some such view should one day emerge was probably in any case to be expected as soon as grammarians had extended their outlook to the phenomena of the English language as it is now diffused through distant continents. The late Greek world presented many features of resemblance to the English civilisation. It was natural to guess that analogies would be discoverable between the two universal languages. The evidence of the papyri has confirmed the correctness of these conjectures.

The sweep of this theory will be surmised when it is said that Dr. Moulton believes that in scarcely a single instance can it be positively asserted that a phrase or construction in the Septuagint or New Testament is directly due to literal translation. All, he contends, are turns which can be paralleled by pure Greek,—only their frequency he allows to be due to their similarity to idioms in Aramaic. Thus the entire treatment of the New Testament Grammar becomes altered, and this, as he points out, involves in many cases alteration in the exegesis of particular passages.

So cardinal is this issue that I shall make no apology for bestowing a disproportionate amount of space upon its consideration.¹ It must be allowed that the parallel of spoken English—in substance identical, widely dissimilar in particulars—as men of

¹ I gather from pp. 241-2 that Wellhausen must have made a similar criticism, and the author acknowledges that 'we must be on our guard.'

various counties, classes, countries, and nationalities use it, suggests many useful reflexions. Dr. Moulton *e.g.* observes that the Welshman's 'look you' and 'indeed' show that a bilingual people do not translate into absolutely incorrect language, but overdo the use of a possible expression because it occurs frequently in the other language they speak. This is true. 'Even the Greek of the Apocalypse itself,' Dr. Moulton urges, 'does not seem to owe any of its blunders to Hebraism,' and he explains its peculiarities as almost altogether due to the want of Greek education, to illiteracy so far as Greek is concerned. This again seems to satisfy the conditions of the question, and the author's argument might have been strengthened, if he had pointed out that one of the regular consequences when a foreigner learns a language orally and not at all grammatically is an inclination to slur over case-endings and other inflexions. When such a man is under the necessity of writing the foreign language, this ignorance of the inflexions—slurred over in speech—betrays itself unmistakably.

So far Dr. Moulton's thesis seems to be not only illuminating but sound. His further contentions cause dubiety. To establish that many of the New Testament constructions are not merely 'Biblical' or 'Semitic' but 'illiterate Common Greek,' that they are thoroughly Greek in stamp, though not in frequency, he has not seldom to rely upon one or two isolated parallels from papyri or inscriptions. The comparison of English must occasion misgivings. It is said that a Yorkshireman to the second generation is betrayed by his use of 'bucket' and 'pail.' An Irishman to the second generation certainly discovers himself by the form of his indirect questions. The use of 'while' for 'until,' 'just now,' of 'tart' and 'pie,' of 'hand' or 'finger' in a clock, are all variations derivable from local origin. The speech of the nursery-maid necessarily invades the speech of her charges: we may be sure that the language of the παιδαγωγός left its mark on Greek boys. A man whom I met very far from the Welsh borders and of whose nationality I had not then the slightest suspicion, ended an occasional sentence with 'isn't it?' More instances might easily be put together; but probably everyone on consideration will allow not only that the use of a provincial word or the choice of a particular word amongst several synonyms often persists after a family has migrated, but that an idiom, such as the stereotyped 'isn't it?' after statements of

all forms, often does so, and that mimicry and imitation often produce a lasting effect on a man's natural idiom. Thus Scotchmen who settle in England soon lose their natural aspirate, and a Suffolk servant-girl who has once taken service in a town returns home 'h'-less. A lively Irish boy's use of 'will' is quickly caught up by others till it seems correct. If we apply this analogy to Greek, we are led to expect that, especially amongst the less educated, local differences would exist. On this point Dr. Moulton is alive to the possibility, for he writes:—

'Are we to expect persistence of Ionic features in Asia Minor; and will the Greek of Egypt, Syria, Macedonia, and Italy differ to an extent which we can detect after two thousand years? Speaking generally, we may reply in the negative. Dialectic differences there must have been in a language spoken over so large an area. But they need not theoretically be greater than those between British and American English, to refer again to the helpful parallel we examined above (p. 19). We saw there that in the modern *Weltsprache* the educated colloquial closely approximates everywhere when written down, differing locally to some extent, but in vocabulary and orthography rather than in grammar. The uneducated vernacular differs more, but its differences still show least in the grammar. The study of the papyri and the Κοινή inscriptions of Asia Minor discloses essentially the same phenomena in Hellenistic. There are few points of grammar in which the N.T. language differs from that which we see in other specimens of Common Greek vernacular, from whatever province derived' (p. 39).

That we can hardly hope to trace with certainty the dialectic differences in the Common Greek may be readily allowed; but Dr. Wright would probably deny that in the uneducated vernacular English the grammatical differences were less than other differences, and Dr. Moulton hardly does justice to his own parallel unless he expects theoretically considerable differences between much of the New Testament and the illiterate writers of papyri, since except St. Luke and St. Paul we may suppose the Biblical writers to have been illiterate or at least non-literary. It would be better then to say we should theoretically expect greater differences between the New Testament and the illiterate papyri than between the educated writers of the Κοινή. Now, if theoretically we are to expect dialect in

illiterate Κοινή, it is reasonable to interpret Dr. Moulton's rarer parallels from the papyri in a very different way from that which he adopts. We know, generally speaking, nothing of the ethnological origin, the educational environment, or the associates of those who wrote these isolated documents. We cannot therefore safely rely upon one or two instances of any construction, however remote from one another the places where the papyri recording them may be, as establishing the genuinely Greek character of that construction. The writer may be the grandson of a Semite; he may have had a Syrian παιδαγωγός; he may have mimicked a Jew tradesman till the idiom became second nature to himself. Allow for these possibilities, make these corrections and deductions in the argument, and we are brought back, although with a wider and more historical view of the subject, to something not very unlike the old theory of 'Biblical' or 'Aramaic' Greek.

Similarly Thumb's remark, quoted by Dr. Moulton in a footnote to page 17, that 'what appears Hebraism or Aramaism in the Bible must count as Greek if it shows itself as a natural development in the Modern Greek vernacular' needs great care in its application, for undoubtedly the English Authorised Version has influenced the type of dialect which has prevailed, even in the matter of grammatical inflexion and construction, and it is to be expected that the Greek Bible had no less influence over Greek from say 300-800 A.D.

Little less fundamental for Dr. Moulton's purpose is his discussion of the Greek Tense-systems, where he distinguishes 'punctiliar' action, whether 'ingressive,' 'effective,' or 'constative,' from 'linear' or 'durative,' and from 'perfect' and 'iterative.' When the terminology has become familiar, these distinctions should be found of great service. They will assist in clearing up the question of the propriety of the course taken by the Revisers of the English translation in replacing perfects by aorists. The truth of the matter is, as Dr. Moulton hints, that each passage needs to be examined by itself without any predetermination. When the particular use of the Greek tense has been defined, then and not till then should the English equivalent be looked for. To treat all Greek aorists as transferable without distinction into the English aorist is as illegit-

imate as to treat them all as transferable into the English perfect.

I should have liked to have dealt with some other questions, but space does not permit. I must content myself with a few bald statements. I cannot remember when I did not know the distinction between prohibitions in Greek put by the aorist subjunctive and present imperative, and I fancy all who have been in the Sixth form at Shrewsbury would say the same. I had no conception that we were singular in this knowledge till I saw Dr. Walter Headlam's paper some years ago.¹ Besides the common use of the present to mean 'Desist from,' there is certainly another where 'Do not think of' gives the effect. The examples quoted by Mr. Naylor (*C.R.* xx. p. 348) are all explicable in this way. Undoubtedly Dr. Moulton is right (unless indeed his various uses are resolvable into two) when he writes 'Μὴ ποιεῖς accordingly needs various mental supplements, and not one only. It is "Stop doing," or "Do not (from time to time)," or "Do not (as you are in danger of doing)," or "Do not attempt to do."'

In Acts xix. 16 where ἀμφότεροι appears to refer to ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκεῦα, the 'relief' which Dr. Moulton desires might be obtained perhaps better than by making ἀμφότεροι mean πάντες, if we read ἡ τοῖς for τῶν τοῖς. (In the second edition a suggestion of Mr. J. B. Shipley is given that ἐπὶ arose from a gloss, Σκεῦα = שְׂכָע = ἐπὶ.)

It may be worth while to suggest that the combination of aorist with perfect is a Hellenistic trick of style, sometimes perhaps due, as the author once suggests (p. 145), to the defective tense-forms of a verb, more often to an effort to express the force of an English perfect without the proper Greek meaning — the aorist serving to warn the reader that he must deduct from the full sense of the perfect.

This work must necessarily exercise a controlling influence over the English study of the New Testament for many years, and give it an impulse and direction that will long endure. It is, for this reason, the more urgently desirable that its foundations should be soundly laid, and, I venture to believe, some of its basic propositions reconsidered.

T. NICKLIN.

¹ *C.R.* xvii. 295.

ABBOTT'S JOHANNINE GRAMMAR.

Johannine Grammar. By EDWIN A. ABBOTT. London, 1906. Demy 8vo. Pp. xxviii + 687. 16s. 6d.

THERE are some works before which criticism must stand hopeless. Where magnitude of bulk and scale are united with multiplicity of detail and microscopic learning, a review that would satisfy its writer would be nearly as large as its subject. Such a work is Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, and Dr. Abbott's *Johannine Grammar* arouses the same feeling in the mind. Its scope, its diligence, its multifarious learning, can but excite admiration and envy, while its accurate scholarship must make any who would challenge its statements distrustful of their own disagreement.

Some idea of the character of the work may be given by saying that the author works through 'Forms and Combinations of Words' (Adjectives, Adverbs, etc., in the alphabetical order of these headings), in Book I. and then in Book II. through 'Arrangement, Variation, and Repetition of Words,' including Connexion of Sentences. Besides he has an Appendix on 'Twofold Meanings and Events,' and another on 'Readings of Codex Vaticanus not adopted by Westcott and Hort,' besides more than a hundred pages of Notes on preceding paragraphs.

In the course of the work an inconceivable number of passages are discussed and their correct exegesis dealt with. The book with the companion *Johannine Vocabulary* is indeed a commentary from a grammatical point of view on not only St. John and practically the whole of the Synoptists, but on a large number of passages in the rest of the New Testament. It will be understood therefore that a reviewer after giving a hint of the contents of the volume can do little more than notice the general method of the author and then discuss the interpretation of a few texts.

For one suggestion of the author the students of St. John's Gospel will probably be grateful. He seems to have observed what will supply a safe test for discriminating between the writer's comments and the speeches he reports. In the narrative portions of the Gospel γάρ seems to be the rule, when the writer needs to say 'for': in our Lord's words he uses ὅτι. That such a distinction should have been

detected will probably give the reader the measure of Dr. Abbott's subtlety and acumen and of the delicacy of style in the Gospel, better than anything else that could be mentioned.

It may however be doubted whether Dr. Abbott is not at times led away by his passion for extracting a principle under every use of language. A recent discussion in the pages of another journal, *The Academy*, on the use of 'like' for 'as' might give pause to the most stout-hearted upholder of the latent intentionality in every written word, even of careful literary artists. Besides, the reader cannot avoid an uneasy craving for a more historical treatment of the linguistic facts—not that necessarily a more historical method would alter the nature of the inference drawn from them, but when this method is known to have yielded unexpected and valuable results in other departments of learning, it leaves an uncomfortable doubt if a less systematic treatment is adopted. In other words, we need the methods of Dr. J. H. Moulton (referred to elsewhere) superimposed upon Dr. Abbott's laborious researches and discussions. It is not surprising to find that they take opposite views of certain questions. Dr. Moulton believes that πρῶτος had by New Testament times ousted πρότερος (*Grammar of N.T. Greek*, p. 79). Dr. Abbott will have none of this. He translates πρῶτος. τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ (Schol. Preface to Eur. *Phoen.*) 'first [in regard] of his brother,' and in St. John xv. 18 γινώσκεις ὅτι ἐγὼ πρῶτον ὑμῶν μεμίστηνεν understands the writer by thus expressing himself to have wished to suggest 'the First[born] of you [all].' I confess that while I agree with this exegesis, as probable, in view of the many subtleties in St. John's Gospel and the suggestiveness in many of its turns, I find it hard to doubt that Dr. Moulton is right on the grammatical point. There is no example imaginable that could not be explained away by the method applied to the Scholiast; yet the instances found affect particularly a few adjectives only.

A not dissimilar line of cleavage appears in the treatment of such a construction as ἀπὸ πυχῶν διακοσίων (St. John xxi. 8). Dr. Abbott says that this transposition 'may be largely the result of Latin influence.' He points out indeed the resemblance to πρὸ ἐξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα (St. John xii. 1) but puts

it to no such use as Dr. Moulton does. The latter (p. 110) refers to W. Schulze as giving 'a long and striking list of passages illustrating the usage in question,' and then mentions that the earliest is *πρὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς τελευτῆς* in Hippocrates. He concludes that Latin must be 'the borrower, were we bound to deny independent development,' and is sceptical of Latinism in the examples with *ἀπό*, remarking that '*mutatis mutandis* this idiom is identical in principle with that just quoted for *πρό*.'

Dr. Abbott draws out very carefully the difference between *ἀπό* and *ἐκ* in describing domicile or birthplace. He may fairly claim to have established that *ἐκ* signifies extraction, *ἀπό* domicile, though he probably needs to qualify this by adding that the domicile may sometimes refer to an earlier time than the present and just possibly to the birthplace. Dr. Abbott himself refers to the words 'Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ' (St. Matt. xxi. 11) used after the family had removed to Capernaum. One passage where Dr. Abbott fears that his rule breaks down is, I believe, entirely consonant with it. In St. John vii. 41-42 we read οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον, Μὴ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὁ Χριστὸς ἔρχεται; οὐχὶ ἡ γραφὴ εἶπεν ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ, καὶ ἀπὸ

Βηθλέμ . . . ἔρχεται ὁ Χριστός; the writer intends to shew that the illegitimate inference of those objectors who assumed that the Christ must be *ἀπό* as well as *ἐκ* Βηθλέμ caused their doubts. Our Lord was *ἐκ* Βηθλέμ as Micah v. 2 in the LXX. form declared: these objectors were doubly wrong. They thought our Lord was *ἐκ* τῆς Γαλιλαίας; they thought the Christ must be *ἀπὸ* Βηθλέμ.

The invariable observance of such a distinction as this, at least in St. John's Gospel, shews that we must not too hastily assume that Bröse's thesis is universally sound in the New Testament, that *ἀπό*, *παρά*, *ἐπὶ*, and *ἐκ* were used without exact distinction. The fact is that in certain uses only do words ever become even for a time homonymous; and only by careful and delicate examination such as Dr. Abbott gives to his authors is it at all possible to ascertain the limits in their writings of such homonymity. When the historical method shall be united with this particular method we shall have an absolute grammar, so far as any grammar can be absolute the materials of which continue, and, it is to be hoped, will long continue incessantly to multiply.

T. NICKLIN.

MÉLANGES NICOLE.

Mélanges Nicole. Recueil de Mémoires de Philologie Classique et d'Archéologie offerts à JULES NICOLE. Geneva: W. Kündig et Fils, 1905. 8vo. Pp. 671. Portrait, 19 Vignettes, 20 Plates. Fr. 30.

THIS is a volume of short studies presented, by no less than sixty scholars, to Prof. Nicole of Geneva, the distinguished editor of the *Γεωργός* of Menander, as an offering of congratulation and respect on the completion of the thirtieth year of his professorship. The average length of the articles is only eleven pages of large print: the majority of them are in French, though many are in German, Latin, English, or modern Greek; and they deal with history, archaeology, papyrology, textual criticism, lexicography, and indeed almost every department of classical learning. It seems probable that short papers, thus offered in homage to an honoured *confrère*, are not of the highest importance, and are not considered, even by their authors, to be so; or that, if they are, we shall see them again,

incorporated in works of larger and more imposing design. And again, the list of contributors contains the names of some scholars who may be of as great repute as any in their own countries but who are not yet so famous as they ought to be in these remote islands. There are, in short, many good reasons why a modest reviewer should prefer to set out the contents of the book without passing an opinion on each article; and I shall adopt that course, adding occasionally, in brackets, some hints to explain the title or the treatment chosen. The list is as follows: A. Bauer: *Die Chronik des Hippolytos*. F. Blass: *De Personarum Distributione in loco Choe-phorum Aeschyli* (dealing chiefly with the stichomythia of ll. 479-509, but incidentally with the readings and arrangement of other passages). H. Blümner: *Text-Kritisches zu Apuleius Metamorphosen*. M. Bréal: *αἰσωνμνίης* (= αἰὲς συνμνίης). R. Cagnat: *La Maison des Antistius à Thibilis* (a Roman house in Algeria, containing some inscriptions). D. Comparetti: *Épistolaire d'un*

Commandant de l'Armée Romaine en Égypte (one of Prof. Schiaparelli's papyri). F. C. Conybeare : *Pseudo-Hieronymus de Christianitate* (report of a MS. in the library of San Lorenzo, Florence). W. Dörpfeld : *Verbrennung und Bestattung der Toten im alten Griechenland* (attempting to shew that, down to the end of the classical period, the Greek practice was to char the corpse in the fire and then bury it). L. Duchesne : *L'Armée Chrétienne dans l'Histoire Ecclésiastique d'Eusèbe*. H. Hermann : *La Falsification des Actes dans l'Antiquité* (all possible modes of avoiding a written engagement). H. Francotte : *Le Pain à bon marché et le Pain gratuit dans les Cités Grecques*. A. Furtwängler : *Ein Wirthshaus auf einem Italischen Vasenbilde*. P. Girard : *Thucydide et le Siège de Troie* (arguing for ἐκρατήθησαν in Thuc. i. 11. 1). E. J. Goodspeed : *Greek Documents in the Museum of the New York Historical Society*. Herren Gradenwitz, Schubert and Vitelli : *Eine neue Διωγραφὴ aus Hermopolis*. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt : *Some Classical Fragments from Hermopolis* (a few lines of the *Knights* and of the *Lysistrata* from a Byzantine papyrus-book, a few lines of a comedy from a vellum-book, and a small papyrus fragment of *Iliad* xviii.). L. Havet : *La Mise en relief par Disjonction dans le Style Latin*. W. Helbig : *Der Streitwagen in den Jüngeren Schichten der Ilias* (shewing that, in the time of the epic poets, chariots were commonly used in warfare). H. V. Herwerden : *Nova Addenda ad Lexicon meum Graecum Suppletorium*, etc. H. Hitzig : *Zur Wertung des Pausanias-Codex 1399 Pa.* M. Holleaux : *La première Expédition d'Antiochos le Grand en Koile-Syrie* (a question of dates). Messrs. Jonquet et Lefebvre : *Papyrus de Magdola*. A. Körte : *Die Entstehungszeit der Hiketiden des Aischylos* (assigned to B.C. 481 or 480). B. Latyschew : *Inscriptions Métriques de Panticapée*. J. Le Coultre : *La Pronunciation Latine sous Charlemagne* (evidence derived chiefly from Alcuin, de *Orthographia*). A. Ludwig : *Bemerkungen zu Xenophanes* (textual criticism of certain fragments). G. Maspero : *Le Début du second Conte de Satni-Khamois* (correcting Griffith's translation). J. P. Milliet : *Les Yeux Hagards* (staring eyes characteristic of a certain late period of portraiture). L. Mitteis : *Zur Statthalterliste der Thebais*.

E. Muret : *Glaucus* (attempting to show that the name of this hero has passed into some Romance languages in the sense of 'fool'). E. Naville : *Un Temple de la II^e Dynastie à Thèbes*. G. Nicole : (a) *Sur une Statue inachevée* et (b) *sur une Hydrie à figures rouges*, etc. P. O. Tramare : *L'Épître d'Horace à Auguste*, son objet et sa disposition. E. Pottier : *Alexandre à Cheval* (*Musée de Naples*). S. Reinach : *Un Gany-mède de l'École de Praxitèle* (resembling a statue in the Uffizi restored by Benvenuto Cellini). T. Reinach : *Les Juifs d'Alexandronèse*. C. Robert : *Zu Hesiods Theogonie* (maintaining its integrity and authenticity). A. Rzach : *Zu A. von Gutschmid's Silyllinenstudien*. F. de Saussure : *D' Ὀμήλου à Τριπτόλεμος* (connexions of ἀλευρον, ἄλυσρα, etc.). J. G. Smyly : *The Employment of the Alphabet in Greek Logistic* (an attempt to shew that calculation with alphabetic numerals was not really difficult, together with specimens of Greek calculation and notes on the symbolism for high numbers invented by Archimedes and Apollonius). Chr. Tsountas : *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἐλεσίνι θησαυρῶν*. J. P. Waltzing : *Un Glossaire Latin inédit* (from a Brussels MS.). H. Weil : *Sur deux Odes d'Horace*. C. Wessely : *Instrumentum Census Anni P.C.N. 245*. A. Wiedemann : *Die Anfänge dramatischer Poesie im alten Aegypten*. U. Wilcken : *Der Traum des Königs Nektanabos*. A. Wilhelm : *Ein Beschluss der Athener* (fragment of an inscription, perhaps of B.C. 421). C. Zenghelis : *Sur le Bronze préhistorique* (its analysis). P. Cavvadias : *La Tholos d'Épidaure et le peintre Pausias*. G. A. Gerhard : *Mythologische Epigramme in einem Heidelberger Papyrus*, with notes by O. Crusius. Th. Homolle : *Une Inscription Liturgique de Delphes*. Sp. P. Lambros : *Ἀνέκδοτα ἀπανθίσματα Διογένης τοῦ Λαερτίου* (from a MS. preserved in a monastery on Mount Athos). E. Löwy : *Zum Repertorium der Späteren Kunst* (on the Judgment of Paris). J. P. Mahaffy : *The Jews in Egypt*. Presumably the last six articles arrived too late to be placed in the alphabetical order of authors' names. It remains to be mentioned that Prof. Tyrrell and Prof. Mahaffy greet Prof. Nicole with little addresses in Greek iambic verse and that the volume contains many plates and a portrait of Prof. Nicole.

J. Gow.

CHAMPAULT'S GEOGRAPHY OF THE ODYSSEY.

CHAMPAULT, PHILIPPE. *Phéniciens et Grecs en Italie d'après l'Odyssée*. Étude géographique, historique et sociale par une méthode nouvelle. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1906. Fr. 6.

ERATOSTHENES said we should know ποῦ πεπλάνηται Ὀδυσσεὺς when we had found the tailor who sewed the bag of the winds. I am afraid M. Champault has not discovered the tailor, though he has written 602 pages about the wanderings. According to him Scheria is Ischia, the ancient Aenaria; the Cyclops lived on Posilipo, the home of Aeolus is the Aegades, the Lotus-eaters were the date-eating tribes of Tunis: Calypso means Gibraltar, Circe means Pianosa near Elba: Taormina is the island of the Sun, the pumice-cliffs of Lipari the wandering rocks; the Sirens haunted the Punta della Licoso, to the south of Paestum; the dead and the Laestrygones alike inhabit Sardinia.

These remarkable conclusions are arrived at by means of 'une méthode analytique basée sur les travaux de Le Play et de l'abbé de Tourville,' and frequent reference is made to the author's articles in a periodical entitled *La Science Sociale*. I regret that I do not find either science or method in the book, unless it is the Method of Agreement recklessly applied. By M. Champault's process, any island in the West or East Mediterranean might be picked out for the home of Alcinous; his book, though longer and infinitely more pretentious, has about as much authority as the romance of the late Samuel Butler, who located Nausicaa in the genial district which now produces Marsala Vergine. The book resembles M. Bérard's recent work on the Phoenicians, and I am afraid must to some extent discredit that remarkable book. We have the same Phoenicians, the same trading-stations, the same appeal to etymologies;

but whereas Bérard clung to tradition in many points, and vindicated Corfu, Ithaca, and Circeii, M. Champault has thrown everything into the pot once more, and produced the unholy κυκεὼν which I have described. He accepts Bérard's Semitic etymologies, the most disputable part of the book, and adds thereto of his own: e.g. p. 90, 'Φαίηκες s'explique par deux mots grecs: φαῖός, noir; ἡκη (forme ionienne pour ἀκή), pointe ou sommet.' A note follows: 'sur ἀκή signifiant *pointe* voir la note p. 432.' When we do so, we find the breathings and accents more normal, but Θρινაკίη derived from 'ἀκή ou ἡκή que nous avons déjà rencontré dans φαίηκες, dans πιθ-ηκ-ουσα et que nous rencontrerons plus loin dans ἀρτ-ακ-ίη.' The Sociology which the author declares distinguishes his book induces him to find in the artless tale 'of Nausicaa (p. 347) 'un ensemble d'allusions transparentes au mariage de la colonie occidentale avec les étrangers'!

This sort of book does a great deal of harm. For it is on the right tack: tides, currents, harbours, place-names, habits and customs, and the Mediterranean Pilot are the right criteria by which to determine the place, date, and meaning of a heroic poem; and it is generally agreed that the brilliant book in which these tests were first applied has given us a considerable residuum of solidly based knowledge. The effect of M. Champault's caricature will be to throw us back into the Higher Criticism—which I need not say the land of its birth is practising as composedly as though nothing had happened. Old gentlemen in this country were beginning to be aware that the Achilleides and Telemachiae of their Grotes and Geddeses were waning and gibbering in the morning light. They will now, crying it was the nightingale and not the lark, clasp to their breasts these comfortable ghosts.

T. W. ALLEN.

BARTHOLOMAE'S *LEXICON* AND *TRANSLATION OF THE GATHAS*.

Altiranisches Wörterbuch. Von CHRISTIAN BARTHOLOMAE. Strassburg: Trübner, 1904. 53 M.

Die Gatha's des Avesta. Zarathushtra's Verspredigten, übersetzt von CHRISTIAN BARTHOLOMAE. Strassburg: Trübner, 1905. 3 M.

To review Bartholomae's monumental lexicon in any sense would demand returning for prolonged sojourn in Iran, where under present conditions I can only be a holiday-maker. But it would be impossible to write at all on recent work in these studies without recording so noteworthy an addition to our equipment. Bartholomae treats of Gathic and later Avestan,¹ and the old Persian inscriptions. The last element is a very welcome novelty, absent as it is from the dictionary of F. Justi, which for forty years has been the indispensable companion of every reader of the Avesta. Bartholomae's thousand pages form a significant contrast to the 424 into which Justi compressed not only lexicon, but also chrestomathy and grammar. That Justi's book should have lasted so long is a striking tribute to the excellence of work which is by no means outworn even now. Happily the veteran lexicographer is still adding to his output. An important contribution from his pen appears in the great encyclopaedia of Iranology, Geiger and Kuhn's *Grundriss*, recently completed; and a long and detailed criticism of the new lexicon fills nearly fifty pages of the *Anzeiger zu Indogermanische Forschungen* for 1904-5. The new volume for 1905-6 has another twenty pages from the same prolific pen, in which Justi discusses the little popular work on the Gathas which the indefatigable Bartholomae has thrown in as a foil to his massive lexicon: it was this which we set out to review when the author's name diverted our attention to the big book. Popular in form a translation of the Gathas may be, but no one who has ever read a stanza of them in the original will be under any illusions as to the labour which underlies the effort. The most abstract and perplexing thought, veiled further by archaic language, only half understood by later students of the seer's own race and tongue,

tends to make the Gathas the hardest problem to be attempted by those who would investigate the literary monuments of Indogermanic religion. They are indeed worthy of the labour they cost, for rarely in the world's history has a prophet advanced so far beyond his age as Zarathushtra. Those who would study the oldest and most fundamental scriptures of Parsism without acquiring their very difficult language will find Bartholomae's edition the most convenient at present accessible to them. The editor translates, gives a summary of each Hymn and a few notes, and at the end of the book (133 pp.) provides an alphabetically arranged glossary of proper names and leading ideas. In view of the many difficulties and disputed points about the Gathas, such students should compare other translations, as those of Prof. Mills in *S.B.E.* xxxi, and Darmesteter in *Le Zend Avesta*. This last work should not, however, be commended without a caveat against accepting the great but too original savant's conclusions as to the antiquity of the poems. To date the Gathas after Philo has been unanimously treated as a paradoxical position, which even Darmesteter's great name could not carry. Professor Williams Jackson,² with other weighty authorities, has endeavoured to uphold the traditional date, in the seventh century B.C. But Bartholomae still holds out for an earlier period; and where the pure linguist thus coincides with the historian of religion, C. P. Tiele, we may feel ourselves provisionally justified in making the Gathas older than Homer, and not much younger than the most antique parts of the Rîgveda. It must only be added here that the Zend scholar will not find Bartholomae's little book in any way superfluous for his needs. Every stanza has references to the several columns of the new dictionary which will guide him to the author's argument for the rendering he adopts for crucial words. With this exceedingly compact and handy volume the brilliant and prolific philologist of Giessen crowns his long series of works on the Avesta. His transliterated text of the Gathas, with grammar and word-index (1879), has been followed successively by the elaborate grammar of the Old Iranian language which adorns the first volume of the *Grundriss*, by the great dictionary, and now

¹ Under this head, by the way, I note that Bartholomae does not seem to have used Mr. M. Schuyler's careful Index Verborum of the Avestan Fragments.

² Last in his brilliant book of travel, *Persia, Past and Present* (1906), p. 60.

by the translation and notes which present his results to the outsider.¹ Throughout the last thirty years he has also been pouring out technical treatises and discussions in the philological journals of Germany. Like all men who think, Bartholomae has changed his lines not infrequently, and perhaps more frequently than some other scholars in his

¹ Since this was written, Bartholomae has given us (*Idg. Forschungen, Beiheft*, 1906), a mass of notes and addenda to his *Lexicon*, which those who use the book will have to refer to.

subject; nor must we forget that comparative philology and linguistic learning will not by itself unlock all the mysteries of the Gathas. But there can be no question as to the position which will be taken by this unpretending little volume as the most convenient and most generally satisfactory attempt hitherto made to interpret for outsiders the teaching of one of the profoundest and most original thinkers of antiquity.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

MAHAFFY'S *SILVER AGE OF THE GREEK WORLD*.

The Silver Age of the Greek World. By J. P. MAHAFFY. Chicago: the University of Chicago Press; London: Fisher Unwin, 1906. Pp. 482. Price \$3.00 net.

THIS is a second edition of *The Greek World under Roman Sway*, differing from the first in title, bulk, publisher, print, and paper, but not in much else. Recent exploration in Egypt, especially in the Fayyum, has given material for a new chapter on Hellenism in Upper Egypt, for a discussion (pp. 288 ff.) of the changes made by Rome in the Ptolemaic administration, and for some account of the literary finds (pp. 80, 290 ff.). Other additions treat of the date of Pseudo-Callisthenes (which Dr. Mahaffy, arguing from the absence of Ptolemaic colouring, would put much earlier than the first century B.C.), of the consequences of the struggle between Mithradates and Rome, and of the unifying influence of cults (pp. 70, 142, 401). The book is still fresh and jaunty, and the revision should give it a new lease of life.

E. HARRISON.

The Private Life of the Romans. By HAROLD WHETSTONE JOHNSTON. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1905. Pp. 344.

THIS work is intended in the first place as a reference book for students in schools and colleges, to assist them in the proper understanding of their texts; secondly as a manual for advanced students who are hearing lectures on the subject of Roman private antiquities; and thirdly as a reference book for students of Roman history in general. It is divided into chapters dealing with The Family, The Name, Marriage and the

Position of Woman, Children and Education, House and Furniture, and similar topics, and covers the general field of private antiquities in a comprehensive manner. To each chapter is prefixed a bibliographical note containing references to the standard authorities on the subjects treated in the chapter.

The author has certainly succeeded in accomplishing his purpose, and has met the requirements of the three classes of readers as well as this could be done in a single volume. The book is eminently readable, and the index is sufficiently full. In a brief elementary book it is practically necessary to make many statements without calling attention to the fact that there is disagreement among the authorities. Objection can hardly be brought against this method, provided the proper references are given to the student, by which such statements may be controlled.

A few minor criticisms suggest themselves. A vigorous protest should be made against the practice of marking the quantities of all Latin words in books of reference, a practice altogether too common and quite needless. The erroneous spellings Caius and Cnaeus, which occur frequently, Iupiter (p. 28) and Trieves (p. 282) should be corrected. The statement on page 278 that 'the Romans cared nothing for travelling in itself, for the mere pleasure, that is, of sight-seeing,' should certainly be modified in view of such passages in Latin literature as Pliny's Letters viii. 8 and 20, and Lucretius i. 726 ff.

The illustrations are good and well chosen, but the plates have been made from old and broken type, so that many of the pages are sadly marred.

S. B. PLATNER.

Adelbert College.

Précis de Phonétique du Latin. MAX NIEDERMANN. Paris, 1906.

THIS brief and admirably lucid description of Latin Phonology deserves a hearty welcome and its very moderate price (2½ francs) should make it available in many VI Forms and Colleges: my own classes are taking it gladly into use. The author shows the same judgement and prudence as in his treatise on the Latin vowels, and his temperate advocacy of the historical method in linguistic study should win many friends, in French-speaking countries especially. The fact that many of the examples are chosen very happily to illustrate points of French etymology makes it not less but distinctly

more useful in this country also. Prof. Niedermann shows the sobriety of a true Swiss, and is on the whole a more reliable guide than Victor Henry. If he errs, it is on the good side of caution, though I may perhaps be pardoned for regretting his silence (or is it unintentional?) as to a derivation of *caussa* (= *res iudicata*, or *indicatio* from **caudo* 'to cut,' which was buried in *incudo*, *cudo*, as *claudio* was—after Cicero—in *inccludo*, *cludo*), published in *Verner's Law in Italy* nearly 20 years ago, which has never, so far as I know, been questioned, and which I still maintain.

R. S. CONWAY.

MANCHESTER, October 1906.

REPORT.

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION.

THE Fourth General Meeting was held in Manchester on Thursday, Friday and Saturday, October 11-13, on the invitation of the University.

On Thursday evening there was a reception by the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. ALFRED HOPKINSON, in the Whitworth Hall. There were exhibits of Neolithic implements, early gems, etc., from the George Finlay Collection, and of remains of animals from Crete and Hissalik. Also of MSS., early and rare books, including a copy of the first folio of Shakespeare, and the addresses presented to Owens College at its Jubilee in 1902. A selection of vocal and instrumental music was given by Miss FILLINGER, Mr. EGON PETRI, and Mr. ARTHUR CATTERALL. At the end of the evening Prof. W. RHYS ROBERTS delivered a lecture upon 'Youth and Age in Homer,' in which the salient features of Homer's treatment of the various periods of life were sketched and illustrated by quotations.

On Friday Prof. BOYD DAWKINS delivered an address on 'A Bucranium from the Dictæan Cave in Crete.' After pointing out the impossibility of drawing a hard and fast line between the history written in books and that preserved in remains, and showing that the contention that there were no Neolithic remains in Greece was untenable, he described the bones which had been sent to him by Mr. D. G. HOGARTH. They included the frontal bones and the two short horns of a small ox (*bos Creticus*), an offering to Zeus, who was worshipped 2000 years B.C. in the Dictæan cave. From a second cave were shown human skulls belonging to a highly civilised race. They were all of the Bronze Age. Prof. RIDGEWAY moved, and Prof. E. V. ARNOLD seconded, a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

Prof. J. P. POSTGATE gave a brief lecture on 'Horace as a Rustic,' analysing the evidence, direct and indirect, furnished by the poems. He argued that it gave no countenance to the view that Horace (like Virgil and Tibullus) was inspired by the country. Horace was by nature and bringing up a townsman, and his interests were in Rome. Principal HEADLAM, in proposing a vote of thanks,

noted that the lecturer's illustrations had shown how Horace appealed to the taste of the average man, and Bishop CASARELLI, in seconding it, observed that in travelling in Italy the words of Horace occurred more frequently to the mind than those of any other Latin poet.

After the lecture members of the Association visited the Chatham Hospital and Library and the remains of the Roman Fort in Deansgate. In the afternoon, on the invitation of Mrs. RYLANDS and the Council, a visit was paid to the celebrated Rylands Library. Mr. H. GUPPY, the Librarian, gave a short address on the treasures in the Library. Of every one of the fifty Greek and Latin authors represented in the show cases, the Library could show the first edition. They had at least seventy-five pieces of Cicero and eighteen editions of Virgil printed before 1500, besides many other rarities. A special descriptive catalogue had been printed and was presented to the visitors.

The formal reception of the Association by the University took place in the Whitworth Hall, the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. ALFRED HOPKINSON, presiding, when a congregation was held at which the honorary degree of Litt.D. was conferred on the MASTER OF THE ROLLS (Sir R. H. COLLINS), Mr. S. H. BUTCHER, M.P., Prof. J. P. POSTGATE, and Prof. W. RIDGEWAY.

The Lord Mayor of Manchester (Mr. J. H. THEWLIS) and the Rev. Canon HICKS, as President of the local branch of the Classical Association, welcomed the Association to Manchester. The meeting was then converted into one of the Association over which the MASTER OF THE ROLLS presided in the regrettable absence of Lord Curzon, the President.

The VICE-CHANCELLOR, in vacating the chair, passed a high encomium on the benefits of classical study, and spoke with enthusiasm on the increase of classical students in the University of Manchester. These were now thrice as numerous as they were a short time ago, and in the Joint Matriculation of the Northern Universities there had been a remarkable increase in the number of

candidates taking Latin, which was a voluntary subject.

The MASTER OF THE ROLLS, after thanking the University and City of Manchester for their hospitality to the Association, referred to the remarkable movement which had lately taken place—the expression of a spontaneous desire on the part of large bodies of people for opportunities of culture. It was important that the claims of the classics should be brought under the notice of these new aspirants. It was not likely that they would be content to be without the use of means which they could see had been so supremely educative in the past.

Mr. Justice KENNEDY gave an address on the value of classical training for the legal profession. Of the two classical languages, Latin from this point of view had the greater importance. As Maine had said, legal science was a Roman creation. In common law, in international law, and in municipal law, jurist and practitioner alike were poorly equipped unless they had studied the sources in the original Latin.

Mr. BUTCHER read a letter from Lord CURZON expressing his regret at his enforced absence from the meeting. In the course of it the writer said: 'When we are in great grief we all of us turn for solace to the literary pastors and masters of our lifetime. Is it not a tribute to the great classical writers of antiquity that, severed as they are from us by such vast differences of age and circumstance, there are many of us who yet find in their wise philosophy, and still more in their exquisite pathos, a relief which not even the great writers of our own language and time can as easily and as invariably impart?'

A vote of thanks to Mr. Justice KENNEDY for his address, and to the MASTER OF THE ROLLS for presiding, was proposed by Canon HICKS, who observed that what had been said of the value of a classical training for the legal profession was applicable to all the professions. The Rev. Dr. MOULTON in seconding the motion drew attention to the importance of the study of Hellenistic Greek. In the evening there was a somewhat discursive debate on the relative functions of classical and modern languages in secondary education, Mr. BUTCHER presiding. Bishop WELLDON, with the avowed object of provoking discussion, enunciated some strong opinions on points of classical teaching, disparaging the new methods, denouncing the practice of Greek and Latin verse by schoolboys as a scandalous waste of time, and stigmatising the reformers of Latin pronunciation as ill-informed revolutionaries. Mr. J. L. PATON dissented, defending the new methods and urging that we should follow the Germans in employing 'oral' teaching in Latin. Prof. RIDGEWAY protested against abstruse papers on accident and the separation of grammatical teaching from reading. Amongst the other speakers were Miss BURSTALL, Prof. E. V. ARNOLD, Prof. SADLER, and Dr. HEKFOR.

On Saturday morning Prof. CONWAY gave a lecture on 'An unnoticed aspect of Virgil's personality.' The lecturer after a reference to the harm which had been done to the study of Virgil by traditional interpretations, e.g. by the misuse of the figure of Zeugma, said that in a number of places Virgil was criticising the irrational pagan conceptions of his day but with so gentle a criticism that it had escaped notice hitherto. This is the meaning of the choice between two alternative theories which is so often left to the reader, e.g. the snake that appeared to Hermes (*Aen.* 5. 95) is either the embodiment of his father's spirit (the

ancient view) or only an attendant creature (the poet's view). Thus we are left free in many places to choose between providential interference and natural causation. Again, the story of Laocoon is intended to suggest that his desertion by the Trojans was the true cause of the fall of Troy. That of Dido is a criticism of ancient views on the relation of the sexes. Lastly, the deification of Augustus (which must not be approached with the modern idea of 'God') was not to be understood as unconditional but as contingent upon the ruler so deified performing the services of a *deus*.

At the business meeting; Mr. S. H. BUTCHER in the chair, the report of the Council was read by Prof. SONNENSCHIEIN.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor HOPKINSON proposed, and Prof. RIDGEWAY seconded, that Mr. BUTCHER be elected President for 1907.

On the motion of Prof. MACKAIL, the Vice-Presidents for 1906 were re-elected for 1907, together with Lord CURZON, Professor CONWAY and Canon HICKS. Also the Hon. Secretaries, Prof. SONNENSCHIEIN and Mr. E. HARRISON, were re-elected; and the Council was empowered to make arrangements for appointing a successor to Dr. F. G. KENYON (Hon. Treasurer), who was obliged to retire at the end of the year.

Miss DOVE, Dr. F. G. KENYON, Canon E. LYTTLETON, Mr. T. E. PAGE, and Dr. A. W. WARD were elected to fill the five vacant places in the Council.

The next meeting was fixed to take place at Cambridge on October 18th and 19th, 1907.

The CHAIRMAN moved the adoption of the Committee on Latin Pronunciation. He recommended the scheme as a practical one the teaching of which involved no unnecessary labour, and the adoption of which would give both literary and historical value to the study of Latin. Mr. W. G. RUSHBROOKE seconded. After paying a tribute to Dr. E. A. Abbott's services as a pioneer in the reform, he quoted statistics showing that the schools were moving in its favour, and that there was a good prospect of its being adopted by a majority of them. Prof. POSTGATE dwelt on the confusion and irrationality in the present pronunciation, and drew attention to the common action instituted by the Philological Societies of Oxford and Cambridge. The failure of the previous movement twenty years ago was due to isolated action which they must all make an effort to avoid. Dr. HEARD spoke of what had been done by the *Classical Association of Scotland*. The scheme which their committee had proposed, and which differed very little from the one under consideration, would probably result in a uniform pronunciation of Latin throughout Scotland, inasmuch as the Scotch Board of Education might be expected to take up the matter.

Criticisms on the report by Miss M. C. DAWES, Mrs. LEWIS and Mrs. GIBSON were read by Prof. SONNENSCHIEIN. They proposed in substance that the modern Italian pronunciation should be adopted. The discussion was continued by the Rev. L. FORD, Headmaster of Repton, who announced his intention of adopting the scheme; Mr. W. G. WILLIAMS, Headmaster of Friar's School, Bangor; Mr. W. W. VAUGHAN, Headmaster of Giggleswick; Mr. A. E. BERNAYS; Mr. H. CRADOCK-WATSON, Headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School, Crosby, Liverpool; Prof. CONWAY and Mr. L. R. F. OLDERSHAW, of Fernley, Maidenhead. The adoption of the report, including the following resolution, 'That the Classical Association recommends for adoption by the teachers of the United Kingdom the changes of Latin pronunciation approved by the Pronunciation Committee and by the Philo-

logical Societies of Oxford and Cambridge,' was then put to the meeting and carried with two dissentients, about 100 members being present and voting.

Prof. SONNENSCHNIEDER moved, and Dr. A. C. HEADLAM seconded, that the Council be instructed to draw up a memorial to the President of the Board of Education, urging him to take action towards

securing the adoption of a uniform system of pronouncing Latin in accordance with the principles of the scheme approved by the Association in Secondary Schools aided by grants from the Board. After some discussion, on the suggestion of Mr. J. H. POOLE and Prof. E. V. ARSOLD, the motion was withdrawn.

VERSION.

IMPROMPTU.

(Suggested by a view, in 1766, of the seat and ruins of a deceased nobleman, at Kingsgate, Kent.)

OLD, and abandon'd by each venal friend,
Here H——d¹ form'd the pious resolution
To smuggle a few years, and strive to mend
A broken character and constitution.

On this congenial spot he fix'd his choice ;
Earl Goodwin trembled for his neighbouring
sand ;
Here sea-gulls scream, and cormorants
rejoice,
And mariners, though ship-wrecked, dread
to land.

Here reign the blustering North and
blighting East,
No tree is heard to whisper, bird to sing ;
Yet Nature could not furnish out the feast :
Art he invokes new horrors still to bring.

Here mouldering fanes and battlements arise,
Turrets and arches nodding to their fall,
Unpeopled monast'ries delude our eyes,
And mimic desolation covers all.

" Ah ! " said the sighing peer, " had B——te²
been true,
Nor M——'s, R——'s, B——'s³ friendship
vain,
Far better scenes than these had blest our
view,
And realiz'd the beauties which we feign :

" Purg'd by the sword, and purified by
fire,
Then had we seen proud London's hated
walls ;
Owls would have hooted in St. Peter's
choir,
And foxes stunk and litter'd in St.
Paul's."

T. GRAY.

*Ipsæ senex tandem, socio desertus ab omni
Harpago, uenali, tu pia uota facis :
' Da famæ auxilium, da paucos subripere
annos,
Iuppiter, infractis uiribus affer opem ! '*

*Eligit ecce locum : uicinas spectat harenas,
Et spectans trepidat ne rapiantur, Hylas.
Hic mergi strepitare solent fulicæque
marinae,
Naufragus hanc oram naufragus ipse
timet.*

*Hic sua regna tenent Boreas Eurusque
malignus,
Sibila non arbos dat, neque carmen auis ;
Mentem explere nequit Natura : en, euocat
Artem,
Ars noua de terra prodere monstra parat.*

*Hic putria exsurgunt fana et munimina
belli,
Quæque breui casum turris itura labat,
Spectantum uisus uacuata palatia ludunt,
Cuncta operit turpi ficta ruina situ.*

*' Ei mihi, pacta fides si non decepta
fuisset
(Dux queritur), si non destituisset amor,
Tunc meliora forent, tunc uere carpere
possem
Gaudia quæ tantum nunc simulare licet.*

*' Tum purgata etenim ferroque ignique
superbi
Londinii nobis moenia uisa forent,
Nocte uagans bubo Petri exululasset in
aede,
In Pauli uulpes parturisset⁴ olens.'*

R. C. SEATON.

¹ Holland.

² Bute.

³ Mungo's, Rigby's, Bradshaw's.

⁴ This form may perhaps be allowed here, though the perfects of verbs in *-urio* are mostly post-classical.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

HILL'S HISTORICAL GREEK COINS.

Historical Greek Coins. Described by G. F. HILL. London: Constable & Co., 1906. Pp. xix+181. XIII. Plates and 7 Cuts in Text. 10s. 6d. net.

It was while helping to prepare the second edition of Hicks' Greek Historical Inscriptions, so Mr. Hill tells us in his preface, that it occurred to him that something of the same kind might be done for Greek coins. It was a happy idea, and has been well carried out. We can remember, many of us, what a world was opened out to us by the Athenian Quota lists, and the roll of the men of the Erechtheid tribe who fell 'the same year,' on those many and remote battlefields. We turned to our Thucydides with a new zest, and from a more personal standpoint. In regard to coins, on the other hand, the mind of the ordinary classical student, whether at school or college, is a blank. The occasional illustrations of coins that are incidentally dotted about the pages of Greek Histories make little impression, and even a collection of casts needs interpretation by a specialist if it is to arouse the historical as well as the artistic interest. The one hundred coins here fully commented upon in historical order will fill the gap, and enable the subject to take its proper place in the main current of classical teaching.

The ground covered by the selection is a wide one, stretching from the earliest times to the first century B.C. It is perhaps inevitable from the nature of the extant material that the latter half of this period should bulk more largely than the first. The large amount of 64 pages that is devoted to the period from the death of Alexander onward brings with it the advantage that the book will be of value for Roman as well as for Greek History, and emphasises the important part played in it by the Greek East. While, however, the beginnings of coinage and the fourth century are correspondingly well represented, 32 pages is surely a meagre amount for the whole of the fifth. It is true that the coins figured are adequately proportioned to the extant material, but the chief reason for this paucity of material, the influence on the smaller cities of the political and commercial suprem-

acy of Athens, is barely alluded to. The Siphnos inscription, and the question as to how far Athens regulated the coinage of her subject allies, might well have been discussed at length. The matter is one which must necessarily be of supreme interest to the classical scholar, and the literature on the subject is mainly to be found in foreign journals difficult of access to the ordinary English scholar.

With this exception nothing but praise can be given to Mr. Hill's selection and commentary. His discussions of difficult problems, such as the Pre-Solonian coinage of Athens, and the origin of the Damareteia, are clear and well-balanced, and more than once he has broken new ground. We may single out in particular his interesting explanation of the curious peculiarity of the early coins of Rhegium and other cities of Magna Graecia, by which a back view of the figure on the obverse side is repeated in incuse, or intaglio, on the reverse. The impression which it is desired to make on the spectator is that, when he turns over the coin, he is passing to the other side of the type figured on the obverse, and seeing it from behind. Mr. Hill sees in this an attempt to express one of the Pythagorean pairs of contraries. The true nature of a thing could, according to their system, only be completely represented by figuring it, primarily no doubt in the mind, but symbolically also in art, along with its contrary, its other side. The explanation throws a sidelight on that obscure but fascinating subject, the influence of the Pythagorean brotherhood on the cities of South Italy.

The Plates throughout are admirable, and I can only hope that it is my own over-zealous use of my copy that has caused the only fault I can find in them, namely, that one of them, Plate XIII, has come loose. There would have been less chance of such a catastrophe if the Plates had all been bound together at the end of the volume. A weighty plea for such a procedure was urged by Professor Percy Gardner in a recent review of Dr. George Macdonald's 'Coin Types' (*C.R.* xx. 1906, p. 185). I entirely agree with him that it is maddening for a reader to have the Plates scattered up and down the volumes. In spite of the importunity that has loosened Plate XIII, I am still baffled when I turn from the

commentary on a given coin and try to find it in the Plates. I have no doubt, too, that Dr. Macdonald and Mr. Hill are in agreement on the point with their reviewers. It is the publishers who have invented for themselves an imaginary reading public that refuses to believe that a book is illustrated at all if the Plates are placed systematically at the end.

The mention of Professor Gardner's review of Dr. Macdonald suggests a further remark. The reader would assume from Professor Gardner's language that Dr. Macdonald's theory that the type of a Greek coin was in early times simply the badge or *παράσημον* of the city which issued it was entirely new. Now, there is no question that the badge theory must rightly be always associated with Dr. Macdonald's name. He has developed it with a power of argument and a wealth of illustration that make his book a remarkable one. He is most careful, too, to acknowledge his obligation to his predecessors, showing (p. 44) that the germ of the idea may be traced as far back as T. Burgon's article in the *Numismatic Journal* of 1837. Neither Dr. Macdonald, however, nor Professor Gardner seems to be aware that the theory was categorically, though briefly, stated by Mr. Hill in his *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins*, published in 1899. In that excellent work (pp. 165-169) Mr. Hill definitely advanced the badge theory as the reconciling idea, the higher synthesis, for the two fighting extremes represented by Professor Ridgeway and Professor Gardner. After showing that both the religious theory and the commercial theory are half-truths, he introduced his own classification of types with the following remark: 'With this understanding an attempt may be made to classify types according to the principles which induced the issuing state or ruler to adopt them as badges.'

The strange thing is that not only was Dr. Macdonald apparently unaware of the publication of the theory six years before in the 'Handbook,' but Mr. Hill himself seems either to have forgotten it or to have very successfully effaced himself. He and Dr. Macdonald, as we read in the prefaces of their two recent books, read each other's proofs; but the only passage in 'Greek Historical Coins' which mentions the subject (p. 6) gives no clue by which the future historian of the badge theory could determine priority of discovery.

RONALD M. BURROWS.

CARDIFF.

BRIEF NOTICES.

Camarina, Scavi del 1899 e 1903. By P. Orsi. Rome, 1905. 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 102. With 12 plates and 124 cuts. (Extract from *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. xiv.)

DR. ORSI has kindly sent an account of his excavations at Camarina in the years 1899 and 1903, which, if yielding no new topographical data, were at least interesting for the contents of the numerous tombs of the fifth century (mostly late R.F. Attic vases). None of these vases however are of any special interest or beauty: a more interesting find is part of an archaic bronze *lebes* from a tripod with supporting figures.

The contents of the volume include: (1) an account of prehistoric Camarina; (2) description of the excavations and finds; (3) synthetic account of the results, including methods of burial and forms of tombs; (4) discussion of the extent of Attic importation into Sicily; (5) date of the finds. The examination of 520 tombs and their contents shews that the results thereby obtained harmonise perfectly with the historical record of the city. It was destroyed in 484 B.C., rebuilt in 461, and again destroyed in 258; and among other evidence it may be noticed that none of the Attic vases can be dated (on artistic grounds) earlier than the middle of the fifth century.

Les statuettes de terre cuite en Grèce. Par W. DEONNA. Paris: Thorin et Fils, 1906. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 72. Fr. 2.50.

M. DEONNA has compiled an interesting monograph on the working of terracotta in Greece for sculptural purposes, to the account of which he appends a list of existing *acroteria* and other statues in this material. Among other things he points out that the practice must have been commoner than is usually supposed, owing to the necessity of making facsimile clay models for bronze statues: on the other hand the fragility and pliability of clay prevented its use in preference to more durable materials (*i.e.* subsequently to the primitive period). The peoples of Cyprus and Italy, who employed it generally, were of course much more backward in their artistic ideas. The writer also emphasises the importance of Corinth as a centre for working in terracotta in early times: later its place was taken by Asia Minor. The bibliographical references in the notes are excellent; but there is no index, and only one illustration.

H. B. W.

MONTHLY RECORD.

SPAIN.

Near *Cape Palos* divers have discovered forty lead anchors, some of them bearing rude inscriptions in Greek and Latin, such as Ζεὺς Κάσιος σώζων—'Αφροδίτη σώζουσα—L(ucio) V(alerio) Lupo—L. Ageili. L. L. Maxsumi. Off the island of St. Peter near *Cádiz* a headless statue of Apollo wearing the chlamys has been recovered from the sea, together with the figure of a winged genius in bronze. An important discovery has been made near *Jávea* in the N. of the province of Alicante. A vase was found containing a gold diadem, a gold necklace with pendants, gold fillets, and other objects in gold and silver. The diadem consists of an oblong band with extremities of triangular form. It is stamped with a series of wavy lines, tendrils, lozenges, etc. It bears a close relationship to the sculptures of Cerro de los Santos and the Elche head, but the style points to a purely Greek origin. At *Mérida* a Mithraeum has been discovered, containing a series of statues, the most important of which is that of the serpent-entwined Mithraic Kronos. An inscription of about 155 A.D., engraved on an altar destined to commemorate the birth of Mithra, mentions an official bearing the title of *Pater*.¹

FRANCE.

At *La Couchère* near *Jublaine* in the Department of Mayenne a bronze vase has been discovered containing a treasure of 820 Roman coins. The date at which it was buried appears to have been about the middle of the third century after Christ. The vase is a *lagena* or flask, decorated on the neck with reliefs. These latter have been produced, contrary to the usual process, by depressing the ground. The design represents three *bestiarii* fighting with wild beasts: they have their belts, spears, etc. indicated by means of silver inlay. One attacks two lions, the second an animal which seems to be a combination of a lion and a bear (arcoleon?), the third four bears. Two hares are seen near the second group. Progress has been made with the excavation of the Tropaeum at *La Turbie* and with the exploration of the site of *Alesia*. The results are, however, at present scanty.¹

F. H. MARSHALL.

¹ *Arch. Anz.* 1906, part 2.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NUMISMATIC SUMMARIES.

American Journal of Archaeology. 1906.

Part 2.

1. W. K. Prentice: *Magical Formulae on lintels of the Christian period in Syria.*
2. O. M. Washburn: *The Charioteer of Delphi.*
Accepts Syvornos' identification of the statue with the offering of the Cyrenaicans (Paus. x. 15. 6), and restores the dedicatory inscription, making *πολύζαλος* an adjective; the dedicator may have been Arkesilas.
3. G. N. Olcott: *Latin Inscriptions, inedited or corrected.*
Discusses some inscriptions preserved at Columbia University.
4. D. M. Robinson: *Terracottas from Corinth.* (Four plates, twelve cuts.)
Publishes finds, made in 1903, of the archaic and later periods; also a deposit with some curious reliefs from a heroön, dating about 500 B.C.
5. Notes and News of the Institute.
6. Archaeological Discussions (*ed.* H. N. Fowler).
7. Bibliography.

Part 3.

1. W. W. Bishop: *Roman Church Mosaics of the first nine centuries.* (Nine cuts.)
2. A. Marquand: *On the terms Cyma Recta and Cyma Reversa.* (Six cuts.)
Both terms of exclusively English usage, introduced by Leoni in 1715; *κύμα* became *cyma* (fem.) in Latin.
3. G. M. Whicher: *A Greek Inscription from the Hauran.* (Cut.)
Publishes an inscription dated in the first year of Gordian III, which seems to commemorate the completion of some work.
4. A. W. Buren: *Notes on Dr. D. M. Robinson's Inscriptions from Sinope.*
5. A. H. Gill: *Examination of the contents of a Mycenaean vase found in Egypt.*
The vase contained a substance prepared from cocoa-nut oil, perhaps used for embalming.
6. Ida C. Thallon: *The Date of Damophon of Messene.*
Declares for second-century date, on historical and archaeological grounds; architectural and epigraphical evidence point the same way, and parallels can be found in the sculpture of that time.
7. *Archaeological News* (Jan.-June 1906), *ed.* H. N. Fowler.

Athenische Mittheilungen. xxxi. 1906.

Heft 1-2.

1. F. Stachlin: *Topography of Phthiotis.* (Three plates, thirteen cuts.)
Describes the plain of Halmyros and neighbourhood, including sites of Thebes, Pyrasos, Phylake, and other places.
2. A. S. Arvanitopoulos: *Tribal Heroes in the Parthenon Frieze.* (Two plates, two cuts.)
The men on either side of the gods in the East frieze not mortals, but the ten eponymous tribal heroes. Notes incidentally a parody of the procession in *Ar. Eccl.* 728 ff.
3. F. Studniczka: *Skylla in Mycenaean Art.* (Two cuts.)
Discusses representations of a dog-headed sea-monster on a seal from Knossos and a wall-painting from Mycenae.
4. I. Miliopoulos: *The old harbour of Chalkedon.* (Cut.)

Recent investigations show that Appian's statement that it was a *κλειστός λιμήν* was correct.

5. F. W. von Bissing: Notes on my collection. (Two plates and cut.)

Publishes two statuettes of Serapis, in limestone and bronze.

6. C. Friedrich: Lemnos. (Two plates, twenty-four cuts.)

Describes finds in cemetery of Myrina, extending from prehistoric to Christian times and including primitive vases, later local pottery, and terracotta figures, heads and reliefs; these are largely the products of the *Τυρσηνοί* who migrated thither in early times and were associated with the Cabeiric cults.

7. T. Wiegand: Archaic statue in Samos. (Three plates.)

Publishes female statue found in 1902, in style of Branchidae figures, but standing.

8. A. Wilhelm: Inscription from Megara. (Plate.)
Stele with archaic inscription, in alphabet resembling the Corinthian.

9. E. Nachmanson and E. Herkenrath: Notes from Koronta.

Four inscriptions given from Koronta in Acarnania, with a note on the tombs there.

10. C. Friedrich: Skiathos and Peparethos. (Seventeen cuts.)

11. A. J. B. Wace: Skiathos and Skopelos.

Two articles devoted to a topographical description of these islands.

12. M. Holleaux: Inscription from Athens. (Cut.)
The inscription relates to the erection of a tripod at Kynosarges by the architect Xenophon; reconstruction attempted from the measurements given.

13. W. Dörpfeld: Base of a Tripod from Athens. (Cut.)

Notes on the above-named.

14. L. Curtius: Samiaca. I. (Three plates, six cuts.)

Publishes (1) seated statue of Aeakes in style of Branchidae figures, with inscription dating about 550; Aeakes was father of the tyrant Polykrates. (2) Terracotta alabastron in the form of a kneeling Egyptian, derived from an Egyptian prototype (B 283 in the B.M. is a replica). (3) Relief with boy holding dove, middle of fifth century.

15. K. Rhomaios: Vase-fragments from Eleusis. (Plate, three cuts.)

Two fragments of cups with polychrome decoration on black ground; both style and technique Ionic.

16. W. Dörpfeld: The age of the Sanctuary at Olympia. (Eight cuts.)

Considers that the earliest finds represent the original Achaean culture of the second millennium B.C., coexistent with or previous to the Mycenaean culture.

17. P. Steiner: Bronze statuette from Olympia. (Plate.)

Figure of a man in helmet and 'mitra,' probably of Argive origin, and older than the sixth century.

18. A. Wilhelm: Inscription from Tegea.

A new reading of an archaic inscription in *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* xxv. p. 267.

19. L. Deubner: *Σύβλος χρημάτων*. (Three cuts.)
The reference in *Ar. Vesp.* 241 is to a money-box in the form of a hive.

20. S. N. Dragoumes: Miscellaneous.

21. G. D. Zekides: *Χοῖαια*, not *Χοῖδια*.

22. Finds, etc.

Jahrbuch des Arch. Inst. xxi. 1906. Heft 2.

1. F. Studniczka: Shrines on the 'Kitharoedol-reliefs.' (Five cuts.)

The shrines depicted on the so-called Hellenistic reliefs with the subject of Apollo Kitharoedol represent the temple of Apollo Pythios at Athens, and the reliefs refer to its restoration by Hadrian. (Also a note on a relief in the Villa Medici representing the temple of Hadrian in the Campus Martius.)

2. E. Maass: Pannychis. (Two cuts.)

Pannychis in *Tatian Adv. Graec.* p. 35, denotes a feast, not a personal name. The seduced maiden there mentioned may be Auge, as in Pompeian paintings in which Pannychis appears personified; these may go back to the original bronze work by Euthykrates mentioned by *Tatian*.

3. E. Assmann: The ship-paintings of Althiburus and Alexandria. (Four cuts.)

Discusses mosaic found in Tunis with figures of ships, of which the names are given, and similar representations lately found at Alexandria; neither increase our knowledge of ancient ships to any extent.

4. O. Washburn: A Proto-Corinthian lekythos in Berlin. (Plate, four cuts.)

Publishes a lekythos acquired in 1901, resembling the Macmillan vase in the Brit. Mus.; the date is about 600 B.C., and the whole class may be ascribed to Sikyon.

5. E. Pfuhl: Correction of *Jahrb.* xx. p. 84.

Anzeiger :—

(1) Annual Report of Archaeological Institute.

(2) Finds in 1905.

(3) May Meeting of Arch. Gesellschaft, Berlin.

(4) Notices.

(5) Bibliography.

H. B. W.

Numismatische Zeitschrift. (Vienna.) Vol. xxxvii, for 1905 (published 1906).

Imhoof-Blumer: 'Die Münzstätte Babylon.' The writer says:—'In einem Aufsätze "Some coins attributed to Babylon" wendet sich Sir Henry Howorth mit einer verblüffenden Zuversicht gegen meine Zuteilung einer grösseren Münzgruppe an die Satrapie Babylonien.' Imhoof-Blumer defends his attribution and complains of 'die endlosen Behauptungen Sir Henry Howorth's.' This paper appears to be almost identical with Imhoof-Blumer's rejoinder published (in English) in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1906.—M. Bahrfeldt: 'Die Münzen der Flottenpräfekten des Marcus Antonius,' pp. 9–56. Bronze coins (Sestertius, Tressis, Dupondius, As and Semis) with the name of a *praefectus classis*. On the obv., heads of Antony and Octavia; on the rev., ships and other marine types. Bahrfeldt gives a good critical list and dates the issue of the coins 717 (autumn) to 719 (summer), i.e. B.C. 37–35. As the mint-place, Berytus in Phoenicia, Sicily, etc. have been proposed. Bahrfeldt makes the not quite convincing suggestion that the coins were struck on board ship when Antony's fleet was in Sicilian waters. There seems to be no very decisive evidence as to the usual provenance of the coins. The weight-standard and material of the coins are also discussed.—A. Markl: 'Rektifikationen zu Cohen's Beschreibung der Münzen von Claudius II. und Quintillus,' pp. 57–74.—Brief notices of G. Macdonald's *Coin-types*, P. Larizza's *Rhegium* and Blanchet's *Traité des monnaies gauloises*.

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie.
1906.

3 Oct. H. Hartleben, *Champollion* (A. Wiedemann), favourable. R. Lohmann, *Nova studia Euripidea* (H. G.). F. Ladek, *Zur Frage über die historischen Quellen der Oktavia* (W. Gemoll). V. Ussani, *Su l'Octavia* (W. Gemoll). W. Fritz, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Briefe des Bischofs Synesios* (J. Dräseke), very favourable.

10 Oct. E. F. Clafin, *The syntax of Boeotian dialect inscriptions* (R. Meister). R. Hensel, *Indiciae Platonicae* (W. Crönert), favourable. A. Martow, *Über die Ehrenämter der römischen Kaiser in den Städten in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten des Kaiserreichs* (B. Bursy), favourable on the whole. *Tertulliani opera ex recens.* Aem. Kroymann III. (J. Dräseke). C. Brocklemann, *Semitische Sprachwissenschaft* (F. H.).

17 Oct. J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*. II. III. IV. (A. Wiedemann), favourable. G. Misener, *The meaning of γάρ* (Gillischewski), 'a diligent work.' G. Grupp, *Kultur der alten Kelten und Germanen, mit einem Rückblick auf die Urgeschichte* (Ed. Wolff), rather unfavourable. *Tibulli aliorumque carminum libri tres*, rec. J. P. Postgate (H. Belling), favourable. L. Venturini, *Caligola*.

24 Oct. *Mélanges Nicole*, recueil de mémoires offerts à J. Nicole (W. Crönert). G. F. Hill, *Historical Greek coins* (H. v. Fritze). N. P. Vlachos, *Some aspects of the religion of Sophocles* (Chr. Muff), unfavourable. *Komödien des P. Terentius* erkl. von A. Spengel. II. *Adelphoe*. 2. Aufl. (J. Lezius). H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les Druides et les dieux celtiques à forme d'animaux* (A. Holder), favourable. F. Höfler, *Ἰππολύτου εἰς τὰ ἔργα θεοφάνεια* (J. Dräseke), on the genuineness of the work.

31 Oct. H. D. Brackett, *Temporal clauses in Herodotus* (W. Gemoll). C. D. Buck, *Elementarbuch der oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte*, Deutsch von E. Prokosch (Bartholomae). A. Ernout, *Le parler de Préneste d'après les inscriptions* (Bartholomae). H. B. G. Speck, *Catilina im Drama der Weltliteratur* (J. Ziehen), favourable. H. Bolkestein, *De colonatu Romano eiusque origine* (B. Kübler), favourable on the whole. *Florilegium patristicum*, digessit G. Rauschen. VI. *Tertulliani Apologetici recensio nova* (J. Dräseke), favourable.

7 Nov. P. Jacobsthal, *Der Blitz in der orientalischen und griechischen Kunst* (R. Oehler). A. Mayr, *Aus den phönikischen Nekropolen von Malta* (F. v. Duhn). B. I. Wheeler, *The Whence and Whither of the modern science of language* (Bartholomae). W. C. Gunnerson, *History of u-stems in Greek* (Bartholomae). A. Trendelenburg, *Erläut-*

erungen zu Platos Menexenus (A. v. Bamberg), favourable. A. Gutjahr-Probst, *Beiträge zur lateinischen Grammatik*. III. 2 (H. Blase). *Lygdami carmina, accedit Panegyricus in Messalam*, rec. G. Némethy (K. P. Schulze). J. M. Burnam, *Glossmata de Prudentio* (R. Helm). J. de Decker, *Contribution à l'étude des Vies de Paul de Thèbes* (J. Dräseke). R. Kunze, *Die Germanen in der antiken Literatur*. I (t.).

Hermathena. No. xxxii.

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CORRIGENDA TO VOL. XX.

P. 232 (middle), in title, read ABBOTT'S *JOHANNINE VOCABULARY*.

P. 437*b*, l. 18 (from end), for 'last' read 'lost.'

P. 450*a*, l. 9, for 'Wars' read 'War'; *ib.* l. 21 for 'has' read 'had.'

P. 451*b*, l. 2, for '—which is, he says' read 'he says,—which is.'

P. 453*b*, l. 9, for 'was' read 'is'; and l. 30, for 'is' read 'was.'

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